QATAR UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

MUQĪM IN QATAR WITHOUT ARABIC: AN ANALYSIS OF ARABIC LANGUAGE

COMPETENCY AMONG EXPATRIATES IN QATAR

BY

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ABSTRACT

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Title: Muqīm in Qatar Without Arabic: An Analysis of Arabic Language Competency Among Expatriates in Qatar

Supervisor of Thesis: Eiman Mustafawi.

This study investigates the Arabic language proficiency levels and rates among a group of non-Arab expatriates in Qatar, as well as their attitudes toward Arabic and experiences of learning and using it in their daily lives in Qatar. By using quantitative and qualitative methods, the study found a relatively low Arabic acquisition rates despite positive attitudes toward the language among the participants. Since Arabic language is a key element of the Arab identity, enhancing its status and usage in Qatar, in a context where non-Arab population outnumbers Arabs, is of paramount importance. The study concludes with a suggestion that the decision-makers should consider introducing policies that would encourage and enable non-Arab residents to learn the Arabic language. In such manner, the study argues, increased use of Arabic by non-Arab residents would positively contribute to the preservation of Qatar's Arab and Islamic values and identity.

DEDICATION

To the loving memory of my dear father, Rasim-efendi

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Context: Migration to the Gulf

Since the discovery of oil in the countries of the Arabian Gulf, there has been a steady stream of migration of foreign labour into the region. Oil revenues have created a relative affluence for the vast majority of the Gulf citizens, with Qatar, for example, boasting in recent years one of world's highest GDP per capita (Central Intelligence Agency, 2020a). However, this abundance of wealth and prosperity has not only transformed Gulf economies, but has also had a profound transformative impact on the social, cultural and linguistic fabric of the Gulf societies, creating in effect what Vertovec (2007) defines as super-diversity.

While historically, this region has always been a place of contact and interaction between different ethnic, linguist and religious groups, the presence of such a large non-Arab, or rather a non-Arabic speaking population is a recent phenomenon. In fact, in the UAE and Qatar, despite the lack of clear official data due to the sensitivity of the topic, it can be deduced from the widely accepted estimates that not only citizens are a minority, but that the majority of the population in those countries is non-Arab. For example, *CIA World Factbook* states that according to their estimate, 59.4% of the UEA population in 2015 were South Asians[1] (Central Intelligence Agency, 2020b). Similar conclusions, albeit by using a series of different sources, can be made about Qatar's demographic composition (Snoj, 2019).

Although in legal terms, the vast majority of non-citizens have a time-limited, temporary residency status in the Gulf states and they are expected and can be made

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[1] South Asians in this particular instance include Indian 38.2%, Bangladeshi 9.5%, Pakistani 9.4% and other 2.3% (Central Intelligence Agency, 2020b).

to leave sometimes at very short notice, their presence seems to have started becoming a permanent feature of the Gulf societies. In the past, the foreign labour was needed to build and develop Gulf economies and basic infrastructure, and today it is widely recognised and accepted that foreign labour will also be needed for the foreseeable future to sustain those economies. In that context, Qatar National Vision (QNV) 2030, as a blueprint for the country's development, explicitly states that:

> …for the foreseeable future Qatar will not have a sufficient number of citizens to manage the complex systems, infrastructure and other requirements of a rapidly growing, diversifying and technologically sophisticated economy. In order to realize Qatar's future ambitions, it will be necessary to make up for the shortages of local labour with expatriate workers. Attracting and retaining the right mix of skills will require appropriate incentives, as well as institutional arrangements for ensuring the rights and safety of expatriate labour. (General Secretariat for Development Planning, 2008a, p. 14)

Therefore, it can be assumed with a reasonable amount of certainty, that the presence of large numbers of non-citizens in the Gulf, many of whom are non-Arabs, will indeed become a permanent feature of the Gulf societies.

The Problem: Identity and Language

The financially lucrative contracts that have, in previous years, attracted large numbers of highly skilled foreign workforces, and helped retain them over the years are slowly giving way to more moderate financial packages (Foxman, 2020). Years of relatively low oil prices, the slow but inevitable move towards renewable sources of energy, regional political instability and, more recently, the Covid-19 pandemic are making Gulf countries less attractive as migrant destinations than in previous decades, and "attracting and retaining the outstanding of them" (General Secretariat for

Development Planning, 2008a, p. 14)" will increasingly present a challenge. Yet, Gulf economies are still heavily dependent on foreign labour – South East Asians, Arabs and 'Westerners'. This dependence of the foreign labour force is especially pronounced in Qatar, with foreigners constitute 94% of the country's total labour force (Diop, Le, Johnston, & Ewers, 2017). A large proportion of this foreign labour force are not just 'guest workers' but people with families, with cases of second and even third generations of non-citizens being born and raised in the Gulf states. Thus, the demographic situation in the Gulf, and in Qatar in particular, which will be the focus of this thesis, will likely persist.

Qatar's demographic situations has been characterized as exhibiting a 'population imbalance', whereby foreigners greatly outnumber Qatari citizens and non-Arabs outnumber Arabs. The contribution to the economic development of the country of the non-citizens, many of whom are non-Arabic speakers has been widely recognized and acknowledged by Qatari citizens. *National Identity Survey*, conducted in the aftermath of the Gulf Crisis, found that 98% of Qataris felt that residents contributed to the development of Qatar and 99% stated that presence of residents is important for the country. Furthermore, the study found that 86% of Qataris viewed residents as constituent part of the Qatari national identify, while 77% agreed that foreign workers are a part of the Qatari society (SESRI, 2018).

However, the impact of the presence of non-Arab expatriates on social and linguistic character of the society should not be neglected. For example, it can be observed that Arabic is not spoken as widely as one would expect it to be in an Arab country; the simple act of ordering coffee or having food home-delivered almost exclusively proceeds in English, irrespective of whether the costumer is an Arabic speaker or not. This, and other similar everyday situations, could be seen as an

embodiment of Arabic losing its practical value and/or English becoming dominant as the common language of the majority of people in Qatar at the expense of Arabic. This shift in language use can lead to bizarre situations that disenfranchise native Qatari citizens. For example, during one of my visits to Hamad Hospital, which is the main medical institution in the country, I was asked by a Qatari family, a mother and a son, both of whom did not speak any English, to serve as an interpreter in their communication with the Indian nurse who did not speak any Arabic. In fact, during that specific shift, none of the present medical staff spoke Arabic. This left the Qatari family without any information about the state of their family member who was undergoing a medical procedure. Upon speaking to other Qatari citizens about their everyday language experiences, it appears that this scenario is typical occurrence Qatari families face, especially older generations.

There are two interrelated reasons why English prevails as a dominant common language between different groups of Qatari society. Firstly, English is the global *lingua franca*. The English language has emerged as the language of the globalised world and has become the *lingua franca* in many countries including the countries in the Gulf region. English has a particularly prominent role in business and education in the Gulf. For example, a large number of programs offered by different universities in Qatar are offered solely in English. For example, there are only two universities in the country that offer a medical degree, Qatar University (QU) and Weill Cornell, and both of which are offered in English. Similarly, Qatar University and Texas A&M University at Qatar offer engineering solely in English.

Secondly, English remains the dominant common language between different groups of Qatari society due to the 'demographic imbalance' of non-Arabic speakers in the country outnumbering the Arabic speaking population. The presence of a large

and very diverse foreign population, many of whom are non-Arabs, has created a linguistic superdiversity in which Arabic has become just one of the languages in use.

The Present Study: Arabic Language Acquisition in Qatar

In broad terms, this study contributes to a better understanding of the complex sociolinguistic situation in the State of Qatar by shining light on the largely overlooked issue of Arabic language proficiency among non-Arab residents. Given that non-Arab residents have constituted and will, in all likelihood, continue to constitute a large section of Qatar's demography for the foreseeable future, examining the wider socio-political and cultural implications of the low level of Arabic language proficiency among this segment of society over an extended period of time can be considered vital. The above-described sociolinguistic situation requires a serious investigation of the status of the Arabic language in Qatar in the context of achieving the QNV 2030 goals related to the preservation of Arab and Islamic values and identity.

With that in mind, this study aims to uncover the underlying issues that prevent non-Arabic speakers from acquiring higher Arabic proficiency levels that would enable them to use it as their main language of communication in Qatar, or at least on par with their English language use. In order to examine the Arabic language proficiency levels and rates among the non-Arab expatriates, this study employs a wide range of primary quantitative and qualitative data collection tools, which include survey and interviews, as well as secondary data sources. Based on the findings, the present study aims to identify the key policy areas that require serious attention from the relevant decision makers and seeks to suggest potential, practical solutions. As a way of strengthening the Arab and Islamic character of the country, the present study proposes a plethora of concrete ideas for policy makers to consider when addressing

the issue of Arabic language acquisition among non-Arab expats in the country. Notwithstanding the relative uniqueness of the Qatari context, this study offers insights that may be useful for other states in the Gulf. Finally, this study calls for a re-thinking of how Arabic is being taught to non-native speakers in general and to those who reside in Arab countries, focusing on Qatar in particular.

Research Questions

In the course of this thesis, the following questions will be addressed:

1. What are the Arabic language proficiency rates and levels among the non-Arab residents in Qatar?

2. What are the main reasons for learning or not learning Arabic among the non-Arab residents in Qatar?

3. Is it necessary to possess a minimum level competency in the Arabic language competencies to get by in Qatar?

4. To what extent the non-Arabic speakers are motivated to learn Arabic?

5. What has the state done to encourage the acquisition of the Arabic language for non-Arabs, and how effective has this been?

6. Should long-term residents of Qatar be required by the state to acquire a basic knowledge of Arabic and if so, why?

Definitions

The diversity of terms used within this study is a reflection of the complexity of the social composition of the society in Qatar. Much of these terms possess an overlapping meaning, but their fine distinctions need to be taken into consideration in

the context of this study. These terms are: *muqīm*[2]/resident, expatriate, non-citizen, foreigner and foreign workforce.

The Social and Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI) at Qatar University, divides Qatari population into three major sub-groups: Qatari nationals, and two types of expatriates: white-collar workers and blue-collar workers (SESRI 2012). Qatari citizens or nationals are those who hold Qatari citizenship and have a Qatari passport. Blue-collar workers are foreign nationals who perform manual work, while white-collar workers are foreign nationals who occupy professional jobs that typically require higher levels of education and skills. Both, blue and white-collar workers are considered to be 'non-citizens', 'foreigners' and part of the 'foreign workforce'. In this study, the term 'expatriate' will always refer to white-collar workers only. Although the term 'expatriate' implies a temporary nature of residency for a foreigner who will sooner or later return to his home country and the term 'resident' implies some level of permanency and belonging to a country, the two terms will be used, for the most part, interchangeably, since they largely refer to the same segment of the population. A distinction will be made, however, when discussing a sense of belonging or self-identification possessed by non-Arabic speaking subjects of this study.

