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Mariam Hassoun April 7, 2020

English Language Education in Iraq: International Advantage or Imperialist Agenda?

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An abstract of
a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Interdisciplinary Studies in Society and Culture
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2020

Abstract

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English is becoming an increasingly important skill in today's globalized world, a shift disrupting the global educational order. English medium instruction (EMI) provisions have expanded rapidly on a global scale in the last 10 years. Educational systems worldwide are integrating the English language into their classrooms in different ways, rushing to prepare students to participate in the global economy. This thesis uses Iraq as a case study to examine English education's role in society and argues that English language education policy in Iraq is viewed as an extension of national economic and security goals, to the detriment of local communities. In the Iraqi case, a lack of language planning in a centralized policy-making process has created a system in which English's presence in national curriculums and tests increases socioeconomic inequality and removes individuals from their local contexts. Freire, Dewey, Djebar, Piller, Petrovic, and Phillipson are called upon in an interdisciplinary paper that includes a literature review, literary critique, and policy recommendation to draw upon the nuance necessary to eliminate injustice in additional, non-native language instruction programs.

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Acknowledgements

Dr. Peter Wakefield has been my trusty advisor throughout writing my thesis, which has been the most challenging academic work I have engaged in during my educational career. He has been ever-supportive of my many, many questions, concerns, and tendency to think out loud. I am forever thankful for his advice, guidance, and supervision; he has shaped me as an interdisciplinarian. I cherish and will miss my IDEAS lunch conversations with Dr. Wakefield.

Dr. Florian Pohl was my first research mentor while I was a student at Oxford of Emory, having agreed to do an independent study with me, then a first year eager to explore my Muslimness. I am grateful for how he challenges me to think deeper and more critically in my academic work. Moreover, I am so happy to have maintained our rapport despite transitioning to the Atlanta campus. Dr. Pohl has helped me discover who I am through academic study and friendly conversation, something I will always carry with me.

Dr. Mendes' generosity with regards to his words, books, and knowledge have had a profound impact on my thesis project. Although we met just a few months ago, Dr. Mendes has quickly become a mentor to me. Not only has he contributed significantly to my grounding in sociolinguistics and language policy, but he has been a rock in providing guidance on navigating the project while maintaining my sanity.

Dr. Arnsperger has been a firm advocate for my voice and motivations throughout this work. As the Associate Director of the ESL Program at Emory, his practitioner's perspective has reminded me to ground my study around real-life implications on real people. I am also thankful for his kindness towards me, even when I show up at the wrong location of Highland Bakery for an introductory meeting.

To my parents, Farrah Ibrahim and Ali Hassoun: This project would never have happened if it weren't for your resilience. Your journey to a better life for your family, from Iraq to Yemen to New Zealand to the United States, is something for which I will never be able to thank you enough. Yet, as communicated via this thesis, that such arduous measures to find safety and dignity will one day be unnecessary for Iraqis. In my life, I only hope to make you proud.

My brother, Mustafa Hassoun: Throughout my life, I have always looked up to you. Our one-year age gap may be relatively insignificant in the grand scheme of life, but it has meant that I have had the incredible opportunity to watch you clear milestones and learn from your experiences. Sitting in your thesis defense on the Intifada Shaabani in Iraq last spring, I was inspired to do the same in my senior year. I cannot thank you enough for the patience, support, and kindness you show towards your little sister.

My cousins, Zainab, Amna, Sadiqa, Hassan, Ibrahim, and Ameer: I am inspired by your strength. If it were not for your excited recitation of your recently acquired English vocabulary on WhatsApp, I would have given into deep cynicism and despair long ago. You remind me that there is hope.

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INTRODUCTION

Education systems exist within economic, security, and political systems. English is becoming an increasingly important skill in today's globalized world, a shift that is disrupting the global educational order. English medium instruction (EMI) provisions have expanded rapidly on a global scale in the last 10 years.[1] Educational systems worldwide are integrating the English language into their classrooms in different ways, rushing to prepare students to participate in the global economy. There are a number of educational responses to the perceived need to teach non-native speakers English, in both English dominant and non-English dominant settings, including transitional bilingual, teaching English as a second language (TESOL), dual-language immersion, and English medium instruction. Numerous studies suggest that two-language programs increase academic achievement for both language learners and native speakers.[2][3] English medium instruction, according to the British Council, is "the use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English."[4] Most scholars studying EMI come to the conclusion that students have disparate access to both curricular content and English language. Most teachers are not adequately trained to teach in English, regardless of pedagogical method. Students with poor English performance face a high barrier to learning in schools, especially when EMI style is used. In many countries, English serves as a new addition to the core classes.

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[1] Julie Dearden. *English as a Medium of Instruction - a Growing Global Phenomenon*. British Council, 2014, 2.
[2] Wayne P. Thomas and Virginia Collier. "English Learners in North Carolina Dual Language Programs:Year 3 of This Study: School Year 2009-2010," 2014, 3.
[3] Andrew Myers. "Two-Language Instruction Best for English-Language Learners, Stanford Research Suggests." Stanford Graduate School of Education, March 24, 2014, 2.
[4] Myers, 2.

The practice of teaching English in non-English speaking contexts contributes to the positioning of English as a global lingua franca, along with English-language TV shows and English-speaking countries' role in colonialism.

The implications of education language policy are important to an entire generation of students. If a student is taught entirely in a language they have difficulty comprehending, they lose almost all positive externalities of schooling, such as a cohesive social network. Schools are hubs for cognitive and social development in childhood; young leaders grow up among other young leaders in the school. Curricula in schools are generally known to have the capacity to facilitate both cultural inclusion and exclusion. The introduction of a foreign language as the medium of instruction or simply as a core class impacts how student success is evaluated.

I argue that the English language education policy in Iraq does not align with principles of inclusive and equitable education. My research question is: What are the dominant effects of English teaching on Iraqi schoolchildren?

While English can be helpful to students, there are problems within the learning, teaching, and evaluating processes. It promises empowerment for some, but not all. My guiding thesis statement is that English language education policy in Iraq serves as an extension of national economic and security goals, to the detriment of local communities. In this paper, I argue that the Iraqi government makes educational language policy decisions as an extension of national security and economic interests to the detriment of local communities. First, the policy-making process is centralized; policies are decided by education ministry officials and implemented with a top-down approach. Not only are local communities and teachers not consulted regarding policies, but they do not receive the professional training or resources necessary to implement English language curricular elements. Second, English education does

not serve the local economy. Rather, it works to extract the highest performing individuals from their local contexts. Third, commonly cited research on the positive relationship between socioeconomic status and educational outcomes still exists in the Iraqi case. Between different schools, private and public, wealthy and poor, the quality of English education varies significantly. Thus, policies including English as a necessary portion of cumulative exams with total bearing on career prospects, further exacerbate inequality in Iraq.

Different scholars across disciplines are actively engaging with English language policy and its expansion. The majority of modern EMI research is published by British organizations and think tanks like The British Council, Cambridge University, University of Oxford and Education Development Trust. Julie Dearden, a leading EMI scholar in education studies, reports that EMI policy is growing rapidly, reinforcing and creating socioeconomic inequality. However, she writes, "we are quite some way from a 'global' understanding of the aims and purposes of EMI because it appears to be a phenomenon which is being introduced 'top-down' by policymakers and education managers rather than through consultation with the key stakeholders."[5]

Beyond EMI, support of English's promise for developing countries is supported widely, particularly by Western organizations. Education First ranks countries according to adult English skills by administering a voluntary, online proficiency test annually. One of their key takeaways is "societies that speak English are more open, less hierarchical, and fairer to women."[6]

The United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) serve as an agenda setting mechanism for governments, NGOs, and private sector entities to make the world a better place. In order to achieve the goals, global stakeholders must work side-by-side to create change; the

[5] Dearden, *English as a Medium of Instruction - a Growing Global Phenomenon,* 2.
[6] Education First. "EF English Proficiency Index 2018," 2018. /epi/insights/english-economics-and-trade/.

duty to protect inalienable rights calls on all to act, not just governments. The fourth SDG is to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all." In 1959, the UN passed the "Declaration of the Rights of the Child" which stated "The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education which will promote his general culture and enable him, on a basis of equal opportunity, to develop his abilities, his individual judgement, and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society."[7] Over 60 years later, there are still significant gains to be made globally.

While the majority of children worldwide have access to basic education, we are a long ways away from providing universally inclusive and equitable education. English is just another piece of the educational puzzle that further complicates its solving.

On one hand, universal English education could pave a path towards a world where research, art, and culture is accessible to all due to common language. This could be the case if any major language was spoken universally, but English is particularly relevant due to the number of learners exposed to it. Yet, even its presence in school does not necessarily mean that students are learning at a caliber high enough to reap benefits from their language education. In many cases, students never learn English at all, regardless of what a government policy might say or propose at face value.

On the other hand, emphasis on English education creates a linguistic hierarchy. Its presence in curricula and as the medium of instruction adds an element that is especially

[7]United Nations General Assembly. Declaration of the Rights of the Child, 1959. https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/1DeclarationoftheRightsoftheChild(1959).aspx.

susceptible to resource-based manipulation. On a local scale, English has historically been learned and used by upper class families in areas formerly under British colonial rule. On a global stage, the use of English and expectation of Western-style accents is another factor contributing to inequality in the world.

One might wonder why I am focusing on English language education policy in a country like Iraq, where so many students are out of school. In 2016, 3.2 million Iraqi children were out of school; these numbers are significantly higher in areas like Salah al-Din and Diyala, which were most impacted by recent conflict.[8] Democratic protests in Iraq that have been ongoing since late 2019 have also impacted the schooling systems, with many school children in state schools out of school since they began in October. English is not isolated from the education crisis. Rather, its presence in the core curriculum contributes to the issue of out-of-school children. Many Iraqi students are in overflowing classrooms with teachers unequipped to teach English for professional or academic use, let alone for testing purposes. When a student fails English, they fail a grade. For vulnerable youth, failing a grade is enough discouragement to drop out and enter the child labor force to help their families make ends meet.

I believe that every single person, no matter where they are born, has the right to education. Education significantly increases a person's quality of life, ability to dissent, access to information, and economic opportunity. Solutions to problems in the Iraqi education require nuance and acknowledgement of the diversity of circumstances school-children face across the country. The English question in the Iraqi context is a complicated one that draws upon historical legacies of colonialism and conflict as well as future questions related to economic development

[8] UNICEF. "Education: Iraq," 2016. https://www.unicef.org/iraq/what-we-do/education.

and institution building. Nothing is black and white; English language instruction may be both imperialist and helpful for Iraqis.

That being said, policymakers must consider more seriously English's potential for perpetuating socioeconomic inequality within nations and across the globe. The sudden and impractical implementation of English within national curriculums creates deepening schisms between the haves and have nots. We need to reframe the conversation so that it is less about theoretical problems and more about practical application problems like the timing of EMI introduction and evaluation of local needs. As a result of the current implementation process, families of wealthy students have an unbeatable advantage due to their access to private education where English is introduced earlier and taught by better-prepared teachers. Poor students will be tested according to the same standard as wealthier students yet do not have the means to gain access to high-quality English resources.

Wealth is a positive indicator of success in all academic settings, but I hypothesize that English's positioning within systems that maintain anglo-hegemonies further exacerbates issues of educational access for poor and marginalized communities.[9] Proponents of English learning argue that fighting against students learning English while it is becoming (or according to some, already is) the world's lingua franca will only harm students in the long run. As a native-English speaker, I carry privilege. While I may choose to be multilingual, students in Iraq do not have a choice.

Methodology

This paper addresses the implications of English language instruction policy in Iraq for schoolchildren. In order to answer this question, I rely on a number of disciplines. Throughout

[9]UNESCO, "World Inequality Database on Education."

the past 4 years, I have taken courses and read foundational texts in many fields to build an interdisciplinary grounding on the subject of concern. Emory University's Institute for Liberal Arts' interdisciplinary studies frame courses along with the junior and senior seminars provided me with an interdisciplinary perspective and understanding of methodologies. In this thesis, I explore my research question via literature review, literary critique, and case study. As an Iraqi-American who has worked with students in the Iraqi education system, I carefully use my personal expertise from work and family life. In places where research supports a phenomenon or theory, I insert auto-ethnographic accounts to provide real-life examples.

Guiding my understanding of interdisciplinarity is to begin my studies of a subject by identifying key problem areas and then pulling upon disciplines and scholarly work as necessary to craft a response to the problem. In other words, I identified that English was disrupting the Iraqi education system and then curated a set of courses and readings to better understand and offer solutions to the issue. Education systems are complex structures that are impacted by other societal elements like racism, economic inequality, and sexism; educational outcomes have bearing on a child's future quality of life, career, and health.