Limitations

While this study aims at putting the expatriates' competency of Arabic language in a broader context of Qatar, the subjects who were surveyed in the study were white collar non-Arab expatriates who work in the education sector only. The selected sample does not represent the majority of the expatriate population in Qatar

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[2] *Muqīm,* pl. *muqīmūn* refers to a resident of a neighborhood or a country (Arts, 2014).

neither in the education sector, since only employees of Qatar University participated, nor the overall expatriate population, as the blue-collar workers, for example, were completely excluded. Among the reasons for exclusion of the blue-collar workers from this study is that, despite representing a large section of the expatriates in Qatar, their circumstances differ greatly from the white-collar expatriates – they often live in labour camps, as is the case with construction workers, and do not have their families in Qatar. Therefore, examining their Arabic language competencies would require a separate study. Due to those limitations, the results from this study cannot be generalized to the overall Arabic non-speaking population in Qatar.

It must be pointed out that white collar expatriates who participated in this study are generally highly educated and working in academia; hence the assumption is that the academic environment they work in would be conducive for learning Arabic language. Therefore, it can be relatively safe to assume that the findings from this study would be a very good reflection of the state policies related to language and the overall status of Arabic language amongst the non-Arab, white collar expatriates in the country.

Another limitation of this study is that it takes into account only the perspective of the non-citizen, non-Arab expatriates on the Arabic language, while it almost completely neglects the perspectives of Arabs living in Qatar, Qatari and non-Qatari alike. While including the Arab population in this study would have been beneficial in gaining a more holistic understanding of the sociolinguistic dynamics in the country, it is beyond the scope of this study. Likewise, while this study does refer to the official public policies, laws, rules and regulations, it does not include views and opinions of the policy makers, who could provide a more in-depth understanding of how the present policies came about, how are they were enacted and what their

aims are.

And lastly, but not less significant that the above discussed limitations, is the limitation of the way Arabic language proficiency was determined. Specifically, the limitation of this study is that the rates and levels of the Arabic language proficiency amongst the participants were determined solely on the basis of participants' self-assessment. A more accurate way of determining language proficiency would be to actually administer a standardized test of Arabic language that objectively assess various Arabic language competencies.

Ethical Considerations

Formal Ethical Compliance Approval for conducing the study and collecting empirical data was obtained from Qatar University's Institutional Review Board (QU-IRB) on 16th September 2020. While it was not foreseen that I would face any ethical dilemmas in collecting the data, I found that my position as a researcher had an influence on the quality of the data collected. As pointed out by Manohar, Liamputtong, Bhole, and Arora (2017, p. 8), "it is often argued that researchers sharing same cultural characteristics as their participants are in a better position to discover research ideas, arguments, and opinions." In other words, when researchers are perceived by the subjects as members of the 'ingroup' as opposed to the 'outgroup', in the sense in which Tajfel and Turner (1979) used those two terms, they are often better placed to gain greater and deeper insights into their subjects.

Since I am an Arabic speaker, albeit a non-native one, and a Muslim, I felt that I was able to make a deeper connection with interviewees who shared my religious affiliation and appeared to have a much greater appreciation for the Arabic language. Hence, that data sets collected from such interviewees were much richer as compared to those with different religious affiliations. Furthermore, it may be assumed that

when talking about Arabic language, some subjects may have been reluctant to share their full views, as I, as an Arabic speaker, albeit a non-native speaker, may have been seen as an outsider. Having said that, I was able to connect with all interviewees equally well as expatriates, as I myself am, in legal terms, a foreigner in this country, and was seen by the interviewees as an insider from that perspective.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Arabic Acquisition

At the epicentre of this study are the topics of language and society, and thus it can be classified as a sociolinguistic study. In recent years, there has been an increased interest in the study of the sociolinguistics of the Gulf societies. The focus of most of those studies seems to be on the role of English, especially in education, and its effect on (national) identities in the region. Prime examples of such works are *Global English and Arabic: Issues of Language, Culture, and Identity* edited by Al-Issa and Dahan (2011) and a more recent 2017 work titled *Language, Identity and Education on the Arabian Peninsula: Bilingual Policies in a Multilingual Context* edited by Buckingham (2017). The main drivers of increased scholarly attention to sociolinguistic issues in the Gulf seem to be closely related to growing concerns in the Gulf about the erosion of national identity due to the fact that nationals are minority in most Gulf countries and that the English language, especially through, but not limited to education, seems to be gaining ground at the expense of Arabic. As Kapiszewski (2007) argues, growing bilingualism in the smaller Gulf states is evidence of Arabic 'losing ground' to English.

Findlow (2006), in her ethnographic study conducted in the UAE examines this 'linguistic dualism', which is particularly evident in education. She concludes that while there is some resistance to this development, "Arabic has not so far been mobilized as a tool in any political resistance discourse" (p. 33). On the other hand, a decade later, Cook (2017) found that attempts at countering the negative effects of the rise of English by promoting Arabic as a language of science and research in the UAE are facing serious challenges. Cook concludes by questioning the commitment of the state to the project of Arabization as advertised in the Arabic Language Charter, since,

in his opinion, such a development would lead to a serious disruption in the private sector (p. 403).

Qatar, for its part, has also witnessed somewhat of a 're-Arabization', when in 2012 the government decided to re-introduce Arabic as the main language of instruction in Independent Schools and for a number of degree programs at Qatar University. Mustafawi and Shaaban (2019), while studying the reasons for the failure of the *Education For A New Era (EFNE)* reform project, found that the fear of a loss of Arab identity and the effectiveness of Arabic learning are of great concern to the people in the Gulf. As a recommendation, the authors propose wider public consultation and careful planning that would effectively result in bilingualism – one in which Arabic retains its primacy while enabling Qataris to engage effectively with the globalized world through English (p. 232).

One of the most in-depth studies of a Gulf society with a focus on issues of identity, citizen and non-citizen relations and integration is Longva (1997) empirical work '*Walls Built on Sand*: *Migration, Exclusion, and Society in Kuwait*', which was a result of field research conducted between 1987 and 1989 (p. 14). Particularly striking about Longva's work is the fact that issues that were identified as significant in the late 1980's when the study was conducted are as relevant today as they were relevant then, if not even more so. Issues of identity, dynamics of citizen minority vs. non-citizens majority, politics of inclusion/exclusion regarding citizenship, *kafāla*[3] system and integration are only some areas that Longva researched in great detail. There is not any comparable work on Qatar to this day.

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[3] *Kafāla* or sponsorship refers to the principle whereby "each migrant worker must be sponsored and guaranteed by a citizen or a local company for a specific period that can be terminated when the employer sees fit. (AlShehabi, 2015, p. 16)"

However, in recent years, there has been a number of scholarly publications on Qatar with a different focus. Most of scholarly work on Qatar has been geared towards Qatar's international politics and economy, while social issues, which Longva raised regarding Kuwait, remain largely understudied. Any example of a more comprehensive work on Qatar is perhaps '*Policy-Making in a Transformative State: The Case of Qatar*' by Tok, Alkhater, and Pal (2016), which in two chapters deals with issues of identity and demographic challenges. However, as the title suggests, the contributors take a policy perspective and lack the depth and detail that an empirical study such as Longva's can provide. Perhaps its greatest critique is its avoidance of some 'uncomfortable' or sensitive issues.

A recently published study by Calafato and Tang (2019) on the language learning motivation among non-Arab expatriates in the UAE is one of the few studies in the region that tackles Arabic language acquisition among non-Arabs. The study revealed a lack of interest among young adolescents (students of foreign private schools) for learning the Arabic language. While the study represents a significant contribution to the study of Arabic acquisition among non-Arabs in the Gulf, a major weakness of the study is that it treats Arabic as *any* other second/foreign language and ignores the fact that Arabic is the (only) official language in the respective country.

National Identity & Arabic

Language in general, as Y. Suleiman (2003) explains, has been assigned different roles in the construction of national identity; some describe language as an ingredient or a component among other features while other scholars describe language as a marker, attribute, badge or emblem of national identity (p. 9). Regardless how one describes the role of language, what seems to be widely accepted is that it plays a significant, and for many an indispensable and central role in the

formation and preservation of national identity.

Since the majority of the population are non-citizens, and many of them non-Arab, the local, citizen population feel as a minority in their own country and are concerned about the preservation of their national identity, including the Arabic language. In Qatar, a decline in local dialect and classical Arabic, mainly due to the increased use of English amongst Qatari youth, was characterized as language crisis (Al-Attiyah, 2013). Furthermore, according to Al-Attiyah, seriousness of the situation, especially given the importance of language for the building of a strong national identity, reached such levels the government could not ignore (2013). While Al-Attiyah highlighted the increased use of English by the Qatari youth as the main cause of this language and identity crisis, no explanation for the rise of English use was provided.

In addition to the global rise of English as the language of globalization, one could make a reasonable assumption that one of the potential causes of the language and identity crisis is the fact that the majority of Qatar's population are non-citizens, that is expatriates and non-Arab. The official statistics on this matter are not available, as the Qatari Statistics Authority does not publish demographic figures by nationality, including the number of Qatari citizens. However, some sources publish estimates of such demographic figures by using a combination of Qatari official figures, figures published by embassies in Doha and international organizations. Once such estimate puts the combined percentage of nationals from India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Philippines, Pakistan and Sri Lanka at 63.2% of the total population of Qatar (Snoj, 2019). This estimate, even if it were inaccurate by some margin, paints a picture in which the non-Arabs, if not the majority, are then a sizable minority in Qatar. It is, however, important to point out that large numbers of the aforementioned nationalities

are labor workers who live in segregated labor camps, with small level of socialization with other sections of the society. Their relative isolation from the rest of the society, one could assume, somewhat reduces their impact on the socio-linguistic situation in the country.

Despite having a temporary residency in purely legal terms, many of the foreign labor and expatriates stay in Qatar for extended periods of time, with some being even a second or third generation of non-citizen residents born and raised in the country, without a clear and realistic path towards a more permanent status. Many of the non-Arabs amongst the long-term residents, according to anecdotal evidence, lack basic Arabic language proficiency. The presence of such a large non-Arabic speaking population causes concerns about the Arabic language and Arabic character of the country among the citizen population. At the same time, many of the non-citizens, especially those born and raised in Qatar, have often an identity crisis of their own. While Qatar for many has been the only home they have known, due to their legal status they are acutely aware and reminded of the fact that they do not really belong and that they can be made to leave at any time. In addition to this identity crisis or concern about identity among citizens and non-citizens, on a more practical level, due to the anecdotal lack of Arabic skills among many of the non-citizens, communication between two groups can at times be difficult.

In his discussion on the concerns regarding the Arabic language and national identity in the Arab world, makes a sharp distinction between anxiety about and anxiety beyond language, which correspond to language instrumentality and language symbolism respectively. This distinction between the instrumental and symbolic value and role of language is essential for understanding the "Arab(ic) language anxiety" and formulating adequate remedies. This "language-identity link" is particularly

important in the context of the Arab world and Arab national identity (Yasir Suleiman, 2013). In fact, Y. Suleiman (2003) argues that, in the context of the Arab world and history of Arab nationalism in all its forms, Arabic language is a defining aspect of Arab (national) identity.

The increasing intensity and frequency of discussions about national identity and Arabic language does indeed show at least a recognition of a problem. This concern about preservation and protection of national identity and Arabic language receives recognition in the various national visions in the GCC, including Qatar's own QNV2030, as well as a variety of other strategy and policy documents, such as Qatar's Population Strategy 2017-2022 (Permanent Population Committee, 2017). However, what all those visions, strategy and policy documents seem to fail to address, or indeed even mention, including the QNV2030, is any sort of language policy regarding the vast number of long-term residents, who, as repeated many times, constitute the majority of Qatar's population.

The QNV2030 recognizes that "the composition of a nation's population will determine the nature of its society" and states that "Qatar must determine a suitable size and quality of its expatriate labour force." Furthermore, it explicitly refers to "the potential negative impact on national identity" as a consequence of recruiting expatriate workers, while respecting their cultural rights (General Secretariat for Development Planning, 2008b, p. 7). Following from the above described challenges, the QNV2030 sets out to "preserve Qatar's national heritage and enhance Arab and Islamic values and identity (General Secretariat for Development Planning, 2008b, p. 22)." The aim of this study is therefore to investigate why does the majority of Qatar's population not speak or know even basic Arabic, what are the implications of such a situation for the identity and character of the country, and what may be the remedies

for such a situation, so that the country can achieve its goals set out in the QNV2030.

Language Policy

World's most advanced countries and most popular immigration destinations like Canada, USA, Australia and the UK, and many countries of the EU, have at least some form of language policy targeting the potential immigrants and new residents. The main goal of those language polices is to facilitate better integration of the newcomers into the host society, but also, at least to some degree, in my opinion, to preserve the national identity of the host society. The lack of such policies results in the formation of ghettos and parallel societies, which in turn brings about a host of social, economic and potential security problems. The prime historical examples, which can provide useful lessons for Qatar, are countries like Austria and Germany, among others, who for a very long time did not have any, let alone an effective language policy treating the *Gastarbeiter* influx during the reconstruction and development efforts in Europe following the World War II. While those countries have varying, but significant migrant, non-citizen populations, the ratio of citizens to non-citizens is not even remotely as dramatic as in the Gulf region, and especially the UAE and Qatar. Yet, even though the non-citizens account for only relatively small minority, and thus cannot realistically harm the national identity or the role of the national or official language, or languages, in any significant way, those countries do require the new-comers to learn the language of the country if they wish to live in the said country. Therefore, it seems rather peculiar that a country where most of the population are non-citizens has no such language policies in place. However, the lack of such policies becomes even more shocking if the population's majority does not speak the language of the country. Qatar is one such country, albeit not the only country in the region that has found itself in such a situation.

A typical explanation for the lack of any Arabic language proficiency requirement in the Gulf states is that foreign workers, no matter how they are referred to, on a practical level are still seen as essentially guest workers - people who are in the country to do a job and eventually return to their home country. This is in deep contrast to the way migration is set up in the top migration destinations of the 'developed world' in the West, where there is an explicit effort of the governments to integrate migrants with a legal pathway towards full citizenship. Part of this integration or assimilation process is certainly acquisition of the official language of the host country.

The immigration policy that Qatar has been pursuing is much more in line with immigration policy in the global South countries, prime example of which is Singapore, which is in deep contrast to the above discussed immigration and explicit integration or assimilation policies of the global North countries such as Canada, or members of the European Union. Thus, there is no policy or strategy to integrate at least some of the foreign workforce in the Gulf. In fact, it may be argued that governments in the Gulf are in effect, intentionally or not, discouraging integration. Nearly non-existent legal path towards a permanent residency, let alone citizenship, coupled with the lack of requirement to learn Arabic in order to stay in the country, even if it is on a temporary basis, is discouraging integration. Yet, in this environment where expatriates are *de jure* only temporary in the country, many of them are *de facto* permanent/long-term residents. There is plenty of anecdotal evidence that many expatiates stay on much longer than they initially planned. Important to note is that, even if expatriates stay on longer than they initially planned, they are still considered legal residents, as long as they have a sponsor in the country. In addition to this, a large section of the non-citizen population was born in the Gulf, which makes them

second, and sometimes even third generation of those 'guest workers'/expatriates. Yet, the state of 'permanent impermanence', as Ali (2010) describes, is a characteristic of non-national residents or workforce in the Gulf, including Qatar. The permanency of foreigners' settlement in the Gulf, including Qatar, irrespective of the temporary nature of their stay in legal terms, should be taken into account by the government when considering demographic, migration and social policies that, as the QNV2030, should ensure the Arab and Islamic character of the state and society.

Chapter Three: Methodology

The mixed method research design was adopted for this study to investigate the levels of Arabic proficiency amongst Qatar's non-Arab expatriate population, their attitudes toward the Arabic language and experiences of learning and using the language. As some of the research questions needed to be addressed using a quantitative approach, such as the level of proficiency of Arabic language, others, such as exploration of attitudes required more in-depth analysis which is why the mixed method approach seemed the most appropriate (Matthews & Ross, 2010). The diagram below illustrates the research design for this study:

	Methods	Quantitative	Qualitative
Data Collection Tools	Primary Data (Empirical)	Survey	Interviews Personal observation
	Secondary Data	Official statistical data	Review of local newspapers Review of official published papers, laws and regulations
Data Analysis		Descriptive statistics (SPSS)	Thematic analysis (MAXQDA 2020)

Figure 1. Reseach design

Qatar University was selected as a site were all primary data was collected. Since Qatar University is the major national university, not only it provided a good reflection of the state of affairs in the country regarding language policies in education but also immigration policy, since a good number of faculty and

administration professionals are expatriates.

Primary Data

This study relies primarily on the collected quantitative and qualitative empirical data. Quantitative data was collected via an online survey administered to the non-native Arabic speaker expatriates. Qualitative data was collected using semi-structured interviews and the researcher's personal observations. In the following lines, the importance and procedure of using those instruments is explained.

Quantitative data: Survey. The benefits of using the survey are that the survey offered "standardized and open responses to a range of topics from a large sample of population" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2017, p. 471). In other words, the researcher was able to collect variety of data about the Arabic language including the proficiency of Arabic language amongst the non-Arab expatriates based on their self-assessment, motivation to learn or not learn Arabic, the perception about the importance of Arabic language and its usage in daily life and at work. Also, rich demographic data about the participants was collected. More generally, the survey allowed for more participants to take part in this study, providing more broader picture of the issue at hand. The survey questions[4] were created based on a pilot study which involved interviewing two non-Arabic speakers working at Qatar University. The purpose of the pilot was to fine-tune the interview and survey questions. Following the pilot study, the survey questions were finalized. The survey was created using Microsoft Forms in Microsoft Teams. The link to the survey was sent out by the Institutional Research and Analytic Department at Qatar University to a selection of

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[4] Survey questions can be found in the Appendix B.

Qatar University employees. The inclusion criterion for the survey mailing list was employee nationality based on which all Qatar University employees holding non-Arab nationalities were included in the list, which contained a total of 874 names. This list inevitably also included Arabs who were nationals of non-Arab countries.

In the absence of other technically implementable criteria to exclude Arabs who are nationals of non-Arab countries and those who have spent less than four years in Qatar prior to administering the survey, two eliminating questions were asked at the beginning of the survey. In those questions the participants were asked if Arabic was their first language and whether they have lived in Qatar for at least four years. The reason for setting the minimum limit of four years of residency in Qatar is due to the fact that typically the maximum duration of employment contract for expatriates who work in academia, such as the majority of subjects of this study, is three years, while those who work in non-academic, administrative positions typically have to renew their contracts every year. Thus, those who have lived in Qatar for four years, had to renew their contract at least once. Renewing contract, for the purposes of this study, was taken as an indication of an intention to stay in Qatar beyond the short-term.

The above two questions were used to further filter out the participants who do not meet the two major criteria: being a non-Arab and having lived in Qatar for at least four years. Only the responses of participants who met those two criteria were used in the analysis.

Survey participants.Initially 99 QU employees responded to the survey. However, after excluding those who did not meet the two above mentioned criteria, the responses of 79 participants were taken into consideration for this study's analysis. The quantitative data obtained from the survey was analysed using SPSS.

Figure 2. below provides an illustration of different nationality of the participants who responded to the survey. Detailed data about the nationality of participants is available in Appendix C.
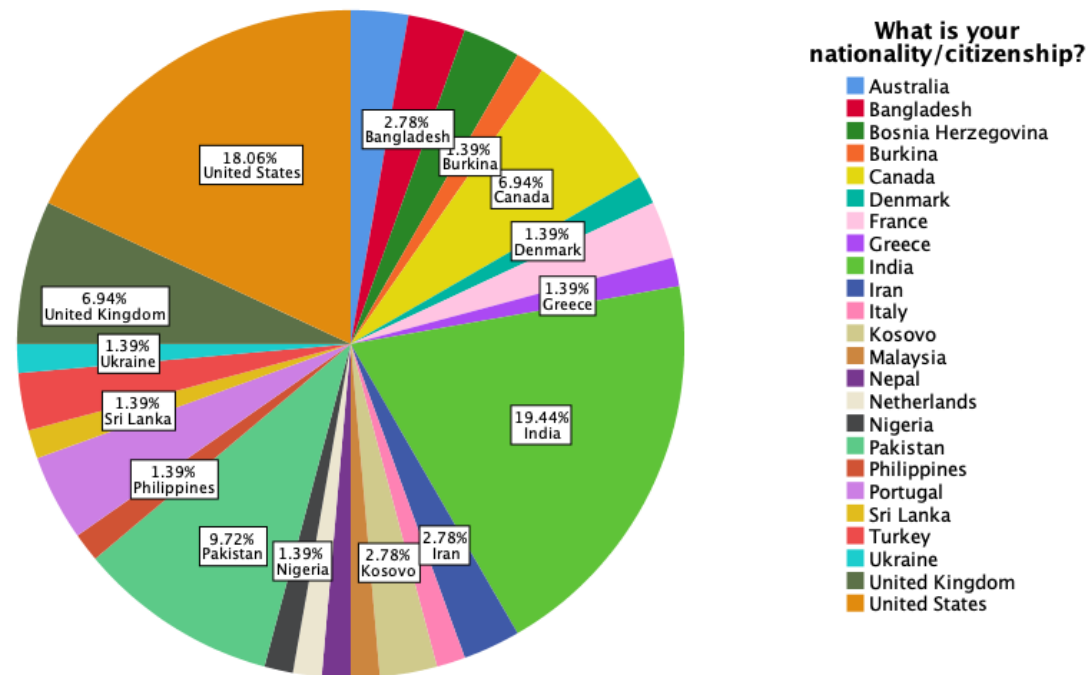
Figure 2. Survey participants nationality