In my study of English language education policy in Iraq, I draw on education studies — which involves political science, ethics, Middle Eastern studies and sociolinguistics. The eight concentration courses I chose to fulfill the Interdisciplinary Studies in Society and Culture major requirements have given me sufficient knowledge of Iraq, and my dedication to Arabic and Persian instruction have empowered me to use non-English sources to localize my understanding of my topic. Dr. Donald Beaudette's Political Violence course provided grounding in the major catalysts for conflict; in that course, I conducted a research project on American influence on ethnic segregation in Baghdad, Iraq. Dr. Joshua Mousie's 19th and 20th Century Philosophy and

Dr. Pamela Hall's Ethics of Human Goodness course prepared me to engage in philosophical critique of the status quo in the Middle East, particularly colonialism's lasting effects on the region. An Education Law and Policy course and Sociology of Education gave me formal instruction in education studies and the numerous ways through which to assess education systems' policy and structure and their reinforcement inequality.

The first chapter, "Language Education Theory in Philosophy and Literature," details the perspectives of a number of well-respected scholars and writers on subjects pertaining to English education in Iraq including globalization, colonialism, and language policy. The first portion of this chapter is a traditional literature review in the style used by sociologists and political scientists. Prominent Arab writers Assia Djebar, Nawal El-Saadawi, and Edward Said shed light on their personal experiences with foreign language instruction and its impact on their career and work. Since Iraq's (and in general, most Middle Eastern countries outside of the Gulf) English language education processes are understudied in the academy, I drew upon literature-based sources via literary critique to deepen and center perspectives on foreign languages around the Middle Eastern context.

The second chapter, "English in the Global Classroom," discusses the various ways in which governments include English education in their education system, with particular emphasis on timing of introduction, testing, and treatment towards minority languages. The third chapter, "English in Iraq," focuses the larger discussion of English's impact to a national context using Iraq as the case study. In this chapter, I contextualize its inclusion within Iraq's recent political, economic, and security history.

Paulo Freire, Assia Djebar, Ingrid Piller, John Petrovic, and Robert Phillipson are called upon in an interdisciplinary paper that includes a literature review, literary critique, and policy

recommendation to draw upon the nuance necessary to eliminate injustice in additional, non-native language instruction programs.

Scope and Positionality

Iraq was once at the heart of civilization and the Golden Age of Islam. In the past half-century alone, Iraqis have suffered under Saddam Hussein's dictatorship, the Gulf Wars, the Iran-Iraq War, and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. Today, however, many suggest that Iraq is a failed state and its problems with corruption, extremism, and sectarianism are unsolvable. I am the daughter of Iraqi immigrants. My parents speak fondly of their childhood and adolescence in Iraq, reminiscing on times of a booming economy, peaceful cooperation between Sunnis and Shias, a strong educational system, and great national pride. In their youth, they never imagined a future outside of Iraq. My grandfather eagerly returned to Iraq after completing his Ph.D. in physics at the University of California, Berkeley. My father's two older siblings, Abeer and Amir, were born in California and little did they know how lucky they were to hold United States citizenship.

My parents, on the other hand, lived in Yemen and New Zealand before finally reaching the United States. They fled Iraq in the early nineties due to the continued strife. My weekly phone calls with grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins in Baghdad are a constant reminder of the great privilege that it is to live in the US. If anything, that privilege is grounded in opportunity for movement, education, and security.

Serving the Orphan Charity Foundation in Baghdad, Iraq as a language teacher in 2016, I learned that the poor quality of Iraqi education left students behind in classes meeting as few as 8 hours a week with as many as 80 students in a class. I developed a lesson plan with English language segments, teaching key vocabulary sets including colors, animals, and geography. That

winter, after I returned to the United States, I raised 3,000 dollars to sponsor school-aged orphans basic necessities. I shared my experiences and the knowledge I gained regarding the Iraqi education system with my networks, raising awareness through social media posts, emails, and speaking events at Emory. Preparing for a visit to Iraq in August of 2018, I again fundraised and advocated for the Foundation. I called the manager and asked if she would like me to conduct English classes again. She said yes. Although needs did not always resonate with my cultural context, I learned the importance of trusting the community, asking the students and staff how best to address their educational demands.

I founded Baraka English School, which is located in the Kadhimiya neighborhood of Baghdad, in 2017 to provide consistent English instruction to a community who expressed need for it. I expanded upon the school-break English classes I developed into a weekly English school for 6th and 9th-grade orphans. In Iraq's system of standardized testing, students who fail English, fail the grade. This became a concern for students at the orphanage with the integration of English in the 1st as opposed to the 5th grade. When vulnerable students fail the 6th grade, they drop out, especially since only primary school is mandatory. I loved teaching the kids, but I knew they deserved support in a consistent English program so I invested in something more sustainable. Over the past three years, I have raised $20,000 dollars from 317 donors to provide food, shelter, and education for sixty orphans in the Baghdad area. I am determined to not only advocate for every child's right to learn, but to ensure that the Foundation maintains the financial resources to provide English education. Yet, I believe that it is necessary to be self-critical when serving others and considering both the intended and unintended outcomes of my work with Iraqi students. On one hand, I may be working to improve student outcomes in school. On the other hand, my work may reinforce imperialist structures.

I describe in detail my extent of my involvement with Baraka English School and participation in the English language education process in Iraq to make clarify my perspective as a practioner as well as a scholar. Moreover, my work in Iraq and relationships with Iraqis make it possible for me to better understand circumstances on the ground in the country. For example, I learned that public schools in Iraq were not operating in the fall from my partners at the Orphan Charity Foundation. My work with Baraka English School sparked my interest in learning about the relationship between education policy and national curriculum's impact on vulnerable students. My work in Iraq informs my thesis but in no way does my thesis validate it. If anything, I am criticizing the necessity for such programs via my thesis.

As a speaker and student of Arabic, Spanish, Persian, and English, I am committed to multilingualism as an important professional and personal skill. I am a native English speaker who chose to expend energy to learn additional languages. I have spent hours in language instruction courses, both in formal and informal settings. I speak the Iraqi dialect of Arabic with my family at home and abroad, but have pursued studies in the formal dialect, fusHa. The commonly spoken Arabic dialect groups are Egyptian, Iraqi, Yemeni, Gulf (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the U.A.E), Levantine (Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine, and Syria,) and North African Arabic. Within specific countries, however, styles of speech including vocabulary and accents may vary.

My language skills stem from economic, cultural and intellectual motivations, but in no way determine my access to immigration prospects, upward social mobility, or career pathways. This, however, was not the case for my parents, who grew up speaking Arabic in Baghdad, Iraq.

The experience an Iraqi child in the education system is largely dependent on their geographical location. Areas formerly under Daesh control are dealing with the complete

destruction of educational infrastructure, while those in Baghdad are concerned with teacher shortages.

The impacts of conflict on students and families alike cannot be understated. For many affected by conflict, having limited or interrupted education is the norm. The implications of educational interruption leave an entire generation of young people who are uniquely equipped to rebuild their home country, create peaceful solutions, and be part of a globalized world, in the dust. Iraqi students face significant obstacles to learning, including conflict that exaggerates the effects of socio-economic, gender, and cultural barriers to learning. The highest illiteracy rates present in Iraq are in former Daesh territory, as schools in those areas were repurposed as propaganda and military training centers for children of school age.[10] As students are displaced, education is interrupted at a high rate.

In Iraq, inadequate data exists regarding illiteracy and education quality due to war and disaster, with illiterate school-age children ranging from 14% to 50%. Although literacy centers created in the late 90s exist, they struggle to maintain operations with budgetary, staff, and security constraints and participation is at only 15% of the target population.[11] The educational expenditure is low compared to the Middle East neighbors; only 5.6% of Iraq's national budget was dedicated to education in 2016, compared to a worldwide average of 14.1%.[12] According to the Norwegian Refugee Council, the UN is behind on fundraising goals for Iraqi education,

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[10] Jane Arraf. "After 3 Years Under ISIS, Mosul's Children Go Back To School." NPR, October 9, 2017. https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/10/09/556532909/after-3-years-under-isis-mosuls-children-go-back-to-school.

[11] Mustafa Saadoun. "Why Has Illiteracy Rate Gone up in Iraq?" Al-Monitor, December 10, 2018. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/12/iraq-illiteracy-education-culture.html.

[12] Daniel Lehewych. "Top 10 Facts About Education in Iraq." The Borgen Project, August 10, 2018. https://borgenproject.org/education-in-iraq/.

having only raised half of the 35 million dollars needed.[13] Out of the almost million displaced children in Iraq over the past 10 years, half of the students were out of school.

For the purposes of this study, I acknowledge the differences between the two systems but will only focus on the education system controlled exclusively by the Iraqi government and the national government's policies and practices. Iraq's Ministry of Education releases the *minhaj*, which translates to curriculum in English, on an annual basis. Education policy in Iraq is often expressed via the release of the curriculum; for example, the shift from onset of English instruction from 5th grade to 3rd grade was made public through the curriculum.

I am excluding the Western region, where conflict with Daesh destroyed educational infrastructure and the Iraqi government has yet to stabilize the area, from my research scope. Additionally, my geographical scope will not include areas controlled by the Kurdish Regional Government, which uses Kurdish to instruct students while offering supplemental English, and to a lesser degree, Arabic.[14]

I also am aware and deeply concerned with the fact that in many rural areas of Iraq, young women are excluded from the education system all together. The gendered elements of education language policy are pressing, but they are not within the scope of my thesis.

LANGUAGE EDUCATION THEORY IN PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE

Literature Review

In the first half of the 1900s, the idea that any language, English included, would become a global lingua franca was not considered possible nor desirable. The establishment of

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[13] Tessa Fox."Rights Group: Iraq Education System on Brink of Collapse," November 2, 2019. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/10/rights-group-iraq-education-system-brink-collapse-191028180740513.html.

[14] Sulaf Al-Shaikhly and Jean Cui. "Education in Iraq: A WES Education System Profile." WENR, October 17, 2017. https://wenr.wes.org/2017/10/education-in-iraq.

international institutions like the United Nations, World Health Organization, and the World Bank made the adoption of a single lingua franca necessary to facilitate communication. Academic and business communities, too, have since adopted English as a lingua franca.

English as a global language is not a new phenomenon; throughout the entirety of the twentieth century it has been a global language that has been spread through colonization, conflict, and commerce. US hegemony in the last 20th century also contributed to the continued growth of English language education for non-native speakers worldwide.[15] English is distinct from other "dominant" languages in the way that its taught so widely around the world. Albert Du Swaan, a Dutch sociologist, refers to English as a "hypercentral" language.[16] Moreover, the pervasion of English in other languages is especially present in technological terms like "tweet" or "computer". English language hegemony continues to reinforce itself through labour demands buttressed by international corporations, popular culture, and use of English as the lingua franca in respected institutions like the United Nations. Blommaert writes that globalization's impact on societal understanding of language are "disabling rather than enabling, excluding rather than including, and repressing rather than liberating."[17]

Right now, there are 1.5 billion English learners in the world and 527 million native English speakers.[18] In comparison, there are 467 million native Arabic speakers and less than three million Arabic learners. English is situated as the language to learn in the 21st century, but there was once a time when French was similarly situated on the world stage. In Lebanon,

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[15] Jacob Mikanowski. "Behemoth, Bully, Thief: How the English Language Is Taking over the Planet." *The Guardian*, July 27, 2018, sec. News. https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/jul/27/english-language-global-dominance.
[16] Mikanowski, "Behemoth, Bully, Thief: How the English Language Is Taking over the Planet."
[17] Jan Blommaert,. *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 177..
[18] Rick Noack and Lazaro Gamio. "The World's Languages, in 7 Maps and Charts." The Washington Post, April 23, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/.

Algeria, Libya, and Morocco, all former French colonies, citizens still learn Arabic and French in state schools. In this literature review, I provide a post colonialist overview of various scholars', most importantly Paolo Freire, Elana Shohamy, Sarah Dryden-Peterson and Ingrid Piller, work on themes of language and education policy, colonialism, and globalization. Freire explains well the current short fallings of the education system that create barriers to an inclusive policymaking and education process. Elana Shohamy highlights the need for reexamination of test contents, particularly when it comes to linguistic elements. Sarah Dryden-Peterson, along with many others in the literature review, calls attention to the absolute necessity of surveying local communities when considering educational reforms. Piller was foundational in my understanding of English's double-sided nature as something with the potential to both empower and disadvantage.

Education Language Policy

Language policy reaches far beyond local contexts and also says a great deal about a country's identity on the international stage, alliances, ideologies, aspirations, and history. Since education language policy is set at the national level via methods like official language proclamation, it is inflexible to state or province demands or needs.

Education language policy falls at the intersection of a number of political, social, and economic considerations in both national and international settings. Education language policy, also known as language-in-education policy, language education policy, and language policy in education, is a subset of this area of study that involves policies which determine the use of language in the educational sphere, particularly schools. While one would hope that language

education policy is grounded in pedagogical considerations backed by research regarding language acquisition, it most often is shaped by frequently changing political motives.[19]

Languages have both individual and societal roles; they are both important but serve separate functions.[20] The emphasis of national language education policy is on language's societal functions like workforce development or nation-building. The individual's need for language to communicate with their families and read sacred texts warrants protection as well. Language policy and planning (LPP) can be either positive or negative. Positive language planning expands to a number of linguistic options, while negative language planning limits the number of linguistic options.[21]

Language policy shapes the landscape of who has access to information, social services, citizenship, the job market, etcetera. It serves to exclude some and include others. In an era of globalization, English and to a lesser degree economically advantageous languages like Chinese and German, are necessary for continued international communication.[22] Local languages' economic usefulness is, as it always has been, limited geographically and thus speakers of uncommonly spoken languages are expected to learn secondary languages. The global rush to learn English relies on the assumption that the language will become increasingly valuable in an ever more globalized world.

Every single country in the world has a public education system that is regulated by government bureaucracy. Despite its public sector status, education is being commercialized

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[19]Elana Goldberg Shohamy, *Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2006), 92.
[20] Fishman, Joshua A. "Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia; Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism." *Journal of Social Issues* 23, no. 2 (April 1967), 29. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1967.tb00573.x.
[21] Petrovic, *A Post-Liberal Approach to Language Policy in Education*, 2.
[22] Shohamy, *Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches*, 37.

rapidly as indicated by increased attention to key performance indicators, view of students and parents as consumers, and data acquired from auditing.[23] In Habermas, Crtical Theory, and Social Education, many scholars make use of Habermas' socio-political theories to distinguish public sector institutions from private sector ones, particularly with respect to the public sector's role as the foundation of the ethical "lifeworld" of a democratic society that supports discourse and continued societal improvement.[24] Scholars such as Saumen Chattopadhyay argue that primary education should be viewed as a public good[25].

Habermas understands that the public sector or sphere is the most effective place for critical discourse regarding societal problems and potential solutions should occur. This type of exchange was the process through which public knowledge and rationale was created, which was buttressed by the existence of public authority, the government.[26] Although many of the writers I have employed in my literature review are postcolonial thinkers, I affirm that the Iraqi government is now chiefly responsible for providing an education for its citizens. Still, this education must be supported by those within the public sphere, which includes individuals within and outside of the territorial bounds of Iraq.

Although the policy itself is set by the national government, the international political scheme in an era of globalization undoubtedly influences what is in the curriculum. Kaplan and Baldauf define language policy as policies that are "intended to achieve a planned change (or to

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[23]Mark Murphy and Ted Fleming, eds., *Habermas, Critical Theory and Education*, Routledge International Studies in the Philosophy of Education 22 (New York: Routledge, 2010). 80.
[24] Ibid, 8.
[25]Saumen Chattopadhyay, *Education as a Public Good* (Oxford University Press, 2012), https://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198082255.001.0001/acprof-9780198082255-chapter-6.
[26] James Bohman and William Rehg, "Jürgen Habermas," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Fall 2017 (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2017), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/habermas/

stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities."[27] Kaplan and Baldauf touch on the potent power of language to transform communities and Flores articulates how to ensure that change is for the better.

Nelson Flores builds upon Jean Anyon's article "What "Counts" as Educational Policy? Notes toward a New Paradigm" and advocates for the expansion of the definition of language education policy beyond curricular and pedagogical elements towards an approach that addresses the significant macro-economic and political forms of oppression to language minority communities, including, racial and economic issues.[28] Bilingual education programs should be implemented as a package deal with community revitalization projects and affirmative action policies, not as isolated programming. An incredibly successful, inclusive, and culturally relevant bilingual education curriculum does not serve those who are ultimately segregated to low-income communities with no prospect of earning a living wage.[29]

While Flores and Anyon are reflecting on the American context, their discussion is relevant to the Iraqi case and even pushes me to be self-critical of my own study of English language instruction. For one, the practice of teaching millions of young Iraqis English while simultaneously supporting an oppressive military industrial complex that is at the beck and call of corporate interests serves no good to Iraqis. The increased emphasis on English education is not correlated with an increase in jobs offered by Iraqi or regional companies requiring English in Iraq; rather, the only opportunities to use English are internationally facing, taking select few

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[27] Robert B. Kaplan and Richard B. Baldauf, *Language Planning from Practice to Theory*, Multilingual Matters 108 (Clevedon, [Eng.] ; Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1997), 3.
[28]Nelson Flores and Sofia Chaparro, "What Counts as Language Education Policy? Developing a Materialist Anti-Racist Approach to Language Activism," *Language Policy* 17, no. 3 (August 2018): 365–84, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-017-9433-7.
[29]Jean Anyon, "What 'Counts' as Educational Policy? Notes toward a New Paradigm," *Harvard Educational Review* 75, no. 1 (April 2005): 65–88, https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.75.1.g1q5k721220ku176.

English-speaking Iraqis out of their local context. Flores is also critical of the use of terms like "native speaker" that serve to further delegitimize communities for something they were born with: a mother tongue.

Scholars have articulated the many stakeholders involved in the education language policy process, including politicians, teachers, school administrators, etc. Local populations, including students and parents, are necessary stakeholders that are often left out. In "Slicing the Onion Ethnographically," Nancy Hornberger and David Cassels Johnson discuss how ethnography can illuminate new approaches to language policy and planning. The authors use different layers of an onion as a useful metaphor for all the different moving parts to the language policy and planning (LPP) process: teachers, administrators, policies.[30] They emphasize the need to acknowledge local communities, understand communities to better align national policy with local education realities.[31] Understanding communities is difficult, as there is significant variation even from neighborhood to neighborhood. In the Iraqi case, increased investment in research is needed at both the national and local level in order to assess the necessary reforms in a manner informed by quantitative evidence. Policymakers have the duty to survey their constituents and assess their curricular mandates in a manner inclusive of stakeholders.

Attention towards how different types of language policy may appear to the Iraqis it is being imposed on is essential and calls for an understanding of how language is used locally in Iraqi society. Fishman defines diglossia as a circumstance when "society used two (or more)

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[30] Nancy H. Hornberger, and David Cassels Johnson. "Slicing the Onion Ethnographically: Layers and Spaces in Multilingual Language Education Policy and Practice." *TESOL Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (September 2007): 528.

[31] Hornberger and Johnson. "Slicing the Onion Ethnographically: Layers and Spaces in Multilingual Language Education Policy and Practice," 510.

languages for internal (intra-society) communication."[32] The two languages are often separated as high and low languages. The high language is used for high culture, including religion and education, while the low language is used for "everyday pursuits of hearth, home and work."[33] In the Iraqi context, diglossia is not the status quo for most communities. The typical lines of separation between high and low ring true with Arabic, as the modern standard form of Arabic is used in classroom writing, on news networks, and in religious texts. However, the strong influence of religion on Arabic blurs the lines between high and low, as religious words and phrases from religious texts are casually used in everyday life.

Elana Shohamy pays special attention to testing methods in her text "Assessing Multilingual Competencies: Adopting Construct Valid Assessment Policies." The contents included in tests should reflect the expected outcomes from language education, like reading comprehension, grammar, communication skills, and vocabulary. Monolingualism is the default testing scheme, creating a hierarchy of knowledge where monolingual is superior to multilingual. Shohamy argues that countries use language testing as an extension of reinforcing the linguistic status quo while neglecting the many practical benefits to multilingualism.[34]

In Iraq, there is a strong emphasis on high stakes, standardized testing, which occurs at 3-year intervals. English is included as a core subject on said standardized tests, yet access to English education is not equal across the country. The decision to test in a particular language, like that of national or official language policies, is not random. In this case, the language of dominance most often aligns with the preference of the elite class.[35] Thus, the test exists as a

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[32] Ibid, 29.
[33] Ibid, 30.
[34]Elana Shohamy, "Assessing Multilingual Competencies: Adopting Construct Valid Assessment Policies," *The Modern Language Journal* 95, no. 3 (September 2011): 418–29, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01210.x., 418.
[35] Petrovic, *A Post-Liberal Approach to Language Policy in Education*, 2.

self-perpetuating form of social closure in which advantaged students perform better than disadvantaged ones, which reinforces their career outcomes and social class.

Regardless of test performance, there is a spectrum of language proficiency that is not easily accepted or understood in society that does not fall within the beginner, intermediate, advanced, and native range. When students are taught poorly via bilingual programming, they sometimes end up speaking neither language in the standardized, formal form of a language that might be tested in a test like the TOEFL. In many cases, even individuals who speak a language as their mother tongue fluently are cast off as lesser due to an accent or vernacular. Sociolinguistic notions of what type of speech, vocabulary, and grammar is proper is largely determined by the dominant class, which further perpetuates inequality.[36] Even when non-native speakers master English in terms of reading, writing, comprehension, and speech, their English is deemed lesser than that of an American or a British person. This, is where colonialist legacies gain visibility.

Colonialist Legacies

Whereas colonial rule is no longer the status quo in the Middle East, it left a stain on the region. In Iraq, British colonialism turned into American imperialism. While multinational forces led by the United States occupying Iraq were initially in place under the wishes of the Iraqi government, the Iraqi government has attempted to expel American troops since 2006. As a matter of fact, Prime Minister Nour Al-Maliki sent a formal letter to the multinational forces via the UN Security Council in 2006 regarding an extension of their placement in the country. By 2007, many Iraqi parliamentary officials were sending letters asking for terms of the occupied

[36]Jan Blommaert, *State Ideology and Language in Tanzania*, 2nd and rev. ed ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 128.

forces' withdrawal.[37] The stamp of Western influence on the region, whether through war, language, or media, is long lasting.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, a Finnish linguist, asserts that forcing linguistic minority students to learn in a dominant language which results in lesser educational outcomes is a violation of their linguistic human rights (LHR) and right to education. She advocates for increased attention to LHRs as a way to: "promote integration and defend people against forced assimilation; promote conflict prevention, and promote positive state policies toward minority languages.[38]

In his book A Post-Liberal Approach to Language Policy in Education, John Petrovic offers an anti-capitalist view of language policy which prioritizes localized needs above national security or economic goals as an alternative to Tove Skutnabb-Kangas' linguistic human rights theory.[39] Education policy, even bilingual, is often commodified to suit the interests of the language majority group. Petrovic emphasizes the importance of contexts of choice to provide agency to communities burdened with voluntary or involuntary language-based cultural shifts.[40] Moreover, education policy, even bilingual, has become commodified to suit the interests of the language-majority group.

Ingrid Piller writes in her book Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice: An Introduction to Applied Sociolinguistics that English instruction is both the problem and the solution in many developing contexts. She describes the psychological and social messaging engrained in its

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[37] Nour Al-Maliki. "Annex to the Letter Dated 14 November 2006 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council," November 14, 2006.
[38]Tove Skutnabb-Kangas. "Language Policy and Linguistic Human Rights." In *Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*. Hoboken, United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2005. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/emory/detail.action?docID=238355, 285.
[39] Petrovic, John E. *A Post-Liberal Approach to Language Policy in Education*. New Perspectives on Language and Education 41. Bristol ; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters, 2015, 117.
[40] Petrovic, *A Post-Liberal Approach to Language Policy in Education*, 118.

implementation: one's mother tongue is not enough and progression in society requires an additional tongue. At the same time, those who successfully learn English at the expense of locally relevant skills like farming or carpentry will forever live with the "cognitive dissonance" that the global language did not, as promised, create opportunity for them.[41] The lack of return on investment not only impacts the individual, but the local, non-English speaking community they come from. Linguistic diversity has existed since humans have, yet it can and does serve as a means to perpetuate inequality via linguistic subordination and stratification.[42] Peter Ives writes a particular potent passage on the matter:

> The 'imposition' of (or supposed 'choice' to learn) any dominant language can be detrimental to subaltern groups because it can further submerge critical consciousness. It can hinder the struggle against oppression and suppression. Learning English, or any dominant language, is not itself inherently detrimental in the abstract, but the context in which it occurs often means that it helps to reinforce the psychological, social and cultural fragmentation. Thus, a 'global language' like English can never fulfil the role cosmopolitanism sets for it, that of helping those marginalized and oppressed by 'globalization' to be heard.[43]

English's positioning as the language of oppressive systems of anglo-hegemonies carries weight that crushes the intrinsic value of emic languages like Arabic. Moreover, its positioning within oppressive structures steals linguistic agency and choice, nor is said positioning a neutral phenomenon. Robert Phillipson, an English scholar, coined the term English linguistic imperialism, arguing that English was intentionally promoted by English-speaking countries that wanted to establish a hierarchy of languages in which English was on top.[44] Sociolinguist David

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[41] Ingrid Piller. *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice: An Introduction to Applied Sociolinguistics*. First edition. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016, 197..
[42] Piller, *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice: An Introduction to Applied Sociolinguistics,* 17.
[43] Peter Ives, "Cosmopolitanism and Global English: Language Politics in Globalisation Debates." *Political Studies* 58, no. 3 (June 2010): 516–35. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2009.00781.x, 530.
[44] Phillipson, Robert. "Linguistic Imperialism." In *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*, 2. American Cancer Society, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal0718.pub2.