Out of 79 participants who responded to the survey 48% were Muslims, 29% were Christians while the remaining 11,4% preferred not to share their religious affiliation. The remaining 12% identified as either Hindu, non-religious, Agnostic, atheist or Scientologists. 77% of the survey respondents are married, while 12,7% are single. The remaining 10,3% are divorced, separated or preferred not to share their marital status. English was the most common first language or mother tongue of survey participants, accounting for 37.5%, followed by Urdu at 12.5%, and Malayalam at 8.3%. Two respondents stated that English was one of the two

languages they spoke as 'first languages', with one naming German and the other naming Urdu as 'first languages' alongside English. Those two participants were included in the total of those who spoke English as a first language, and similarly, the participant who spoke Urdu alongside English as a first language was also included in the total for Urdu as a first language. In total, the survey respondents reported 25 different first languages. The survey was in English and was answered in English, so clearly, all respondents knew English.

Most of the respondents to the survey were within the age range between 31 and 40 (34%), followed by age group between 51 and 60 (29%). 22% of the respondents were of age between 41 and 50 while only 15% were in the youngest age group between 20 and 30 years old. Out of 79 participants who responded to the survey, 49% were female and 41% male. A vast majority of the respondents, 82%, stated that they have children and that they live with their families in Qatar. Because the participants who took part in this study are all employees of Qatar University, a vast majority, 82% of them are holder of post graduate degrees, while the remaining 18% are holders of undergraduate degree (9%), high school diploma (only 1%) or holders of other degree (7%). As indicated above, all of the respondents work at Qatar University with 68% occupying academic positions, 27% occupying administrative positions, while 5% perform both, academic and administrative roles. However, since the major distinction between employment conditions at Qatar University is between academic and administrative staff, those who perform both academic and administrative roles are considered as academic, bringing the total percentage of respondents considered as academic to 73%. All the results from the survey are available in Appendix C.

Qualitative data: Interview and participant observation. The collected survey data provided a very rich information for this study; however, as one of the aims of this research project is to analyse the attitudes of non-Arab expatriates towards Arabic language, it was of crucial importance to explore some of the issues in more depth for which qualitative data was necessary. In this research the primary data collected included data from interviews and data from personal observation.

*Interviews.*The aim of the interviews was to collect more in-depth data about topics raised in the survey, with a particular focus on participants' life in Qatar and their attitudes toward the Arabic language and their learning experiences. An additional aim of conducting interviews was to examine if mandating some Arabic language proficiency for those residing in Qatar would affect their decision to come, work and live in Qatar in the first place, and if introducing such a language proficiency requirement would change their long-term plans to stay in Qatar. Therefore, interviews as qualitative data instruments were used to collect and analyse different motivating as well as demotivating or discouraging factors that affect acquisition of the Arabic language among expatriates and its usage. The interviews allowed the researcher to examine at some depth issues pertaining to the life of long-term non-Arab expatriates in Qatar, including their motivations to come and stay, their self-perception and perception of Qatar, among others.

Interviews were semi-structured, which means keeping a good balance between control of the interview flow and flexibility (Wellington & Szczerbinski, 2007). This approach allowed the researcher to have the control over the flow of the

interview with a set of pre-determined questions[5], but at the same time provided for a certain dose of flexibility in case the participant felt they had more to share on the topic beyond the scope of interview questions. Likewise, this flexibility also enabled the researcher to glance over questions which did not produce valuable information for the purposes of this study.

   Interview participants. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 non-Arab expatriates who work at Qatar University. The participants for the interviews were selected using the snowball/friend-of-a-friend method, whereby the target participants were selected based on meeting a pre-determined criteria (Hoffman, 2014). In addition to fulfilling the two main criteria of being a non-Arab and having lived in Qatar for at least four years, when selecting the participants, it was important to select those who can speak some Arabic and those who cannot speak any Arabic at all. The purpose was to collect in depth data about what had been the motivation of those participants who can speak Arabic to learn the language as opposed to those who cannot speak any Arabic despite living in Qatar for an extended period of time. This approach has allowed the researcher to compare if those who speak Arabic have had different opportunities to learn the language as opposed to those who have not learned the Arabic language. All the participants met the following criteria: they were all employees of Qatar University; they were non-Arab expatriates living in Qatar for the past four year or more. In addition to the above criteria, the researcher made sure that the chosen participants represented different age groups, nationalities, religious affiliations and gender. In the context of this study,

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[5] Interview questions can be found in the Appendix B.

religious affiliation of the participants was of particular importance, specifically the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. The reason for this is simple – all Muslims, irrespective of whether they are Arabic speakers or not, through their religious affiliation and practices have a relationship with the Arabic language that is different to non-Arabic speaking non-Muslims. Thus, while other religious affiliations or lack of any religious affiliations may have affected the way respondents viewed Arabic, for the purposes of this study, the differences between them are assumed to be minor and are effectively ignored. For this reason, the data on respondents' religion is binary – Islam or not Islam. Also, given the fact that non-Muslims are a minority, the table does not identify religious affiliations other than Islam, so that anonymity of respondents can be further protected. Table 1 below summarises the demographic information about interview participants:

Table 1. Interview Partipicants Demographic Data

Name	Age	Gender	Religion	Qualification	Marital Status	Years in Qatar
Participant 1	51-60	Male	Islam	Masters	Married	15
Participant 2	20-30	Male	Islam	PhD	Single	18
Participant 3	41-50	Male	Not Islam	PhD	Married	8
Participant 4	31-40	Female	Not Islam	PhD	Married	7
Participant 5	51-60	Male	Not Islam	PhD	Married	6
Participant 6	31-40	Female	Islam	PhD	Divorced	15
Participant 7	31-40	Female	Not Islam	PhD	Single	10
Participant 8	41-50	Male	Islam	Masters	Divorced	7
Participant 9	31-40	Female	Not Islam	PhD	Married	9
Participant 10	51-60	Male	Not Islam	PhD	Married	6

Eight of the above ten participants had their families in Qatar, while two

participants had no children. Furthermore, two participants had US citizenships while others came from the following countries: Bosnia Herzegovina, Canada, Denmark, Greece, India, Portugal, Spain and the Netherlands. All the interviews were recorded upon obtaining the approval from the participants and transcribed upon completion. The participants were asked to sign the consent form allowing the researcher to use the material in the thesis.

The qualitative data obtained from the interview was analysed using the tools of Critical Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Cox cited in Bilgin (2013) credits Gramsci for his distinction between 'critical theory' and 'problem solving theory', whereby critical theory is concerned with the origins of the prevailing order whereas problem-solving theory is content with 'fixing glitches' of the prevailing system. Critical Discourse Analysis, building on the critical theory tradition, is an interdisciplinary problem-solving approach which aims at studying the role of language in issues such as power and ideology, and how it is used to serve and further the interests of those in power (Waugh, Catalano, Masaeed, Hong Do, & Renigar, 2016). A particularly important characteristic of the CDA is its typically 'normative' approach in that it "addresses social wrongs in their discursive aspects and possible ways of righting or mitigating them" as Fairclough, cited in Waugh et al. (2016), points out. Therefore, CDA provided a good analytical framework for thematic analysis of the interview data.

Thematic analysis of the interviews was conducted using the MAXQDA 2020 software in three phases. The first phase included coding the interviews which were first transcribed. The first set of codes were pre-defined and based on the interview questions. For example, the answers to the question about how the participants perceive themselves in Qatar as were coded as "portrayal of self in Qatar." In the

second phase, the similar codes were grouped to generate major themes. These themes were them aligned with the main research questions which was the third and final phase of analysis.

*Participant observation.*Aside from interviews, the researcher engaged in participant-observation method observing the usage of Arabic language in public spaces like hospitals, universities, and shopping malls. The researcher kept the diary of the observations throughout the research project. In addition, the researcher reviewed blogs, public speeches delivered by ruling establishment and decision makers in the country that relate to Arabic language and its usage, status and role in Qatar and analysed the messages sent out to the community. The purpose of reviewing this was to critically analyse the renewed official and semi-official emphasis on the Arabic language since 2012. This data was also analysed using critical discourse analysis and critical theory.

Secondary Data

Besides the original data that was collected in this research, the study also made use of a range of already published data, some of which include National Identity survey data, SESRI 2018 and the official and publicly available statistical data from international organizations and Qatar's Planning and Statistics Authority, which is an agency of the Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics.

Chapter Four: Results

In this chapter of the thesis the major findings are presented from all data collected for the purpose of this study. This chapter is divided in two major sections. The first section provides the summary of quantitative data collected from the survey. The second section of this chapter summarized the findings and results from interviews and personal observations related to the main research questions.

Quantitative Data: Survey Results

The major descriptive statistical results from the survey can be divided into a number of major interrelated topics: the non-Arabs' perspectives about their proficiency in Arabic language, importance of learning Arabic and their perceptions of Qatar and themselves in Qatar.

Arabic language proficiency level amongst non-Arab expatriates. The first research question this study aimed at answering was to determine the rates and levels of the Arabic language proficiency amongst non-Arab expatriates residing in Qatar for at least four years. The survey produced very rich and interesting findings that help answer this research question. In the survey, there was one question in which the participants were asked to rate their proficiency of Arabic language in regard to listening, reading, speaking and writing skills on a four-rating scale: non-existent, basic, intermediate, and advanced. Tables 23, 24, 25 and 26 showing detailed results for each of the four language skills can be found in Appendix C.

Based on the preliminary descriptive analysis of the data collected from the survey for this particular question, in terms of listening skills, 50% of participants rated their proficiency at basic level, 22% at non-existent level. 18% rated their

proficiency in regard to listening as advanced while only 10% rated their listening skills in Arabic as intermediate. In terms of reading skills, 32.5% of participants rated their proficiency as non-existent, 31,2% as basic, 20.8% as intermediate and 15,6% as advanced. When it comes to rating speaking skills, 32,5% participants rated their proficiency as non-existent, 44,2% as basic, 11,7% as intermediate and 11,4% as advanced. Writing skills were rated lowest among the participants. 50,6% rated their writing skills in Arabic as non-existent, 29.9% as basic, only 9.1% as intermediate and only 10,4% as advanced.

Looking at the above data, it is difficult to see the general picture of the Arabic level proficiency amongst the non-Arab expatriates. In order to provide the results in a clearer way, the researcher has coded self-rating of the participants and placed each respondent into Arabic proficiency academic levels. Each skill that was rated as basic was assigned value of 1, intermediate was assigned the value of 2 and advanced the value of 3. Likewise, skills rated as non-existent was assigned value of 0. The overall Arabic proficiency, therefore, was determined by the total sum of all values assigned to the four language skills. Thus, the minimum score would be zero, for someone who described their skill level as non-existent for all four language skills, while the maximum would be 12 for someone who described their proficiency in all four language skills as advanced. Table 2 shows the grading system of six overall language proficiency levels, with the seventh representing those without any Arabic language skills.

Table 2. Overall Arabic Proficiency Grading System

Skill Level	Total Score Range
Non-existent	0
Basic I	1 - 2
Basic II	3 - 4
Intermediate I	5 - 6
Intermediate II	7 - 8
Advanced I	9 - 10
Advanced II	1 - 12

1. **Non-existent**: this level was assigned to the respondents who scored total of zero points. This means that the participants rated each of the four skills as 'non-existent';

2. **Basic I**: this level was assigned to the respondents who scored either one or two points which means that, while in theory they could have rated one skill as 'intermediate' or two different skills as 'basic.' However, according to the data collected, all respondents who were placed at Basic I level rated either one or two skills as 'basic';

3. **Basic II**: this level was assigned to the respondents who scored between three to four points. The variables could be rating two skills as intermediate, or all four skills as basic, or only three skills as basic and one non-existent. For this level a variation of variables was possible but in most cases the majority of participants who were placed at this level rated each skill as basic or at least three of the four skills as basic;

4. **Intermediate I**: this level was assigned to the respondents who scored five or six points total;

5. **Intermediate II**: this level was assigned to the respondents who scored seven or eight points;

6. **Advanced I**: this level was assigned to the respondents who scored nine or ten points;

7. **Advanced II**: this level was assigned to the respondents who scored 11 or the maximum of 12 points.

For example, a participant who rated their listening and reading skills as intermediate, but speaking and writing skills as basic would score 2 points for their listening and reading skills each, and 1 point for speaking and writing skills each. Thus, with the total score 6, this participant would be ranked as being at Intermediate I level.

The logic for this categorization is to present the overall proficiency of the Arabic language following the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) according to which the competency of a foreign language is divided in six levels, with the seventh level referring to those who have no knowledge of Arabic whatsoever. Therefore, this study adopted the six-level model which are created from the participants responses and according to which they were placed into specific levels. Based on the above-described criteria, Table 3 below shows the overall levels and corresponding rates of Arabic language proficiency for the survey respondents:

Table 3. Overall Arabic Proficiency Level

	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Non-existent	12	15.2	15.2	15.2
Basic I	19	24.1	24.1	39.2
Basic II	18	22.8	22.8	62.0
Intermediate I	14	17.7	17.7	79.7
Intermediate II	5	6.3	6.3	86.1
Advanced I	5	6.3	6.3	92.4
Advanced II	6	7.6	7.6	100.0
Total	79	100.0	100.0	

As the data presented in the above table shows, a total of 62% of respondents have either no knowledge of Arabic whatsoever, or their Arabic proficiency level is Basic, with 15.2% having no knowledge of Arabic whatsoever, and 24.1% falling into the Basic I category. Correspondingly, it can be deduced that 37.9% of the respondents have at least the minimum of Intermediate I level in Arabic. Notable is also that only the total of 13.9% of respondents have Advanced level of Arabic proficiency. It is worth mentioning that only 6 out of 79 participants (total of 7.6%) scored the maximum of 12 points, placing them at Advanced II level.

The above-presented data provides a general description of the Arabic level proficiency amongst the non-Arab employees at Qatar University who have lived and worked in Qatar for at least four years. In fact, the mean value for the length of residency in Qatar amongst the respondents is almost 12 years at 11.943 years (with a standard deviation of 8.0555). The mean value for the Arabic proficiency level of the survey respondents is 4.18 (standard deviation 3.371), which corresponds to Basic II. The mean value for the length of residency in Qatar and Arabic language proficiency suggest that on average, during almost 12 years of residency in Qatar, an average respondent only reached the Basic II level of Arabic proficiency.

These findings pose a certain level of concern because they indicate extremely low Arabic acquisition level rates amongst the respondents. It means that regardless of their relatively long stay in Qatar, the expatriates do not manage to acquire intermediate level of Arabic knowledge. To validate the findings from the survey, this question was also discussed during the interviews with the selected participants which is discussed in the section on 'Results from Qualitative Data'.

Importance of learning Arabic language. The survey responses

collected provide a rich data set that enables the researcher to assess to what extent

the non-Arab expatriates considered learning and using Arabic language as important.

Although Arabic is the official language of the State of Qatar and all the official

communication at Qatar University is mandated to be in Arabic at least since 2016[6],

66.7% of the respondents stated they use exclusively English in their workplace,

while all the others use English in combination with other languages, making English

the languages used at work by all the respondents. None of the respondents used

exclusively Arabic at work, while only 32.1% used Arabic in combination with other

languages. When asked if they needed Arabic language for work, 41.8% of the survey

respondents answered that they needed at least some Arabic for work. The difference

is the percentage of those who felt they needed at least some Arabic for work and

those who actually used Arabic in the workplace may be an indication that 9.7% of

respondents do not know any Arabic even though they see it as required by their job.

More generally, when asked about the need of Arabic language for day-to-day life in

Qatar, 51.9% felt it was necessary for residents to know at least some Arabic, while

29.1% disagreed and 19% were not sure if some knowledge of Arabic was necessary.

The survey participants were directly asked how important to them was

learning Arabic. 67% of the respondents indicated in their answers that learning

Arabic is very or extremely important to them, while only 8.9% responded that

learning Arabic is not important to them at all. 77% of the respondents have attempted

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[6] A number of participants referred to official communication from the Office of the President of Qatar University from November 2, 2016, mandating that that all official communication, including meetings, must be in Arabic.

to learn Arabic at some point in their lives. On the question about the satisfaction with their Arabic learning experience, only 20.0% of the respondents have rated it as unsatisfactory and just satisfactory, while the rest have had more positive learning experiences, with 13.3% rating their learning experience as excellent.

As it is apparent from the above, there is a relatively high interest in learning Arabic, which is not demonstrated only by the verbally expressing so, but also by a high percentage of those who have actually attempted learning Arabic. Furthermore, 56,6% of participant stated that they are willing to dedicate 1 to 3 hours a week to learning Arabic while 9,2% were not willing to dedicate any time to learning Arabic. Only 34,2% were willing to dedicate more than three hours weekly to learning Arabic. This suggests that the overwhelming majority of respondents view learning Arabic as highly important, which suggests the right kind of attitude that is usually needed for learning a foreign language, in this case, Arabic.

Respondents' perceptions of Qatar and themselves in Qatar. The sense of belonging may be an important factor affecting the attitudes of non-Arab expatriates living in Qatar toward the Arabic language. One way of gauging the sense of belonging to Qatar amongst non-citizens is to ask how they perceive Qatar and how they perceive themselves as in the country. Table 4 below shows the respondents' perception of Qatar.

Table 4. Respondents' Perceptions of Qatar

	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Second home	35	44.3	44.3	44.3
Temporary home	23	29.1	29.1	73.4
Home	19	24.1	24.1	97.5
A place to work	1	1.3	1.3	98.7

Table 4. Respondents' Perceptions of Qatar (continued)

	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Home away from home	1	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	79	100.0	100.0	

To the question of what Qatar represents for them, 44.3% described Qatar as their second home, 29.1% saw Qatar as only a temporary home, while for only one respondent Qatar was a place of work, and finally, one described Qatar as "home away from home." On the question of self-perception in Qatar, 55.3% described themselves as residents, while 44.7% identified as expatriates. As a further indication of the sense of belonging, the respondents answered questions about how long they plan to stay in Qatar and how important it was for them that their children learn Arabic. 41% of the respondents stated that they indent to stay in Qatar indefinitely, 33.3% planned to stay more than 3 years, while 21.8% wanted to stay between 1-3 years. Only 3.8% did not plan to stay in Qatar for more than a year. This indicates that most respondents intend to stay in Qatar for prolonged period of time, bringing the percentage of those who planned to stay indefinitely with those who intended to stay more than 3 years to almost three quarters at 74.3%. A comparable percentage of respondents stated that it was important to them that their children learn Arabic – 78.7%, while 21.3% responded negatively.

Results From Qualitative Data: Interview results

While the survey data provided a wide range of responses in regard to importance of Arabic language as perceived by the non-Arab expatriate community working at Qatar University, the collected information lacked certain depth to understand the Arabic language acquisition more holistically. For example, as pointed

earlier in this study, the survey data revealed that the participants had strong desire to learn Arabic and believed that knowledge of Arabic is very important for them as professionals and their families living and working in Qatar. However, despite having lived in the country on average almost 12 years, most participants remained at the basic level of knowledge of Arabic. In order to unpack this situation and gain in-depth understanding of the status of Arabic among the non-Arab expatriates and identify the factors that affect acquisition of Arabic language amongst non-Arab expatriates, the interviews and participant observation methods were employed.

The opening question about the Arabic language was if the participant spoke Arabic. As a planned prompt, the participants were encouraged to reflect on their knowledge of Arabic. The difference here was that the participants were not given any pre-determined responses among which they were to rate their knowledge like in the survey. To the contrary, the questions that followed were all open-ended asking the interviewees to reflect on and assess their knowledge of Arabic language. Out of ten interviewees none of them confidently rated their knowledge of Arabic as fluent or even advanced. Just like in the case of the survey results, most of the participants stated that they had only basic knowledge of Arabic. In fact, only one interviewee rated his overall Arabic proficiency as "upper intermediate," which would correspond to Intermediate II. In practical terms, this meant that some of the respondents were familiar with the Arabic alphabet and were able to read simple texts like the road signs. All of them were able to exchange greetings with a great deal of confidence, which some of them have demonstrated during the interview. Likewise, some of them were able to understand the general topic of meetings in Arabic that they were attending. The nine interviewees who rated themselves at basic level, did not mention any writing skills, which could be interpreted as extremely basic or non-existent.