Crystal, on the other hand, argues that English was not promoted deliberately, rather its dominance is an outcome of English-speaking countries' growing power.[45]

David Crystal also outlines the dangers of global English as linguistic power (the creation of linguistic elites), complacency (the elimination of non-English language learning), and death (the disappearance of minority languages). "A language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country," writes Crystal. Spanish, for example, is the mother-tongue in the largest number of countries globally, but it does not claim English's "special role," defined as official language status or foreign language medium of instruction use. Crystal argues that global language status is about who speaks a language rather than how many speak a language, pointing to the existence of language within power structures. Crystal writes about the difficulty of discussing "global English" apolitically but emphasizes two guiding principles: the fundamental value of a common language and the fundamental value of multilingualism. He does not see common language and multilingualism as mutually exclusive and emphasizes that everyone in the world should be at least bilingual.

M. Obaidul Hamid claims "the early introduction of English in Asia is driven by national desires to take advantage of English in turning citizens into human capital who can participate in a post-industrial knowledge economy for individual mobility and social and economic development."[46] Hamid, an applied linguistics and Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) scholar, understands English medium instruction policy as aligning with

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[45] David Crystal, "Why a Global Language?" In *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge University Press, 2012, 23.

[46] M. Obaidul Hamid, "The Politics of Language in Education in a Global Polity," in *The Handbook of Global Education Policy* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2016), 260, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118468005.ch14.

national economic priorities; still, some citizens also personally seek out English in order to maximize their employment and mobility opportunities.[47]

Janina Brutt-Griffler asserts that English's emergence as a global language has lifted it out of a purely Western or American context; she writes "English owes its existence as a world language in large part to the struggle against imperialism, not to imperialism alone."[48] Unlike Hamid, she does not view the rise of English as a result of government, foreign or national, imposition, but of the will of the people. She counters the narrative that millions of non-native English speakers worldwide submitted to English passively, rather, they had agency in their linguistic decision to learn the language.[49] But what of this so-called linguistic choice? School children's opinion on language learning is not collected, nor does a child consent to learning a foreign language. Parents, depending on personal resources, may have limited choice when it comes to school choice: private or public, EMI or native-language instruction, etcetera. This choice may be equipped by parents in the case that they are in the financial position to afford private school, tutoring, or extracurricular programming; for the majority, linguistic choice is a luxury they cannot afford.

Education language policy is easily manipulated to discriminate against and/or forcibly assimilate individuals on a national scale. Language education policy is reflective of the dominant group and their social, economic, and political interests. In this paper, I use Iraq as a case study; Iraq is not only a postcolonial, but a post-conflict nation. When I began my thesis research, I was struck by how well Sarah Dryden-Peterson of Harvard University discussed the

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[47] Ibid, 260.
[48] Janina Brutt-Griffler. *World English: A Study of Its Development*. Bilingual Education and Bilingualism 34. Clevedon, UK ; Buffalo [N.Y.]: Multilingual Matters, 2002, 1.
[49] Janina Brutt-Griffler. *World English: A Study of Its Development,* 3.

particular ways in which educational interventions in post-conflict countries should be carried out.

Sarah Dryden-Peterson criticizes the "humanitarian" approach to education policy in post-conflict settings, stating that it falls short of the long-term investment required to provide an education of quality for students and the post-conflict countries. She emphasizes the importance of institution building that involves consultation of local needs and careful attention to existing and potential inequality. She criticizes the creation of short-term curriculums by international actors without consultation of local groups.[50]

In Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Pablo Freire defines the banking approach to education as a process through which the teacher deposits knowledge into children without their consent nor their input, squashing their creative abilities in the process.[51] This, Freire argues, acts as a nearly insurmountable obstacle to their "vocation to truly become human." He suggests a discourse-based education as a means through which to humanize the education process, one that requires the consultation of local groups Dryden-Peterson writes of. Students are given absolutely no agency when it comes to curricular choice. In the Iraqi case, their educational oppression is dealt by both the Iraqi government's education policies and that of anglo-hegemonic structures. Moreover, opportunities to engage in said discourse-based education are severely limited if participants are hindered by a non-native language.

The consequences of curricular missteps in the educational process are dire, as the need for education is dire. John Dewey defines education, both formal and informal, as the social foundation of human life. He also argues that communication is the ultimate transmission vehicle

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[50]Sarah Dryden-Peterson, "Policies for Education in Conflict and Post-Conflict Reconstruction," in *The Handbook of Global Education Policy* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2016), 189–205, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118468005.ch10.

[51] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 30th anniversary ed (New York: Continuum, 2000), 75.

for education.[52] Language serves as a barrier to communication, particularly in settings where English Medium Instruction is used. Language barriers can be surpassed more effectively by parents with financial and social capital.

The child is penalized for not regurgitating what is deposited into them as is appropriate on assessments, standardized or otherwise. In particular, the English instruction required in non-English settings is an imposition of the ruling class on the masses that is ultimately not relevant for all. Giroux, expanding on Freire's work in, On Critical Pedagogy, writes of education as a labor of emancipation. He distinguishes critical pedagogy by both process and outcomes, rejecting "skills tied to market trends' in favor of positioning students to imagine and actualize a better world.[53] Capitalism's influence on language education trends and norms is evident globally, but the United States provides an interesting case.

In the U.S., there were generally positive attitudes towards the use of European languages prior to World War I with a key exception: slaves were not allowed to use their native languages. Prior to the first World War, German-English bilingual schools were accepted. After World War I, a wave of anti-foreign language sentiment spread across the US. By 1919, 34 states restricted teaching foreign languages in schools.[54] Ironically, Spanish is taught as a 'foreign language' in the United States, despite the fact that it was spoken before English. Particularly in English dominant contexts, cultural notions of bilingual education are mixed: it's seen as a good thing for

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[52] Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education.* New York: Macmillan, 1916. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/852/852-h/852-h.htm.

[53] Henry A. Giroux, *On Critical Pedagogy*, Critical Pedagogy Today (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), 158.

[54] Terrence G. Wiley and Ofelia García. "Language Policy and Planning in Language Education: Legacies, Consequences, and Possibilities." *The Modern Language Journal* 100, no. S1 (January 2016): 48–63. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12303.

students of high socioeconomic status to get bilingual education, but bad for poorer students.[55] For example, wealthy parents pay extra to enroll their students into bilingual private schools that will provide their child language skill, while providing the same service to English Language Learners in American public schools is unpopular. These trends shift according to overarching international circumstances.

James Tollefson describes the shift with regards to English instruction that took place upon regime change from the pro-Western Shah Pahlavi's rule to conservative Islamic Ayatollah Khomenei's. Upon the shift, English language's presence in the education was minimized, non-national English speakers were expelled, and English was painted as Trojan Horse for Western brainwashing. Societal institutions rules and expectations are an extension of the ruling class' interests, which often serve to reinforce social inequality and further constrain individuals' linguistic agency.[56]

Even the United States, a settler-colonial nation, continually works to essentially colonize its residents via language education policy. In the Middle East, even if national governments have technically gained sovereignty, they have not reclaimed service of their nation. Rather, their policy stances are aligned with international capitalist and business interests.

Globalization

Much of the discussion surrounding English centers around globalization, which is very much a reinvention of the world's colonial past via capitalism. What global challenges might students be unable to meet without knowledge of English? According to Statista, 20% of the

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[55]Valerie Strauss. "Why Is Bilingual Education 'Good' for Rich Kids but 'Bad' for Poor, Immigrant Students?" Washington Post. Accessed October 24, 2019. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2014/10/24/why-is-bilingual-education-good-for-rich-kids-but-bad-for-poor-immigrant-students/.

[56] Tollefson, "Planning Language, Planning Inequality," 234.

world speaks English, while 4.8% of global population claims English as a native language. The universal language of science is English, for example, and without knowledge of English, many students cannot access educational opportunities in STEM fields, since instructional textbooks do not exist in Swahili, Arabic, or other languages. Native English-speakers are better connected to the science community and scientific information, with approximately 80% of content in Scopus, the world's largest peer-reviewed scientific literature database, published in English.[57]

John Ralston Saul argues that globalization is failing and in light of rising populism and nationalism, the nation-state is reclaiming its authority as the policymaker and enforcer in its sovereign territory.[58] Globalization did not successfully establish a new international order with increased attention to human rights or civil liberties; its evolution centered around capitalist advancement of corporations.

Nita Rudra adheres to the "race to the bottom" theory of globalization, which focuses on how multinational corporations exploit the lenient social policies, particularly labor policies, in developing countries at the expense of the poorest in society. Scholars like William W. Olney, however, dispute the theory, arguing that there is a lack of empirical evidence to support it.[59]

Transnational citizens, who emigrate from their home country at some point in life, occupy a special space in language policy debate.[60] Since the 1960s, immigration of educated professionals to developed countries like the United States, Germany, and the United Kingdom

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[57]Daphne van Weijen, "The Language of (Future) Scientific Communication - Research Trends," November 2012, https://www.researchtrends.com/issue-31-november-2012/the-language-of-future-scientific-communication/.
[58]John Ralston Saul, *The Collapse of Globalism: And the Reinvention of the World* (Woodstock: Overlook Press, 2005), 35.
[59] William W. Olney, "A Race to the Bottom? Employment Protection and Foreign Direct Investment," *Journal of International Economics* 91, no. 2 (November 2013): 191–203, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jinteco.2013.08.003, 29.
[60] Piller, *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice*, 36.

has tripled.[61] Transnationals are first-generation immigrants in a new country that may be home to a new dominant language; in order to succeed in a new country, they must master this additional language. These transnationals are members of the select few who won the globalization lottery, but are also required to make difficult linguistic decisions related to the maintenance of a cultural identity that may be unwelcome professionally or socially in a new country.

Piller and Hamid, introduced earlier in the literature review, presenting differing perspectives on the English and globalization debate. While Hamid emphasizes the economic benefits of English recognized by both governments and individuals especially in Asian countries, Piller argues that those benefits do not always outweigh the opportunity costs of language acquisition. However, the benefits of learning English rarely materialize with Iraqi companies or even within the territorial bounds of the country. Rather, the language serves to extract Iraqis from their local context. In the next section, I introduce the perspectives of Djebar, Saadawi, and Said, for whom foreign language use acted as a vehicle for international renown, but somehow estranged them from their indigenous context.

Djebar, Saadawi, and the Language of the Oppressor

In writing my thesis, I identified a lack of research on my topic of concern conducted in English by individuals who had actually experienced the Iraqi (or Middle Eastern) education system. I am consistently critical of failures to include emic voices. Not integrating Arab voices would contradict one of the major points I am making: the perspectives of people whom the policy directly impacts should be prioritized. Thus, I included a critical literary analysis of three

[61]Frédéric Docquier, "The Brain Drain from Developing Countries," *IZA World of Labor*, 2014, https://doi.org/10.15185/izawol.31, 1.

prominent Arab writers' work touching on their experience with foreign language, particularly English and French, instruction.