Also, the one participant at Intermediate II level rated his writing skills as much weaker than the other three language competencies.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the findings from the interview are very much aligned with survey results discussed in the previous section which indicated a strong positive attitude towards learning Arabic as non-Arab expatriates saw learning the language as very or extremely important. What the interview results provide is the in-depth view into the reasons for such a high importance assigned to learning Arabic. What has been found in the qualitative data set is that all interviewees have a strong desire to learn Arabic albeit for different reasons. After thematically analyzing interview data, a number of motivational factors affecting acquisition of Arabic language emerged. These included: religion, family reasons, academic interest, official need and practical need and belonging (sense of belonging and need to belong). In what follows, each of these factors is explained in detail.

Religion. Being the language of the Quran, Arabic holds an extremely high status amongst all Muslims; Arabs and non-Arabs alike. In fact, all Muslims use Arabic in their daily prayers. What is interesting is that many non-Arab Muslims learn to read Arabic and pray in Arabic without necessarily learning the language. What I can attest to is the genuine desire amongst many non-Arab Muslims to learn Arabic, which is often mixed with positive envy towards Arabs for being born as native speakers of the language. In other words, for all Muslims, Arabic is a crucial part of their religious identity and the love for Arabic cannot be matched by the love for any other language. This kind of feeling and attitude towards Arabic was observed only amongst the Muslim participants. Love and respect for the Arabic language as the language of the Qur'an and language spoken by the Prophet of Islam, during the interviews with Muslim participants was always referred to, but

without much elaboration. Since the interviewees knew they were being interviewed by a Muslim, it was assumed that beyond mere evocation of the religious aspect of their relationship with Arabic, no further elaboration on the subject was needed. Having said that, non-Muslim participants also showed a certain level of curiosity and even love for the Arabic language, yet the quality of this relationship with Arabic was not the same as that of Muslim participants. Whereas Muslim participants very clearly emphasized the religious importance of Arabic above all, albeit without much elaboration, the non-Muslims highlighted cultural and social aspects to their interest in Arabic.

Personal/family reasons. Another factor that may be affecting the acquisition of Arabic language that the survey touched upon was having an Arabic speaking spouse. Three of the interviewed participants had relevant personal experiences that they have shared. Two of the participants were married to Arabs, and both had very similar experiences. For example, none of them used Arabic in communicating with their spouses, and it was in fact only that they had to use Arabic with some members of their spouses' family. When asked about the reasons for not using Arabic in communicating with their spouse, one respondent explained that one of the reasons is that they are able to effectively communicate in other two languages, in addition to English. The other reason that this respondent offered is the feeling of unease speaking Arabic to their native Arabic speaker spouse "with a funny accent." Thus, it would seem that having a native Arabic speaking spouse, at least according to the personal experiences of the two interviewees, in and of itself is not an additional motivating factor for learning Arabic. However, being married into an Arab family and having regular contacts with them, especially the older ones who may not speak languages other than Arabic, according to both of those participants, had positively

contributed to their learning of Arabic. The third participant was married to a non-native speaker of Arabic. This participant's experience was that, unlike those who were married to native Arabic speakers, having a non-Arab Arabic speaking spouse who had a considerable positive impact on their own learning experience. There are at least two ways this participant had benefitted from having a spouse who learnt Arabic as a foreign language. On the one hand, since both were Arabic learners, the spouse, who was more proficient in Arabic, could provide useful and appropriate advice that benefitted this participant greatly. On the other hand, since both were non-Arabs, this participant did not report any feeling of unease that comes with having a (foreign) accent when trying to speak Arabic. While this participant (Robert) explicitly stated that his spouse "helping [him] to learn" and that they "were practicing together," the other two participants with native Arabic speaker spouses shared no such experiences.

Academic interest. Academic interest in the Arab world has been a motivating factor for some of the participants. In fact, it is the academic interest in the Arab affairs that brought two of the participants to Qatar. While this strong academic interest did not result in full Arabic proficiency, nonetheless, it did and still is a motivating factor for learning Arabic. The reasons for the lack of a higher Arabic proficiency will be discussed later on in this chapter. Here, it is important to point out that one of participants has taken intensive one-on-one Arabic lessons in his home country prior to coming to Qatar, and continued his Arabic learning at the Translation and Interpretation Institute (TII) in the first year of his stay, after which he stopped and in fact his Arabic proficiency quickly deteriorated due to the lack of practice. However, this participant reported that he is still very much interested in learning Arabic and will be important for his career even if he leaves Qatar, since this region is and will continue to be the focus of his academic interests.

Love of languages. Most of the interviewed participants spoke more than one language. In some cases, they were bilingual, but most spoke more than two languages. Some of them, grew up in a multilingual families and societies that provided the ideal environment for learning other languages than the first language or mother tongue. However, especially for those who grew up in English-speaking countries, it was in fact the love of foreign languages that was a contributing factor to their motivation for learning Arabic. In general, it would seem that those participants who were at least familiar with more than one foreign language, had an additional source of motivation to learn Arabic, irrespective of whether they needed it for work or how long they planned to stay in Qatar.

Practical needs and formal requirements. For every day-to-day life in Qatar, based on their own experiences, there was almost a unanimous view among all interviewees that one could get by in Qatar without any Arabic. However, there were some, albeit very few instances where basic Arabic may have been somewhat helpful, in particular in some government offices like the Traffic Department. Nonetheless, while Arabic may have been helpful, it was never absolutely essential.

However, some participants have noted that in recent years they felt there was a growing need for Arabic in the workplace. While formally none of the participants was asked to provide a proof of Arabic proficiency in order to keep working at Qatar University, in recent years, and in the light of the language of instruction change in 2012 and the enactment of the 2019 Law on the Protection of Arabic language, they have taken notice of increasing Arabization of Qatar University. In practice, while bilingual official communication at Qatar University is still the norm, some participants have noted that increasingly they have been receiving official emails and announcements in Arabic only. For example, one of the participants claimed that an

official announcement of the appointment of a new director at their center was announced only in Arabic. Moreover, many official meetings are conducted only in Arabic, which leaves non-Arabic speakers often unable to follow and contribute to those meetings. Furthermore, one participant reported that in the wake of the 2012 language policy change, he was made conditional offer for a new position at Qatar University, with basic Arabic being a requirement.

The participants were also asked a question about the hypothetical introduction of some Arabic proficiency requirement for work and residency in Qatar. When asked if there were such a requirement in place when they were coming to Qatar, would it have been a reason to decide not to come and work in Qatar, the overwhelming majority of the participants responded with a negative answer. In fact, not only would Arabic proficiency requirement, within a reason, not be a discouraging factor, but would actually have been an additional motivating factor to learn Arabic. However, none of the participants were at any point formally required to provide evidence of some Arabic proficiency, which has deprived some of them of an important additional concrete reason to learn.

Opportunities to learn Arabic. All of the participants had at some point tried to learn Arabic since coming to Qatar, albeit with different levels of success. In general, most participants have had experiences with at least one of the major venues for learning Arabic in Qatar, namely Program for Non-Native Speaker of Arabic and the Community Service and Continuing Education Center, both at Qatar University, Translation and Interpretation Institute (TII) at Hamad bin Khalifa University (HBKU) and Abdulla Bin Zaid Al Mahmoud Islamic Cultural Center, popularly known as Fanar. While it was widely recognized by the majority of the interviewees the Arabic program for non-native speakers at Qatar University had a

good reputation and seemed as offering a compete program of learning Arabic from beginner to advanced level, only one interviewee was actually able to take a few courses. All others who showed interest in taking Arabic courses with this program were in fact unable to enroll or attend, either due to the course timings which coincided with participants working hours or due to limited capacity.

Two participants took evening courses at the Community Service and Continuing Education Center. One of them took only one, beginner's course and did not continue as he found the intensity of the course to be too high. The second participant took all three Arabic courses which are offered by the Center and found the teaching quality to be of high quality. However, this participant found that Arabic course offer was limited to the three levels already taken, which this participant found disappointing. While the progress made during the first three courses was substantial, it was not enough to enable this participant to start communicating in everyday situations, since the focus of those courses was not verbal communication. This participant also made a remark that it was possible for them to attend those classes before they had children, and that now, the timing of those courses and their intensity would not be suitable for working parents. The timing, from 5-8 PM, intensity of having classes three times a week was a discouraging factor for a number of other participants which made them not attend those classes.

While two participants have hailed the TII courses for the quality of teaching and the timing, length and frequency of classes as being tailored for the working people, only one participant actually took a course, which he rated as excellent. The second participant registered for a Qatari dialect course but did not attend as the course was cancelled due to the lack of the minimum number of students. Finally, one of the participants took an Arabic language course offered by Fanar. While this

participant liked the cultural experience offered by the Center, their language teaching approach was 'old school' and was not aligned with this participants goal of learning Arabic for communication purposes.

In addition to those formal venues of Arabic learning, two participants, who are teaching faculty, have pointed out that they have learned a lot from their students. While both teach in English, as their programs are still formally taught in English, they were making conscious efforts to learn Arabic, while teaching. They have found this experience beneficial to them and seemed to be welcomed by their Arab students as well.

Belonging. Although both terms, 'residents' and 'expatriate' are used to refer to the non-Qatari population living in Qatar, interchangeably there is a difference in how these terms are used to imply different meanings. While the term 'expatriate' implies temporality and otherness, the term 'resident' implies some level of permanence and belonging. The official discourse on the non-Qataris has witnessed a major shift since the imposition of a blockade on Qatar by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Egypt on the 5th June 2017. In fact, in his first official public speech of the Amir of Qatar, in the wake of the blockade, on 21st July, 2017 was titled as *HH The Amir Address to the Citizens and Residents of Qatar*, in which he referred to the non-citizens as "the residents in our country who work, contribute and live with us, and who stood with us throughout this crisis (Amiri Diwan, 2017a)." On the 19th September 2017, in a most perhaps significant speech at the time, at the 72nd Session of the United Nations' General Assembly, the Amir of Qatar reiterated his recognition and appreciation of the non-citizens in the following way: "Allow me, on this occasion and from this podium, to express my pride in my Qatari people, along with the multinational and multicultural residents in Qatar (Amiri Diwan,

2017b). Again, on 14th November 2020, at the opening of the 46th Session of the Advisory Shura Council, the Amir again referred to the non-Qataris as residents in the following lines: "I reiterate my appreciation to our pedigreed Qatari people and residents of the State for standing up with dignity and pride against the blockade (Amiri Diwan, 2020)." Thus, since the Amir introduced the expression "citizens and residents," it became the new official way of referring to the whole of Qatar's population, whereby the term residents became part of new discourse on the non-citizens.