Reading Assia Djebar's Women of Algiers in Their Apartment, Edward Said's "Living in Arabic" and Nawal El Saadawi's The Essential Nawal El Saadawi: A Reader, my understanding of the value of the Western language and native language were each important in different ways to different individuals. In Djebar's case, writing in French usurped the patriarchal oppression of Algerian society. As an Algerian, Muslim woman of Berber origin, she was educated in French in the mid-20th century, when instruction in Arabic was forbidden.[62] Unlike Djebar, Saadawi was educated and writes in Modern Standard Arabic, also known as FusHa. She escaped her local confines through a translator. Maybe, if she had written in English from the start, she could have liberated herself. Said, on the other hand, received formal instruction in English and thus built his professional life in English-speaking contexts: books, essays, and American universities.

This begs the questions: If Saadawi had written in English, what would she have lost? Who is she writing for? What does Djebar gain from writing in French? Did Said earn an advantage due to his English instruction? Language painted a visible mark on their lives, yet they had no choice as to which language would be their dominant one. This linguistic decision is left to parents, the colonizer, or the home government.

In Women of Algiers in Their Apartment, Assia Djebar writes "Once I used to think that going from colloquial Arabic to French would bring a loss of all that was truly alive."[63] Djebar is an Algerian postcolonial and feminist writer who has contributed to scholarship on women's writing movements. Djebar's text highlights a case in which native and non-native languages

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[62]Leslie Camhi, "Discovering Liberation in French," *The New York Times*, March 4, 2000, sec. Books, https://www.nytimes.com/2000/03/04/books/discovering-liberation-in-french.html.
[63]Assia Djebar, *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment* (Charlottesville, London: University Press of Virginia, 1999), https://www.worldcat.org/title/women-of-algiers-in-their-apartment/oclc/318361609, 2.

interact in adult life; her instruction and writing in French as opposed to her native language, Arabic, served as both an advantage and disadvantage.

Her novel is a collection of short stories highlighting female experiences in Algeria before, after, and during independence from French colonial rule. Several themes emerge in the text: language is political, colonialism has irreversible and disastrous impacts on the French and Algerians, and violence against women is both perpetrated by the colonized men and colonizer men. She equates the oppression embedded in language as losing what is truly alive. Throughout the text, she writes of the beautiful and poetic qualities of colloquial Arabic. Yet, Djebar elected to write the piece in French, the language of the oppressor. Her mention of colloquial Arabic reminded me of the difference between colloquial and formal varieties of the language. I realized that French (or English) Medium Instruction used in Algeria (or elsewhere) would first endanger formal Arabic, which is traditionally taught in schools, and then colloquial Arabic.

Her complicated relationship with language is frequently discussed in her many essays and novels. In Women of Algiers in their Apartments, characters Aicha and Hafsa touch on the potential power multilingualism can offer dampened by the patriarchal influences in a taught worldview:

> 'I don't need to learn French,' I answered. 'What purpose would it serve? Father has taught us all our language. That's all you need,' he always says.
>
> 'It's useful to know languages other than your own,' Hafsa said slowly. 'It's like knowing other people, other countries.' I didn't answer. Perhaps she was right."[64]

Hafsa plays an important role in the novel as one of the few educated women. She, a refugee like Aicha, defies social norms by working outside the home as a teacher; her husband is

[64] Djebar, *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment*. 68.

dead and she must make income somehow, despite her mother's scoldings. In this particular passage, the narrator is distraught by her circumstances; her dead husband is not yet buried and her Father has already found suitors for her to be remarried. Aicha urges the bereaved woman to "stop thinking" and suggests Hafsa provide French instruction to the narrator, not her.[65] The connection between rebellion against the patriarchy and acquisition of education is clear. Hafsa is the only person who understands her as she screams, "I don't want to marry [...] to stay at home and sit and pretend."[66] Yet, the narrator sees herself as irreconcilably different than Hafsa, who "was too knowledgeable for me."[67] Knowledge, rebellious thought, and the language of the oppressor are interlinked here; language creates a new avenue for female thought previously unexplored in Arabic. The narrator's thinking is akin to subverting the status quo. Hafsa advocates for subversion of the patriarchy via French education by the "we" that represents women, yet she is alienated from the other women in the novel due to both her knowledge and singleness.

The other women in the novel, tightly controlled by the male figures along with complicit women, are not heard. The narrator is married off to a scholar, with his own wealth of academic knowledge, who does not (nor does his mother) hesitate to marry her despite her opposition to marriage. Her words hold no weight next to the Father's intention to have his daughter remarry or the groom's desire to be married. Only the groom's mother, whose age has granted her authority could have stop the marriage from proceeding. She does nothing.

Djebar writes of the male figures as the teacher and master of the women in a way that is reminiscent of Freire's description of the banking form of education. Aicha understands that her

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[65] Djebar, *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment*. 67.
[66] Djebar, *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment*. 72.
[67] Djebar, *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment*. 73.

Father is the rightful depositor of knowledge in her education; he taught her Arabic, but not enough to crave more knowledge. Freire writes "the capability of banking education to minimize or annul the students' creative power and to stimulate the credulity serves the interests of the oppressors, who neither care to have the world revealed nor see it transformed."[68] Djebar's book raised a few questions: If the Algerian men are liberated from the French, but the Algerian women have yet to be liberated from the Algerian men, is the language of the colonizer the potential language of subversion for women?

There is a distinction between efforts to teach French and English. L'académie française, a French government institution, works to promote the French language. The French viewed Algeria as a child, holding up French culture and language as superior. There was and is no such government body whose mission is so far-reaching in the British government; the most commonly-known and far reaching entity that works to teach students English is the British Council, which is technically a public charity independent of the UK government. Their purpose statement includes a goal to " develop a wider knowledge of the English language." Yet, the British Council also writes the following on their website: "Our priority is to deliver value for the UK and we are committed to strategically aligning our work to the long-term international priorities of the UK. We support the broad long-term international policy interests and priorities of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, other relevant UK government departments and the devolved governments in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland." Thus, like the French, the Brits view English language expansion within their strategic interests, particularly on the international political arena.

[68] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 73.

Said, who grew up in British-occupied Palestine, writes of his schooling by the colonizing power: "For the first 15 years of my life I lived exclusively in Arabic-speaking countries, although I went only to English-speaking colonial schools, administered either by one or other church missionary group or by the secular British Council. Classical Arabic was taught in my schools, of course, but it remained of the order of a local equivalent of Latin, ie a dead and forbidding language."[69] The teaching of English is not a standalone soft power phenomenon. It is intentional and relies on consistent support from formal institutions like the British Council. Said recalls with embarrassment his first public speech in Arabic, having been approached by a "young relative of mine [..] after I had finished to tell me how disappointed he was that I hadn't been more eloquent."[70]

Said also highlights the important differences between Classical Arabic and colloquial Arabic. Classical Arabic, also known as Modern Standard or FusHa, is the language of the Quran, press, literature, and academy. This is an example of what Fishman describes as diglossia, when speakers use two languages concurrently in the same society; each language has its individual functions in society.[71] Most writers write in this formal form. Saadawi and Djebar are both critical of Islamic reign over the Arab world and cite its influence as violent towards women. For them, formal Arabic then carries an unforgivable baggage. The use of formal Arabic has the power of drawing one away from their local, familiar context and into a world governed by Islamic rules they deem to be oppressive. However, Modern Standard Arabic is understood to

[69]Edward Said, "Living in Arabic," *Al-Ahram Weekly*, February 12, 2004, http://www.mlfcham.com/v1/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1490&Itemid=2015.
[70] Said, "Living in Arabic."
[71] Joshua A. Fishman, "Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia; Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism," *Journal of Social Issues* 23, no. 2 (April 1967), https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1967.tb00573.x, 30.

be the language shared by all Arabs; it is used especially when colloquial forms of Arabic are too different to be understood by speakers of two different Middle East regions.

Colloquial Arabic is spoken by Arabic speakers on the street and in informal contexts. Dialects vary greatly by country and Middle Eastern region, each carrying connotations of nationality and regional ties with them. English or French Medium Instruction comes at the expense of Classical Arabic, rather than colloquial Arabic, which is the language spoken within the family. In core coursework and examinations in the academic curriculum, Modern Standard Arabic is used. Thus, its replacement with English via EMI means that the Modern Standard form is lost.

In her text, "Writing and Freedom," Saadawi writes: "This was the first book of mine to be translated into a foreign language.[72] With it, I stepped out of local bounds, to an English readership and then to different languages. From 1980 until now, in 1992, sixteen of my works, have been published. My books are now read everywhere in the world. This is how I escaped my local confines" (Saadawi 136). She wrote her first novel in 1958, yet her first text was translated more than two decades later. In that time, Saadawi, a doctor by training, faced consequences for her feminist writing; she was removed from her position at the Egyptian Ministry of Health and jailed for her text Women and Sex. The Egyptian feminist writer and postcolonial scholar, refuses to write in the English language.[73] "I am still ignored by big literary powers in the world, because I write in Arabic, and also because I am critical of the colonial, capitalist, racist, patriarchal mindset of the superpowers," she told Zahrah Nesbitt-Ahmed of the New African

[72]Nawal Sadawi and Adele S. Newson- Horst, "Writing and Freedom," in *The Essential Nawal El Saadawi: A Reader*, Zed Essential Feminists (London ; New York : New York: Zed Books; Distributed in the USA exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 129–39.
[73]"Nawal El Saadawi," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed November 4, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Nawal-El-Saadawi.

magazine. Writing in her native language allows her to directly critique the patriarchy in the language they best understand.

For Djebar and Saadawi alike, the translation or writing of their texts to English or French was the avenue through which they achieved a global readership. The power beholden to women who learn a colonial language may far exceed that alloted to men who do the same. Their criticisms of Arab society under a patriarchal system in which it was deemed improper or scandalous for women to publish their private writings meant that they faced barriers to joining the male-dominated Middle Eastern literature scene. The oppressor's language was their liberation. The Western language translated into protection from state violence or forced disappearance by the watchful eye of readers far away. It promised greater economic bounty. Djebar's decision to write in French had implications in terms of readership and reach she would never be able to foresee.

Native English speakers, on the other hand, are under no burden to make a difficult linguistic decision. Women like Nawal Al-Saadawi and Assia Djebar are forced to make a difficult choice. Although I assert that linguistic choice is a right any person should have, I grapple with the things that make the decision process painful. Djebar, Saadawi, and Said all became prominent writers despite the mark of language on their education. The problem is not, at its root, the study of a secondary language. Historically and presently, the implementer of foreign medium instruction perpetuates violence via their policies for schools like the criminalization of the native language. Historically, that violence has often been carried out by a colonizing force, but today, particularly in Iraq, where American teachers of English fled during Saddam's reign, that violence is in the hands of a fellow citizen.

Even when a foreign language is taught as a core subject, the subject matter is not a content-free curriculum. Painstaking efforts are taking to include culture and pertinent vocabulary in such textbooks. At the same time, the economic or social potential of a Western language, albeit a reflection of our imperialist world, unlocks power for students in Middle Eastern context. There are tangible benefits to learning English: increased access to information, ability to communicate with a global scholarly community, and increased mobility.

"Excuse Me" by Rola Saad

The presence of English in Iraqi life is also referenced in pop culture. Rola Saad is a Lebanese pop singer. In Rola Saad's song "Excuse Me", which has over 2.5 million views on YouTube, she sings the following, which I have translated from Arabic to English:[74]

"Do not say "excuse me" (in English)

And please forgive me

I do not like English, my dear

Woo me in a language I can understand

[...]

Teach me, oh educated man,

We don't need a translator"

In the lyrics, she dismisses the use of English in her romantic life and expresses a desire for "a love that cannot be translated." I discussed above the potential value of English in career-related contexts. Its teaching in the classroom, however, spills over into daily life in a number of ways. General attitudes towards English language are important to the discussion of how the language is taught in schools. The language carries connotations of upper class status supported

[74]Rola Saad, *Excuse Me*, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_K2PmNUhlVs.

by Western cultural power, but Saad rejects it in her lyrics, singing "The foreigner does not affect me." The man who is pursuing her is described as educated and cultured, presumably due to his mastery of English. This song and its lyrics are emblematic of what many describe as the fundamental issue regarding English proficiency in the Middle East region; the language has not gained traction as a medium of communication and its perceived utility is low.

Middle Eastern countries' attitudes towards Western culture are complex. In many cases, Western language, media, beauty standards, and culture are viewed as upscale and trendy. According to Mohamad Kashmar et al's paper "Consensus Opinions on Facial Beauty and Implications for Aesthetic Treatment in Middle Eastern Women," Western beauty standards have had a strong influence on Middle Eastern ones.[75] Ironically, Rola Saad's westernized physical appearance as seen via her blond hair is contradictory to her song's message.

In a Pew Research Survey on Muslim attitudes towards Western countries, they found that Muslims often attributed more positive charateristics to Westerners.[76] These waves of internalized attitudes and connotations with Muslimness and Middle Eastern culture are important to discussion of English. English is not a standalone, neutral entity. Rather, it evokes these currents of inferiority complexes that are reinforced by colonial histories.

ENGLISH IN THE GLOBAL CLASSROOM

Few education systems introduce English as the medium of instruction at the start of a student's official schooling; a notable exception to this pattern is Singapore's education system

[75]Mohamad Kashmar et al., "Consensus Opinions on Facial Beauty and Implications for Aesthetic Treatment in Middle Eastern Women," *Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery Global Open* 7, no. 4 (April 25, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1097/GOX.0000000000002220.

[76] The Pew Research Center, "The Great Divide: How Westerners and Muslims View Each Other," *Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project* (blog), June 22, 2006, https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2006/06/22/the-great-divide-how-westerners-and-muslims-view-each-other/.

which is regarded as one of the best in the Asian region.[77] Rather, many curriculums shift to EMI curriculums after students have undergone several years of schooling. Although English may be taught as a core subject prior to full EMI implementation, the curriculum in public and private schools generally make the jump from their native language to English at vastly different junctures during their educational career. The students, on the other hand, are often unprepared for sudden shifts in the language of instruction.

In Tanzania, students' transition from primary to secondary education involves a shift from Swahili medium instruction to English medium instruction.[78] Tanzania was one of the first African countries to reclaim its emic language as its official language as an extension of its nation-building campaign. Yet, in the process, they not only waged war on English as the language of the oppressor, but local languages too.[79] Despite Tanzanian government policies to protect Swahili, English is still associated with wealth, materialism, and class in the country. Furthermore, Western English styles with no accent and total fluency are preferable to locally accented English. The sociolinguistic market leaves Swahili below English, with emic languages to follow. In the book *State Ideology and Language in Tanzania,* Blommaert describes how "prestige products," which are produced outside the country, are often accompanied with English language marketing slogans.[80]

Blommaert also analyzes the Miss Tanzania competition, in which interesting perspectives on English versus Swahili are teased out. Contestants who use English as their

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[77]Kingsley Bolton, Werner Botha, and John Bacon-Shone, "English-Medium Instruction in Singapore Higher Education: Policy, Realities and Challenges," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 38, no. 10 (November 26, 2017): 913, https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2017.1304396.
[78]Andrew Joyce-Gibbons et al., "Successful Transition to Secondary School in Tanzania: What Are the Barriers?," *Journal of International Development* 30, no. 7 (October 2018): 1142–65.
[79] Blommaert. *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*, 183.
[80] Blommaert, Jan. *State Ideology and Language in Tanzania*, 140.

language of choice in the beauty pageant are perceived as more educated.[81] Quite literally, the English-speakers are rewarded with an international platform that takes them out of their local contexts; how does this serve Tanzania?

In my father's experience, he had access to English labs in which students could "improve" their accent by making it sound more British. English labs would give students print-outs of news articles, book chapters, or other texts, which they would read while listening to an audio recording of the text. The erasure of an Arab accent was deemed part of the English education process.

The majority of South Korean higher education institutions have voluntarily adopted the EMI practice over the past 20 years, whereas primary school students learn entirely in Korean.[82] And some countries reject EMI all together. Malaysia rejected EMI policy as a remnant of British rule by implementing the 1967 National Language Act which transitioned all EMI schools to Malay medium instruction.[83] In the mid-2000s, the Korean government even subsidized English villages, which served as immersion experiences for English learners, highlighting government support for English learning. In South Korea, English is viewed as a vehicle for social mobility, as it paves pathways for students to study in competitive universities and work in major companies.[84] While the programs were once popular, the cost did not add enough value for many parents, who opted to send their children to English-speaking countries

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[81] Ibid, 147.
[82]Katherine I Kang, "English-Medium Instruction Policies in South Korean Higher Education," *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* 33, no. 1 (2018): 31–52.
[83]M. Obaidul Hamid, Hoa Thi Mai Nguyen, and Richard B. Baldauf Jr, "Medium of Instruction in Asia: Context, Processes and Outcomes," *Current Issues in Language Planning* 14, no. 1 (February 1, 2013): 1–15, https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2013.792130.
[84] "Once-Flourishing English Villages Struggle to Survive," Korea Times, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20160531033935/http://koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2012/09/113_119289.html.

as an alternative method of ensuring they acquire linguistic skill and prestige. English villages were also commercial enterprises catering to wealthy citizens in countries like Turkey, Spain, and Romania. These programs are cost-prohibitive for many families, but are just the tip of the iceberg when it comes to additional expenses related to English education. While upper class parents can afford private tutoring, international or boarding schools, language immersion villages as well as potentially personally assist with language education, low class families cannot.

Erling, Adinolfi, and Hultgren prepare a literature review on English Medium Instruction use in low and middle-income contexts and then performed case studies on EMI policies in Ghana and Bihar, India. The researchers find that EMI implementation has a stratifying effect in school as it is likely advancing the development of low-cost private schools. They make the rather obvious points that teacher and student language competency are barriers to learning.[85]

While EMI is present at all levels of the education system, it is particularly prevalent in higher education in the Gulf countries in the Middle East. Ernesto Macaro of Oxford University puts forth 5 main points in his article "English Medium Instruction: Global Views and Countries in Focus" 1) EMI is quickly spreading in higher education (HE), 2) the private higher education sector is pushing for the implementation of EMI in state higher education institutions, 3) there is little infrastructure in place to train teachers to use EMI 4) most teachers are not prepared to implement EMI in classrooms 5) concerns regarding EMI implementation mostly deal with increasing social inequality and native language deterioration. English Medium Instruction is an extreme that requires fluency of English on the part of both teachers and students. If

[85]Elizabeth J. Erling, Lina Adinolfi, and Anna Kristina Hultgren, *Multilingual Classrooms: Opportunities and Challenges for English Medium Instruction in Low and Middle Income Contexts* (Education Development Trust, 2017), https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED586989.

implemented poorly or prematurely and students are left unable to navigate the world fluently in either a European or native language, the educational process is failing them. Yet, students do not magically show up to their first day of university prepared to succeed in English; success in an English-only environment requires years of language education by trained, well-resourced teachers.

India employs the three-language formula, which aims to educate all students in English, Hindi, and a (preferably Southern) modern Indian language. The three-language formula was crafted as a political compromise between Hindi members, British loyalists, and local language speakers. Yet, the Hindi states did not implement South Indian languages in their curriculum, nor did non-Hindi states like West Bengal implement Hindi. In India, insufficient progress in establishing either English or Hindi as the effective lingua franca has resulted in decreased mobility between non-Hindi and Hindi states.[86]

Even countries where English is the dominant language also grapple with language education policy. The United States, for example, has no official language policy, although English operates as the de facto official language. Throughout the past 50 years, the US has had a varied set of policies geared towards educating non-English speakers, including the Bilingual Education Act (BEA), the English Language Acquisition Act (ELAA), and Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA). The ELAA, for example, made all public school instruction for English language learners (ELL) entirely in English, a shift from the BEA which established federal grants for more flexible bilingual programs. Individual states, however, have different policies in place with regards to ELLs. California, Massachusetts, and Arizona ban the use of non-English instruction in the public classroom. Arizona requires ELLs to undergo Structured English

[86]Brian Weinstein, ed., "Planning in Education," in *Language Policy and Political Development*, Communication, the Human Context (Norwood, N.J: Ablex Pub. Corp, 1990), 94–101.

Immersion (SEI) until reclassified as proficient based on scores from the Arizona English Language Learner Assessment (AZELLA) test.[87] Only 15% of ELL students were ultimately reclassified, highlighting the failure of the program. In May of 2019, Governor Ducey signed into Arizona law Senate Bill 1014, which relaxes requirements for proficiency and time spent in SEI in hopes of improving abhorrent outcomes for the students.[88]

In the 1992 case Flores v Arizona, the plaintiffs charged the state with allowing for an unequal distribution of funds and resources for low income schools populated with students of color as compared to wealthier, whiter schools.[89] The court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, in accordance with Lau v Nichols, in 2000. Despite the case's outcome, Arizona has continually been criticized for segregating English learners from the rest of the school age population.

Colorado, on the other hand, has rejected English-only education policies. Outlined in the English Language Proficiency Act, the state provides over 21 million dollars a year to local programs aimed at ELLs, distributing funds according to the proportion of ELL students in "evidence-based English proficiency programs. Additionally, the Professional Development and Student Support Program allocates 27 million dollars towards offsetting professional development costs, such as Spanish classes, teachers incur associated with working with ELLs. These training programs are key and highlight an important point. Even if an individual speaks a language fluently, that does not mean that they are trained to instruct students in said language. Training is a key step in preparing teachers to prepare their students for success that is often overlooked in the language education setting. These differing policies provide a flavor of what

[87] "Arizona English Language Learner Program" (Office of the Auditor General, June 2011).
[88] Kelsey Mo, "New Law Changes How English Language Learners Are Taught.," *Cronkite News - Arizona PBS* (blog), May 14, 2019, https://cronkitenews.azpbs.org/2019/05/14/english-immersion-changes-ell/.
[89] Flores v. Arizona (U.S. District Court for the District of Arizona 2000).

English-speaking countries do to address the school-age population with limited English proficiency. Unfortunately, the United States also does not have a perfect system.

David Murphy writes in his article *The Academic Achievement of English Language Learners*: "The achievement gap between ELL and non-ELL students—about 40 percentage points in both fourth grade reading and eighth grade math—has been essentially unchanged from 2000 to 2013. However, the achievement of former ELL students shows greater progress".[90] For English learners, every test is an English test. Despite the fact that a student may know how to complete the word problems on a math test, their inability to read the instructions or the problem means they will fail. This is also the case for students in English Medium Instruction schools in non-English speaking countries.

The Rwandan government made education a national priority after the 1994 genocide, a move that has received international recognition. Post-genocide, the government invested heavily in the education system as an avenue through which to strengthen national unity and mend ethnic division and distrust. Before the war, the education system was offered only to Tutsi and largely inaccessible to Hutu students. Even after the war, the Rwandan education system never fully integrated ethnic groups across schools, although more schools were built in poorer, Hutu communities.[91]

In 2009, the Rwandan government changed its foreign language medium instruction from French to English, justifying the shift as a necessity for regional integration as part of the East African community and for establishing ties with the U.S. and UK's donor agencies. The East African community is comprised of Anglophone countries such as Tanzania, Kenya, and

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[90] David Murphey, "The Academic Achievement of English Language Learners:," *Child Trends*, Research Brief, no. 62 (December 2014): 9.
[91] Williams, "The Things They Learned:: Aspiration, Uncertainty, and Schooling in Rwanda's Developmental State."

Uganda. Many African countries, particularly those in West Africa, were formerly under French colonial rule, leaving much of the continent with a long-standing "tradition" of French medium instruction.[92] In Rwanda, the current system requires students to transition from Kinyarwanda medium instruction to English medium instruction in the fourth grade.[93] USAID's *Literacy, language, and learning initiative: National fluency and mathematics assessment of Rwandan schools endline report* found that students can read and write better in Kinyarwanda than English. Additionally, girls received higher marks than the boys on the assessments in English.

Rwanda and Iraq are both postcolonial, post-conflict countries. In Rwanda's case, education was used as a reconstruction tool. In Iraq's case, education has been deprioritized post-conflict. The Iraqi education was considered one of the best in the Middle East region before its numerous successive conflicts and its quality has consistently declined throughout the past half-decade.[94] In Iraq, EMI is implemented in higher education. In primary and secondary schools, English is a core subject of the national curriculum starting in the first grade. The Iraqi education system involves yearly standardized testing of all core subjects; students who fail English fail the grade.

ENGLISH IN IRAQ

The trying and turbulent past few decades worsened by continual conflict and UN-sanctioned economic blockade of Iraq has contributed to the deterioration of the Iraqi education politics, and economy. Education in Iraq has experienced a number of shifts throughout the past few decades, marked four periods: the golden era of the Baath party, post-Iraqi invasion of

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[92]Pamela Pearson, "Language Policy in Rwanda: Shifting Linguistic and Educational Landscape" (PhD, Georgia State University, 2016).
[93]"USAID Literacy, Language, and Learning Initiative" (Education Development Center, January 2017).
[94]Alison Alborz, Roger Slee, and Susie Miles, "Establishing the Foundations for an Inclusive Education System in Iraq: Reflection on Findings from a Nationwide Survey," *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 17, no. 9 (September 1, 2013): 965–87, https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2012.725776.