Prior to the blockade, the non-citizens were referred to as foreigners, foreign labor force, expatriates, laborers, *wāfidūn*,[7] and *ajānib*.[8] After the blockade in officials' public speeches as well as in many official documents the non-citizens are almost exclusively referred to as residents/*muqīmūn*. This shift was interpreted by the expatriate community as a sign of acknowledgement and increased level of acceptance of the non-Qataris as integral part of Qatari society. This interpretation was echoed by some of my interviewees who agreed that this move created a stronger sense of belonging to the Qatari society for them and their families. However, this feeling was short lived, and the expatriate community was soon reminded of the temporality of their stay in Qatar. Participant 4 expressed this feeling in the following way: "With Corona it was emphasized that there are differences, pretty significant differences [between Qataris and non-Qataris] and that you will never be treated as a true Qatari citizen." In fact, this kind of feeling has been shared by other interviewees irrespective of the situation with the blockade and Covid-19 pandemic. For example,

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[7] According to the Oxford Arabic Dictionary, *wāfid,* pl. *wāfidūn* comes from the Arabic verb *wafada*, which means to arrive or to visit. Thus a *wāfid* is a newcomer, expatriate or a foreign worker in the Gulf (Arts, 2014).

[8] *Ajnabī*, pl. *ajānib* is the Arabic word for a foreigner (Arts, 2014).

one of the interviewees, Participant 3, shared an anecdote from his professional life, which echoes experiences of many other participants in the following way:

> "I see myself as an expat residing in Qatar, but I will tell you one anecdote that can help you to understand how I can feel here. One of my own students […] told me in the middle of the class: 'of course, you are teaching us because we need you, once we are trained and we get your position we will fire you because we don't need you anymore. This can summarize how we can feel. And it was a Qatari student who told me that."

Another participant, while seeing herself as a resident, calling Qatar her home and not only having no plans to leave Qatar, but in fact at the moment being unable to envision her life anywhere else, also shares some of those experiences. As she pointed out, while she sees herself as a resident and has a strong sense of belonging to Qatar, she is often made aware that it is not how others perceive her. In particular for those with such strong feelings of belonging to Qatar, the harsh reality of the temporary nature of their stay in Qatar, at least in legal terms, combined with instances of rejection or perceived rejection by the Qataris cause a sense of insecurity, frustration and in some cases, crisis of identity.

The above discussed emphasis on or push for Arabic in the workplace in recent years has had a mixed reception among non-Arabic speaking employees at Qatar University. While none of the participants disputed the mandating of the use of Arabic in principle, the sudden and abrupt change and the lack of any support for the non-Arabic speakers had drawn strong criticism of the policy implementation. Mandating that all the official meeting had to be conducted in Arabic, for example, meant that non-Arabic speakers would be left out of the important discussions and stripped of ability to share their knowledge and expertise. One participant in particular

emphasized the waste of their expertise and time, due to their inability to actively take part in the important meetings, as the simultaneous translation, while sometimes available, is most of the time absent. Thus, having to attend meetings, but not being able to either follow or contribute to those meetings, as one participant pointed out, left many non-Arabic speakers feeling unwelcome and even offended. This and similar policies and practices, or rather their implementation, reduce the sense of belonging, which for some participants was very strong indeed, and enforce the sense of 'otherness' and estrangement in a place that some call home.

Chapter Five: Discussion

The author has presented very detailed empirical data collected for the purpose of the current study. However, it is very important to analyse the data presented above with a critical eye and unpack different meanings embodied in the data sets. This chapter provides the overview of major findings of the study, reflecting on the main research questions. This chapter concludes with the summary of the empirical contributions this study makes to the field of language policy in Qatar.

Lack of Standardized Tests

From the presented results above, obtained from both, survey and interview, it is clear that the majority of the non-Arab expatriates who participated in this study have a relatively low levels of Arabic language proficiency. However, the results also suggest that, contrary to the assumption that non-Arab expats do not possess any Arabic language skills, in fact large number of them possess at least some, albeit mostly very basic, Arabic language competencies.

One of the challenges that Arabic language learners face is the lack of internationally recognized Arabic language proficiency tests, similar to IELTS or TOEFL tests for English. The lack of such tests, while a problem in itself, is also an indication of a wider problem, which is that teaching Arabic as a foreign language has not been sufficiently and satisfactorily developed and has not be standardized. This leads to often poor quality of teaching and low impact on the Arabic learners. Therefore, what is needed in order to provide high quality Arabic teaching for non-native speakers is massive research into and specialized degrees for teaching Arabic to non-native speakers. The American University of Cairo, for example, is one of the very few universities that offers specialized master's program in teaching Arabic as a foreign language (The American University in Cairo, 2020). Again, what has been

done in the area of teaching other languages to non-native speakers, especially English and in recent years Turkish, can and should be adopted for Arabic language as well. Wealthy Arab countries such as Qatar are well-equipped to make such much needed advances in the teaching of Arabic a reality.

Lack of Adequate Learning Opportunities

Another important outcome of this study is that it reveals lack of the adequate and suitable opportunities created for non-Arabic speakers in Qatar to learn Arabic which in turn affects their motivation and ability to learn the language. While the Arabic Program for non-Native Speakers at Qatar University can be seen as one of the attempts to provide non-Arabs with opportunity to learn Arabic, the program is restricted in many ways to a very selected and privileged number of participants. The program admits a relatively small number of international students and even a smaller number of residents of Qatar can obtain a seat in the program. In fact, as an unemployed resident 4 years ago I applied to the program and was not admitted due to a limited number of seats.

The non-Arab residents can get enrolled in the program only if they pay full fees. For the non-Arab residents who have full time jobs which is true for most of the expatriates and true for all of my participants, the schedule of the classes currently offered by the program are not suitable as they are offered only in the morning. Therefore, Qatar University's non-Arab employees who might be interested in enrolling in the program are not provided this opportunity.

The Community Service and Continuing Education Center at Qatar University in fact offers another Arabic program for non-native speakers in the afternoons which targets working expatriates. However, while some of the interviewees who have attended this program were happy with the overall teaching quality, others have stated

a number of issues with the program. Some of those issues included the timing of the classes offered and the intensity of the program. The classes were offered from 5:00-8:00 pm, three times a week. The participants who took part or were thinking of enrolling in the program found this timing and frequency of classes completely unsuitable for their working schedules. This also goes in line with the survey data according to which 56,6% participant stated that they are willing to dedicate 1 to 3 hours a week to learning Arabic. Therefore, it can be said that the program offered by the Community Service and Continuing Education Center does not meet the needs of the non-Arab expatriates working at Qatar University and likely is not to meet the needs of the wider non-Arab expatriate working community.

Another example of Arabic courses on offer mentioned by some of the interviewees was the Arabic language program offered by the Translation and Interpretation Institute (TII) at Hamad bin Khalifa University (HBKU). One of the participants pointed out that courses offered by the TII cover more levels than the program offered by the Qatar University's Community Service and Continuing Education Center. Also, this interviewee was of the opinion that having 1 hour and 40 minutes of instruction twice a week, that is offered at TII is much more suitable for the working people.

Generally speaking, while the vast majority of 90,8% of the participants were prepared and willing to invest into learning Arabic at least 1 hour a week, it can be concluded the lack of adequate offer of the Arabic language programs presents a serious obstacle in translating the shown willingness to learn into an actual learning in a formal setting. Thus, what is required is developing a program specially tailored for the working people. A good place to start could be developing such a program at Qatar University by utilizing the already available resources or rather re-organizing

them in such a way that would be more appealing and tailored towards the needs of Qatar University employees.

At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that different people may have different goals in terms of desired level of Arabic proficiency. While some may be content with being able use Arabic for shopping in the old *Souq*, others may want to achieve advanced levels of Arabic language proficiency. Some may wish to be able to read Arabic for academic purposes, while others may have no desire to learn how to read at all and would only wish to be able to verbally communicate in a local dialect. Learning any foreign language requires engaging in intensive hours of teaching over a long period of time. As 56,6% of respondents states that they would be willing to dedicate only 1-3 hours a week for Arabic learning, it may be assumed that great number, if not the majority of respondents do not have achieving full or advanced Arabic proficiency as a goal, but rather aim to achieve only very basic level of Arabic proficiency.

Lack of Formal Requirement and Need for Arabic Language

As per the results presented in Chapter Four, the vast majority of the participants in this study felt that it was important to learn Arabic, and yet, despite of them having attempted to learn Arabic at some point in their lives, for most of them the Arabic proficiency level remained relatively low. One possible reason for the low Arabic acquisition rates amongst the non-Arab expatriates is that, as majority of them indicated, there no practical need for Arabic language neither for day-to-day life nor in the workplace. Such results can be considered a further indication and evidence for the claim that in fact it is not Arabic, but rather English that is the dominant and most widely used language in Qatar. In other words, without English, getting by in Qatar is extremely difficult, while it is possible to get by relatively easily without Arabic.

Therefore, in order to counter this dominance of English at the expense of Arabic, and restore the primacy of the Arabic language in Qatar, there needs to be a fundamental change in creating the need for the usage of Arabic in practice, as well as introducing some formal requirements, which is discussed in the following section.

Language Policy

Since Arabic is an integral element of the Arab and Islamic character that form the Qatari national identity, concerns about the language are in fact concerns about identity. Thus, Qatar's issuance of the Law No. 7 of 2019on the Protection of the Arabic Language, can be seen as both an example and evidence of the concerns about the Arabic language, and the recognition by the Qatari leadership and policy makers of the importance of preserving the "Arabness" of the state and society. Thus, this law should be seen in the context of wider concerns about preservation of Arab and Islamic identity of the state and society.

However, argument can be made that, given the complexity of the sociolinguistic situation in Qatar, the few existing language related policies are ineffective in facilitating effective communication between all segments of Qatari society and protecting the Arabic language. Similarly, argument can be made that in fact, Qatar does not have any language policy that encourages, let alone requires non-Arabic speaking expatriates in Qatar to acquire at least the basic level of Arabic competency. In that context, this study aimed at answering the question whether non-Arab expatriates or residents in Qatar should be required by the state to acquire at least some basic Arabic language skills. In principle, raising the level of Arabic acquisition rates among non-Arabic speaking majority would arguably have positive impact on the overall status of Arabic and increase its value through increased practical use. The extent to which this impact would be significant is another

question, but at any rate, it can be safely assumed that there are no quick solutions to a complex problem such as the use of Arabic language as the main language of communication in the country. The decision and policy makers in the country, should they decide to consider introducing some Arabic language requirement for those who reside in Qatar, would have to take a long-term approach to the issue.