Kuwait, American occupation, and Daesh takeover of Iraqi territory. The Middle East region is experiencing increased stress on education systems due to conflict, instability, and a proportionately young population. The region, which uses Arabic as its lingua franca, performs worse than any other region with respect to English proficiency.[95] Iraq is not the only country that has adjusted its curriculum to include English or French. Different countries in the region can learn from one another's histories with foreign language instruction and imposition. While education falls under national governments' purview in 2020, that was not always the case historically, as many communities learned a foreign language from French or British colonial structures. In general, Arab countries make top-down education policy decisions and practice rote memorization in their classrooms.

Historical Background and Context Prior to 2007

Mohammed-Marzouk traces the history of the Iraqi education system long before Western styles of mass education were put in place back to the 'madrasa' in the Ottoman era. The Madrasa, also known as Kateeb, were elementary centers for Islamic philosophy and teachings. Before the fall of the Ottoman Empire, secular handicraft schools became popular while elementary education was not seen as a priority until Medhat Pasha, a former Ottoman governor in Baghdad, installed several elementary schools in 1889. These later became the foundation for the mass education system in Iraq.[96]

In 1932, Iraqi Christians requested permission from the government to invite American Jesuits to establish a private, all-boys secondary school called Baghdad College. My father and his brothers attended Baghdad College. Today, it is still deemed one of the best schools in

[95]Education First, "EF English Proficiency Index 2018."
[96]Methal R. Mohammed-Marzouk, "Teaching and Learning in Iraq: A Brief History," *The Educational Forum* 76, no. 2 (April 2012): 259–64, https://doi.org/10.1080/00131725.2011.653869.

Baghdad despite the Jesuit exodus. Soon, the Jesuits established a network of schools across Iraq that had increased focus on English language instruction in kindergarten (compared to state schools starting in fifth grade in those years).[97] In this time period, the study of English was viewed positively, particularly in STEM fields.

Iraqi graduates were supported by the government to pursue PhDs and Masters degrees abroad, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom. Many foreign graduates of Western universities returned to Iraq to work in academia during the 1960s to 1980s. By the 1980s, the Iraqi education system was the best in the Middle East region.[98]

During the golden era of Iraqi education, the system was considered the best in the region. The Baath Party, which subscribed to Arab Socialism, viewed education as a means through which to achieve political goals. For instance, the Baath leadership issued 'Literacy Law No. 153 for the year 1971' aimed at tackling illiteracy in the country. The illiteracy rate dropped from 71% in 1968 to 10% in the mid-seventies.[99] Although literacy centers created in the late 90s still exist today, they struggle to maintain operations with budgetary, staff, and security constraints and participation is at only 15% of the target population.[100] The literacy movement of the Baath era evokes similar messaging to advocacy for English education worldwide. The Baath party outlined national development, economic progress, and access to education as principles of the literacy campaign.[101] Similarly, English is posited as a vehicle for modernization and access to information.[102]

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[97]Ibid.
[98]Ibid.
[99]Republic of Iraq, "Literacy Law No. 153 for the Year 1971" (1971).
[100]Saadoun, "Why Has Illiteracy Rate Gone up in Iraq?"
[101] Khalid Hamid Sulyman. "Organizing a Mass Literacy Campaign: The Case of Iraq - UNESCO Digital Library." UNESCO, 1985. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000076593.
[102] Tollefson. "Planning Language, Planning Inequality," 234.

Additionally, mandatory education laws led to 160% increase in students and 130% increase in schools between 1967 and 1979[103]. This progress came to a jarring halt at the onset of the Iran-Iraq War in 1980; throughout the 80s, no new schools were built in Iraq as military expenditures left no room for investment in social institutions. The Iran-Iraq War was just the first example of how war continually disrupts and distracts from the Iraqi education system's quality and quantity.

After Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, the United Nations imposed an economic blockade that resulted in devastation of the education system with respect to maintenance of buildings, enforcement of mandatory education laws, provisions of essential books, and teacher compensation. In this period, private tutoring, which previously been a rarity, became commonplace for those who could afford it.[104] Nowadays, many wealthier families use private tutoring to prepare students to succeed in key skills like English or pass their Baccalaureate exams.

In a United Nations report issued in October 1991, Iraq was described as "rapidly approaching the standards of developed countries with an elaborate public health care and educational system, modern telecommunication network, 24 electrical power plants, and sophisticated water treatment facilities and potable water for the large majority of the population".[105]

During this time, many Iraqis who were acquiring degrees at foreign institutions neglected to return to avoid mandatory military service. The prospect of migrating became increasingly desirable, especially for the highly educated who could find jobs elsewhere in high-

[103]Shahram Shadbash and Tahir Albakaa, "Iraq: An Overview," in *Education in the Arab World*, ed. Serra Kirdar (London ; New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 23.
[104]Ibid, 23.
[105]Saeid Nouri Neshat, "A Look into the Women's Movement in Iraq," *Farzaneh* 6, no. 11 (2003): 57.

need fields like medicine, engineering, and academia. Such a high proportion of university professors left their posts to migrate elsewhere or take on more economically prosperous professions that the Ministry of Education began accepting masters degrees as qualifications for professorial positions.[106]

It is important to note that Iraq's citizens were not always keen to leave their home country and often, as my grandfather did after earning his doctoral degree at the University of California Berkeley, voluntarily returned to Iraq even after time overseas. This experience is described poignantly in Warsan Shire's poem titled *Home*: "No one leaves home unless home is the mouth of a shark. You only run for the border when you see the whole city running as well."[107]

Instability in the country and mistreatment of highly-educated individuals led to a mass exodus. The impacts of brain drain reach far into Iraqi society, diminishing the quality of teaching in university-settings, production of research, and delivery of health care. Many of the arguments in favor of English education relate to how the language is a vehicle for access to information and research as the language of science and technology. In practice, it is a vehicle of migration to English-speaking areas where said information and research is being produced.

Throughout the past half-century, Iraq has experienced a continual cycle of war and economic devastation in which multiple stakeholders took part in the destabilization of the state. For example, "A Ministry of Health (2004) report concluded that 80% of school buildings required significant reconstruction. By 2007, 70% of school buildings were found to suffer war damage or neglect (Relief- Web/UCHO 2008) suggesting slow, but real progress in addressing

[106] Ibid, 25.
[107] Warsan Shire. "Home," 2017.

this issue."[108] Although literacy centers created in the late 90s exist, they struggle to maintain operations with budgetary, staff, and security constraints and participation is at only 15% of the target population.[109]

2007 to Present

In 2007, the Ministry of Education published a new curriculum that introduced English at the third grade level in public schools. In 2018, the Ministry pushed up the introduction to first grade. Today, students in Iraq learn English through one or more of these channels: English Medium Instruction, extracurricular English study (which is called *ithra-iya* in Arabic), and core course instruction.

In EMI, traditional academic subjects are taught entirely in English. For example, my cousins attend a Ishik, a Turkish private school in Baghdad, Iraq where math and science courses are taught entirely in English, while social studies and religion are taught in Arabic.[110] Both Oxford and Cambridge University are listed as solution partners on their website, highlighting the influence of international organizations on English language programs. Oxford and Cambridge both have highly sought after English certifications that students can earn through testing. As of right now, only private schools offer EMI services.

Extracurricular English study, which can occur in the form of private tutoring, immersion camps, or group courses, are another way Iraqis support their children in learning English. Like EMI, these programs come with cost and are not accessible to the vast majority of Iraqis. Most Iraqi students engage with English as a core class in their state school schedule.

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[108] Alborz, Slee, and Miles, "Establishing the Foundations for an Inclusive Education System in Iraq."
[109] Saadoun, "Why Has Illiteracy Rate Gone up in Iraq?"
[110] See Figures 1 and 2.

Baraka English School is an example of extracurricular English study that is typically inaccessible to impoverished students.

In modern Arab educational systems, there is an overwhelming emphasis on rote memorization and what Freire would refer to as banking education in which teachers act as dominant figures who impose information on their students.[111] This is not necessarily the failing of the teacher, but their training by the Ministry of Education. Suleyman Celik's research on attitudes towards the teaching profession shows that high school students view it as an unattractive career path due to low salary, workload, and social status. Ironically, while teaching as a vocation is undesirable, it is still considered a sacred act stemming from Islamic principles and deserving of respect.[112]

Iraq has a population of approximately 40 million, approximately 60% of which are under the age of 24[113]. 40% of the population is under 14 years, compared to 16.9% of Western Europe's population.[114] The youth unemployment rate is 25%.[115] These trends are not uncommon for the Middle East at all. Youthful populations pose challenges to developing countries, particularly with respect to their education systems and job markets. Iraq's education system must be prepared to accomodate for significantly more students than in previous years, yet financial investment in schools and per-student dollars alike from the Iraqi government and international institutions has decreased.

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[111]Serra Kirdar, "Introduction - Regional Overview," in *Education in the Arab World* (London ; New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 4.
[112] Celik, Suleyman. "Attitudes of High School Students Towards the Teaching Profession in Iraqi Kurdistan," 95.
[113]"Iraq," in *The World Factbook* (Central Intelligence Agency), Accessed February 16, 2020, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/iz.html.
[114]Graham E. Fuller, "The Youth Crisis in Middle Eastern Society" (Clinton Township, Michigan: The Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, 2004).
[115]"Iraq," Central Intelligence Agency.

According to UNICEF, Iraq invested just 6% of its national budget on education in 2016, ranking below its Middle East regional peers on educational investment.[116] Investment in education systems beyond provisions of humanitarian relief are tricky due to norms surrounding national sovereignty. Yet, even with respect to humanitarian funding for out-of-school children, Iraq is facing severe funding shortfalls.[117]

Arab education systems are guilty of mismatching the academic pathways and labor market needs, which has resulted in an increased emphasis on foreign populations to pursue internal vocational paths despite the rising unemployment rate among the increasingly young regional population.[118] High stakes scores on the final baccalaureate exams determine a student's advancement to professional, vocational, or other graduate degrees. Programs in engineering and medicine are the most selective and require minimum scores in relevant subjects on the baccalaureate exam.[119] The scoring structure, too, makes a value judgement regarding what types of students should become doctors or engineers: those who can excel on a test. Intelligence and ability are condensed to a number. The Iraqi education system needs the best and brightest to be represented across the employment spectrum, not just within medicine and engineering. The hierarchical nature baccalaureate exam scores and following graduate degree programs acceptances, however, are not always appropriately aligned with the job market nor is the market deep and diverse.

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[116]UNICEF, "Education: Iraq."
[117]Tessa Fox, "Rights Group: Iraq Education System on Brink of Collapse," November 2, 2019, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/10/rights-group-iraq-education-system-brink-collapse-191028180740513.html.
[118]Shadbash and Albakaa, "Iraq: An Overview," 12.
[119]Philip Altbach, *International Higher Education Volume 2: An Encyclopedia.* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2014), http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=1717724.

The Iraqi education system is led by the central government through the Ministry of Education. Education policy decisions, including language education policy ones, are made by politicians without consultation of teachers or local leaders.[120] Within Iraqi borders, the semi-autonomous Kurdish region runs its own educational institutions under some oversight from the Iraqi government.[121] In Iraq, primary education is compulsory and public education is free through graduate school.[122] Private schools are permitted and hold licenses to operate from the Ministry of Education. They are considerably more expensive and out of financial reach for most families, just 3.5% of Iraqi students attend private schools compared to 10% of American students.[123][124]

However, private schools are known to offer superior instruction of foreign languages, most often English, as the medium of instruction. Students in public schools are taught with Arabic as the language of instruction and English as a secondary language course. Since 2003, Iraqi students have begun learning English as a core course in the first grade.[125] In medical and engineering higher education institutions, students are taught with English as the medium of instruction.[126] There is built-in value to English language acquisition because it is a prerequisite to studying medicine or engineering, the two highest paying, most respected career paths in Iraq. Moreover, it is a standard subject tested in the culminating Baccalaureate exam so success in

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[120]Ibid, 4.
[121]Matt Salsbury, "Kurdistan at Language Crossroads," *The Guardian*, June 25, 2004, sec. Education, https://www.theguardian.com/education/2004/jun/25/tefl.
[122]NAFSA, "The Education System in Iraq: An Overview," *International Enrollment Management* 13, no. 2, accessed November 17, 2019, https://www.nafsa.org/professional-resources/browse-by-interest/education-system-iraq-overview.
[123] Al-Shaikhly and Cui, "Education in Iraq."
[124]Joel McFarland, "The Condition of Education," The Condition of Education (National Center for Education Statistics, January 2018), https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_cgc.asp.
[125] Al-Shaikhly and Cui, "Education in Iraq."
[126] Ibid.

English is required to score high marks. In order to be the best Iraqi student, you must learn English, or at least learn how to be tested in English.

Throughout the course of schooling, a child must pass standardized tests administered by the government in order to advance between grade levels. At the end of the 6-year primary school, students earn the Primary School Certificate if they make a score of 50 or higher on the national exam[127]. The same process is repeated after Intermediate School with the National Intermediate Baccalaureate Exam after which students enter secondary or preparatory school.[128]At the secondary level, students enter either vocational or general tracks, sometimes called streams. The vocational tracks include agriculture, commerce, and industry. The general tracks are humanities or science.[129] The science stream involves the study of Arabic, English, Islamic Studies, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology as core subjects, while the literature stream includes Arabic, English, Islamic Studies, History, Geography, and Economics.[130] Acceptance to higher education institutions requires a high score on the National Baccalaureate Exam at the end of secondary education. The exam is administered and scored by the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research. Medicine, engineering, and architecture courses of study require the highest marks, nearly perfect ones, on the Baccalaureate exam.[131]

Iraq is a multilingual and multicultural country; Arabic and Kurdish are the official languages, but Turkmen and Syriac are also official languages in areas where they are spoken by

[127]IRFAD, "Iraq Education," IRFAD Foundation for Development Research, accessed November 17, 2019, http://www.irfad.org/iraq-education/.
[128] Ibid.
[129] NAFSA, "The Education System in Iraq."
[130] Al-Shaikhly and Cui, "Education in Iraq."
[131] Ibid.

the majority of the population.[132] The Iraqi government protects the right of "Iraqis to educate their children in their mother tongue, such as Turkmen, Syriac, and Armenian shall be guaranteed in government educational institutions in accordance with educational guidelines, or in any other language in private educational institutions."[133] Yet, these policies are not honored in practice and many linguistic minority students are still forced to learn Arabic in formal educational institutions.[134] This is not only the case for minority language policy, but English language policy as well. Although a policy might present well on paper, its implementation without adequate planning is disastrous, as is the case with English language education policy. The policy's stated principles, objectives, and mandates may say one thing, while the reality is something different entirely.

Bilal Huri Yaseen and Hani Shakir, who are officials in the Iraqi Ministry of Education, attribute the shift in education language policy towards English instruction to pressures from post-American invasion by gas and oil investors, international companies, and non-governmental organizations to accelerate economic development in the post-Saddam era[135]. They also argue for the necessity of language policy planning in the Iraqi case that spans beyond the inclusion of English in the curriculum that was" principally spurred by ideological and political considerations." Yaseen and Shakir write that the present existence of English in tests, courses, and other educational elements is met with obstacles due to Iraqi's perception of low practical usage for English and political hostility towards Western ideology. Despite negative socio-cultural connotations of English, they recommend increased investment in a strategic English

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[132]"Iraq," Central Intelligence Agency.
[133]Republic of Iraq, "Constitution of the Republic of Iraq" (2005).
[134] See Appendix A.
[135]Bilal Huri Yaseen, "The Planning Policy of Bilingualism in Education in Iraq," *International Journal of Applied Linguistics and English Literature* 5, no. 3 (March 11, 2016), https://doi.org/10.7575/aiac.ijalel.v.5n.3p.1.

language education plan. Rather, these Ministry of Education officials might do well to consider listening to what their constituents are telling them: English ability is not a feasibly useful skill within localized communities and represents the interests of Western businesses and countries, not Iraqis.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Iraq's present English language education policies and their implementation buttress in-country socioeconomic inequality and serve to extract Iraqis from their local contexts. While English does provide opportunities for empowerment, its current presence in the system introduces a number of problems. In this paper, I have argued that English language education policy serves as a continuation of national goals, to the detriment of local communities. English language education currently serves English-speaking countries above all, as the Middle East labor market generally does not demand English-proficient citizens unless they are working for an American corporation. Empowerment by no means is a code for ability to move to a English-speaking Western country. English education of quality is not yet free or accessible to all; it is particularly susceptible to commercial solutions that prove too high of a cost-burden for working class families. It furthers inequality between classes by creating yet another obstacle for low-income individuals to surpass.

I submit that Baraka English School both upholds and disrupts the hegemony of English in Iraq. While it does not erase concerns of the language's symbolic violence, my work tackles the socioeconomic disparities that exist due to English in the education system. The population I serve are orphans coming from low-income backgrounds who attend state schools in Baghdad. The drop-out rates among this group are high. However, I acknowledge that the program is a Band-Aid solution that is not available to all students of this population.

Their main interactions with English are related to how English serves as a barrier to their school completion. I recall the manager of Orphan Charity Foundation telling me of a very bright student who excelled in all of his courses, except English. In the 6th grade, he failed the English section on the standardized, cumulative state test but performed well on all other subjects. He repeated 6th grade. He failed again in English the following year. After that, his confidence in his academic abilities shaken and motivation to continue in school destroyed, he dropped out of school entirely. He had attended a school where the English instruction was subpar, no fault of his own, but he carried all of the burden of his circumstances.

It is not justice, but it is a step towards it for Baraka students. The students I work with come from incredibly vulnerable backgrounds, most of whom have lost at least one parent due to Daesh violence, and attend low-quality state schools throughout Baghdad, Iraq. They are not of the privileged few who can afford an EMI school or extracurricular lessons. Even if they could pay for those things, they would not be able to pay for Cambridge or Oxford English certifications like their wealthier peers. English creates a societal division based not on merit, but social class.

I contend that the removal of English from the Iraqi curriculum in its entirety is not the appropriate course of action; moreover, it is impossible due to the fact that certain fields like medicine and engineering necessitate English for their study. Rather, I recommend reforms that diminish the inter-nation and intra-nation inequality perpetuated by English hegemony.

I advocate for three main reforms to the current system:

1. Amend the policy-making process to include diverse stakeholder perspectives, with special emphasis on those charged with implementing the policy.

The policy-making process requires reform from its current top-down nature to one that is informed by those impacted by policy: teachers, administrators, and students. The government should create mechanisms through which feedback is obtained from those on-the-ground in the education system, rather than allowing politicians with a limited perspective to make unilateral curriculum decisions. As of right now, the process is aligned with capitalist and business (particularly American) business interests, rather than those the education system is intended to serve.

2. Create and fund a formal training program for Iraqi public school teachers to earn certification in English teaching, preferably hosted by Iraqi universities.

As is the case in many different countries including Iraq, English education policy was announced without appropriate planning and training. Generally, the Iraqi education system is in dire need of investment to improve its infrastructure, supplies, and quality. However, that is not an excuse to include English as an additional testing element that all students are judged equally despite extensive inequality related to access to English education. The vast majority of teachers do not have the qualifications to teach the language. Students in state classrooms led by unqualified teachers are left to learn the material through independent study or private tutoring. Otherwise, they face the inevitable result of falling behind as a result of their English. The Iraqi Ministry of Education is responsible for preparing its teacher force to carry out its published curriculum. As of right now, many international organizations working on English education like the British Council and Amideast are on the ground in Iraq filling the void left by the Iraqi government. It is preferable that Iraqi universities and teaching colleges train their own pupils so as to create an Iraqi-led, Iraqi-focused program. In the past, partnerships with UNESCO on literacy campaigns have been successful and could be used as a model for future programs.

3. Separate the English score from the cumulative Baccalaureate exam score to decrease its impact on educational outcomes

Knowledge of English is not wholly necessary for all courses of study in higher education or for all career paths. Thus, its inclusion in the testing criteria should only have bearing on academic or professional paths that require English proficiency for their study and practice. Separating the English score from cumulative Baccalaureate exams taken at three-year intervals in the Iraqi student's educational career will eliminate its propensity to drive students out of school due to test-based failure in the language. Iraq's high-stakes testing system is susceptible to socioeconomic bias as it is, but the isolation of the English score should at least decrease its impact on the educational outcomes of some students.

The right to education is not satisfied when a child enters the school building. Its observance calls for a concerted effort by policymakers to assess areas susceptible to socioeconomic or racial bias and provide adjustments via policy response to reduce inequality in the education system. As of right now, English instruction is not equally accessible by all individuals in society yet all are judged according to their English ability on the same level. This contributes to inequality on the international level between nations, poor and rich, and on the local level between individuals on the job market. Although individuals do not have linguistic agency, policymakers in government have the power to create a more equal system.

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Excerpt from the Iraqi Constitution

"Article 4:

First: The Arabic language and the Kurdish language are the two official languages of Iraq. The right of Iraqis to educate their children in their mother tongue, such as Turkmen, Syriac, and Armenian shall be guaranteed in government educational institutions in accordance with educational guidelines, or in any other language in private educational institutions.

Second: The scope of the term "official language" and the means of applying the provisions of this article shall be defined by a law and shall include: A. Publication of the Official Gazette, in the two languages; B. Speech, conversation, and expression in official domains, such as the Council of Representatives, the Council of Ministers, courts, and official

conferences, in either of the two languages; C. Recognition and publication of official documents and correspondence in the two languages; D. Opening schools that teach the two languages, in accordance with the educational guidelines; E. Use of both languages in any matter enjoined by the principle of equality such as bank notes, passports, and stamps"

"Article 34: First: Education is a fundamental factor for the progress of society and is a right guaranteed by the state. Primary education is mandatory and the state guarantees that it shall combat illiteracy. Second: Free education in all its stages is a right for all Iraqis. Third: The State shall encourage scientific research for peaceful purposes that serve humanity and shall support excellence, creativity, invention, and different aspects of ingenuity. Fourth: Private and public education shall be guaranteed, and this shall be regulated by law."

Figures

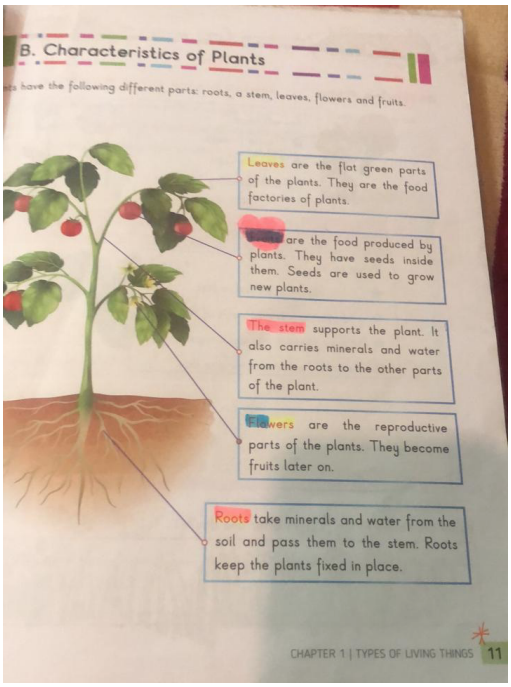

Figure 1: A page from Global Bridge's Primary Science 3 Student Book used in Ishik Schools.

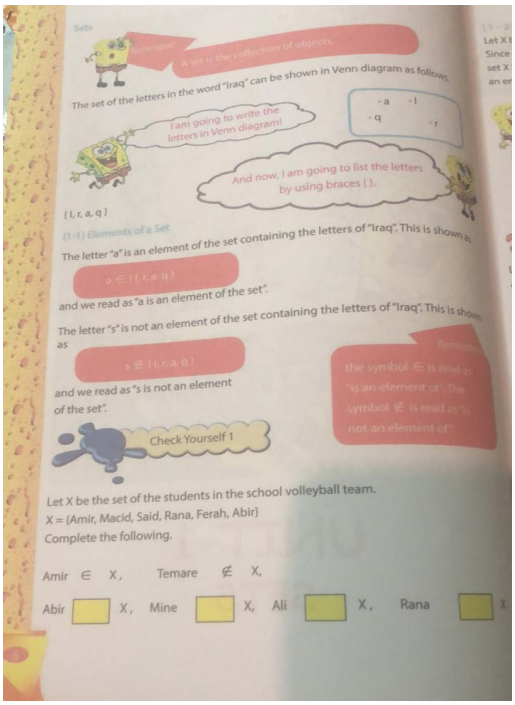

Figure 2: A page from Global Bridge's Primary Mathematics 6 Student Book. The use of local names is a good example of how to ground instruction in local culture.

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