Introducing Arabic language requirement in the government sector, should it ever happen, would be comparably much easier than in the private sector, where English is much more dominant and where the government has no direct say. Therefore, while the benefits of introducing Arabic requirement for non-Arabs would probably be welcome by those segments of the society who are concerned about issues of identity, the business community would likely show some reservations to such a policy. Also, not all expatriates would be willing or capable of reaching any meaningful level of Arabic proficiency and may decide to leave. In any case, there would be short-term economic cost to introducing such a policy, which should also be taken into account by the decision makers. However, in the long-term, a strong argument can be made about substantial economic gains for Qatar, as well as the Arab world in general, as a result of increased investment in teaching Arabic to non-native speakers. In fact, as Fassi Fehri (2013) argues, the increased usage of Arabic would increase its economic value and thus, in addition to securing the future of Arabic, would be economically beneficial.

This study did not aim to provide a comprehensive view of the complex sociolinguistic situation, nor did it aim to provide complete and ready-made solutions. However, the study did uncover an untapped potential for spreading Arabic language and culture – the positive attitude of many non-Arab expatriates toward Arabic and their high levels of desire to learn. This is especially true of those with higher

academic qualifications, which is precisely the kind of people that Qatar would need as it transforms its economy from oil-based to knowledge-based economy. The results, despite study's limitations, suggest that, even without mandating Arabic learning, but rather with strong encouragement and right support for people to learn Arabic, many non-Arab residents would respond positively.

Nevertheless, in the long-term, if Qatar is to preserve its Arab and Islamic identity, some form of integration of the non-Arab expatriates is not only necessary but is inevitable. The issue therefore is not if large numbers of non-Arabs will continue to live in Qatar, but to what extent will they be "Arabized" and to what extent they will "de-Arabize" the Arab population, including the Qatari nationals. Thus, if future dependence of foreign workforce is accepted, as QNV2030 suggests, then introducing some cultural criteria, including language, should be seriously considered as one of the ways of protecting and enhancing Arab and Islamic values of the society. And finally, given the long-standing nature of the issue, and given the fact that Qatar aims to be an open and tolerant society, and taking into consideration of the needs of Qatari economy, the approach to introducing some Arabic language should be leaning more toward encouragement and less toward imposing Arabic language learning and use.

Areas for future research

Given the stated limitations of this study, it would be interesting in the future to conduct a study which would determine the Arabic language proficiency and rates among Qatar's non-Arab residents by administering an actual standardized test, such as the one used by the Arabic for Non-native Speakers Program at Qatar University. Arabic proficiency levels and rates thus obtained would likely more reliably and accurately represent the actual Arabic language skills among the study participants.

Should such a study be conducted in the future, it would be interesting to compare results of an actual placement test with how participants of this study have accurately rated themselves.

While correlation analysis was considered as part of this study, given practical limitations, it was determined that such an analysis went beyond this study's scope. However, in the future, a correlation analysis could be conducted in order to determine the relative strength and impact of various factors on the Arabic language acquisition among Qatar's non-Arab residents. A future study, using correlation analysis could, for example, determine to what extent does one's religious affiliation affect the acquisition of Arabic language. While those who have reported the highest Arabic proficiency levels in this study were Muslims, they have also been graduates of Sharia. Therefore, it would be interesting to find out in a future study how do Arabic proficiency levels of non-Arab Muslim residents who have not formally studied Arabic or Sharia at university level compare to their non-Muslim counterparts, thus determining how does the religious affiliation affect Arabic acquisition in a general resident population.

Another venue for future study would be to include a wider range of subjects – for example, those who work in the private sector, healthcare workers and lower skilled workers. Particularly important area of study would be Arabic language proficiency amongst healthcare workers, including nurses and medical doctors and consultants. Apart from studying attitudes of non-Arab residents towards the Arabic language, as well as their proficiency levels, for a more comprehensive depiction of the sociolinguistic situation in Qatar with regard to the Arabic language, it would be necessary to include those whose first language is Arabic, Qatari citizens and Arab residents.

Conclusion

The main aim of this study was to determine the Arabic language proficiency levels and rates among non-Arab expatriates in Qatar and factors that have contributed to the Arabic acquisition rates in Qatar. In order to answer those questions, a mixed method approach was employed, which included an online survey, interviews and researcher's personal observations. The findings of the survey demonstrated a relatively low proficiency levels, especially considering the fact that most of the survey respondents have lived in Qatar for at least four years. However, most respondents considered learning Arabic as very important.

The interview data provided additional insights into the factors that have led to such a low proficiency of Arabic language amongst the non-Arab expatriated working at Qatar University. The study describes the overall experiences of non-Arabs as residents or expats in Qatar with learning and using Arabic language. The study also identifies motivating and demotivating factors contributing to the Arabic language acquisition amongst non-Arab expatriates in Qatar.

The study perhaps unsurprisingly confirmed the widely accepted assumption that the Arabic proficiency among non-Arab residents and expatriates is relatively low. However, it uncovered some of the main reasons for such low rates of Arabic acquisition rates, and in so doing, revealed a significant learning potential that most respondents have demonstrated. The vast majority of participants have expressed great desire and high levels of motivations to learn at least some Arabic, and many have demonstrated this desire through attempts to learn. In addition, many would not be opposed to the introduction of some Arabic language proficiency requirement, perhaps as part of their employment contracts. In other words, the relatively high level of interest for Arabic and openness to the idea of some Arabic proficiency being

formally required are two key elements that could be encouraging, if the policy makers began to introduce some language criteria in their overall immigration or population policies.

However, the success of a policy that would require non-Arab residents to learn and demonstrate some Arabic proficiency would require meticulous planning and an effective step-by-step implementation and successful policy communication. In fact, before formally requiring anyone to learn Arabic through introducing a law or regulation, perhaps the policy and decision makers at Qatar University could consider introducing policy that would, instead of requiring or demanding, encourages employees to learn Arabic.

Additionally, for the policy to work, any requirement to learn Arabic must be realistic and accompanied by adequate support. For example, if Qatar University was to introduce such policy for its employees, the University should provide enough support through providing sufficient number of courses specially tailored to the needs and abilities of the working people. The syllabus of those courses should be aligned with the actual needs of Qatar University employees, whereby there would be a balance between Modern Standard Arabic used in formal communication and spoken varieties of Arabic needed for effective verbal everyday communication. As a way of promoting local culture, Qatari dialect should be given primacy, while other dialects should not be completely ignored.

Qatar University, should it successfully introduce and implement Arabic language requirement, could provide a blueprint for other academic institutions such as universities that are part of Qatar Foundation. Furthermore, if such a policy proved effective in raising the level of Arabic proficiency among non-Arab employees at Qatar University, it could, with necessary adjustments, make decision makers

consider replicating such a policy at the state level and making it an integral part of Qatar's population policy. Raising Arabic proficiency among non-Arab residents in Qatar would ease some of the Arab identity concerns among Qatari citizens, and could contribute to an enhanced social cohesion between Arab and non-Arab segments of the country's population. This study has shown that many non-Arabs living in Qatar have relatively positive attitude toward the Arabic language and would be willing to learn the language with the right kind of support. This goodwill provides a solid basis for the introduction of Arabic proficiency requirement for non-Arab residents in the future, and an opportunity for promoting Arabic language and culture. Nevertheless, achieving full or advanced Arabic proficiency for many, if not the majority of non-Arab expatriates would be a difficult, if not impossible, goal to achieve, as such undertaking would require intensive engagement with the Arabic language over longer period of time. Given the fact that vast majority of expatriates, including all of participants in this study, have full-time jobs, dedicating the necessary time to achieve higher levels of Arabic proficiency would, without major support from their employers, not be possible. However, given the readiness of expatriates in this study to dedicate 1-3 hours a week for studying Arabic, achieving an elementary level of Arabic for most would seem to be an attainable and realistic goal.

Nonetheless, the extent to which Arab identity and values, including the Arabic language, will be preserved are primarily contingent upon Arabs themselves acquiring and retaining high Arabic proficiency, in both speech and writing – and this is not guaranteed. Requiring the non-Arabs living in Qatar to learn Arabic would certainly contribute to elevating the status and the practical value of Arabic language and help the country to retain its "Arabness." However, the key to Qatar preserving its Arab character in the future is not only ensuring non-Arab residents learn some

Arabic, but more importantly, ensuring that new generations of Arabs in Qatar receive

high quality Arabic language education.

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APPENDIX A: SURVEY AND INTERVIEW CONSENT FORMS

Survey Consent

IRB No.: QU-IRB 1368-EA/20
IRB Approval Date: September 16th, 2020

My name is Ismail Zahirovic, and I am a Graduate student conducting a study for my MA thesis under the supervision of Dr Eiman Mustafawi.

The aim of this study is to investigate the attitudes non-Arab residents of Qatar have towards the Arabic language, and thus, contribute to a better understanding of the sociolinguistic situation in the country.

As a part of this study, you are being kindly requested to participate in this survey.

Participation should not take more than 5 minutes of your time. Participation is completely voluntary. If you wish to refrain from answering any particular question, you may skip it. You may withdraw from this study at any time without penalty.

You will not be penalized in any way for deciding to skip a question or withdraw at any time. You also will not be affected professionally if you refuse to participate. There are also no direct benefits to you personally if you choose to participate. However, this research will contribute to a better understanding of the attitudes of an important section of the Qatari population toward the official language of the State.

Your responses will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. The electronic data will be stored on secure password-protected computers to which only the research team will have access.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Qatar University Institutional Review Board with the approval number QU-IRB 1368-EA/20. If you have any questions or concerns about this study, you may contact QU–IRB at QU-IRB@qu.edu.qa or at 4403 5307. Contact information of the research team is as follows:

Ismail Zahirovic   Dr Eiman Mustafawi
Email: iz1107978@qu.edu.qa   Email: eimanmust@qu.edu.qu

By clicking the "I agree" button below indicates that you have read, understood the above, and agree to participate in this study.

Consent Form for Interview including audio taping of Interview

IRB No.: QU-IRB 1368-EA/20
IRB Approval Date: September 16th, 2020

My name is Ismail Zahirovic, and I am a Graduate student conducting study for my MA thesis under the supervision of Dr Eiman Mustafawi.

The aim of this study is to investigate the attitudes non-Arab residents of Qatar have towards the Arabic language, and thus, contribute to a better understanding of sociolinguistic situation in the country. In the course of this study, the aim is to survey at least 100 Qatar University employees, whose mother tongue is not Arabic and who have lived in Qatar for at least 4 years and conduct in-depth interview with at least 10 of them.

As a part of this study, you are being requested to participate in an interview.

Participation should not take more than 45 minutes of your time. Participation is completely voluntary. If you wish to refrain from answering any particular question, you may skip it. You may withdraw from this study at any time without penalty.

You will not be penalized in any way for deciding to skip a question or withdraw at any time. You also will not be affected professionally if you refuse to participate. There are also no direct benefits to you personally if you choose to participate. However, this research will contribute to a better understanding of the attitudes of an important section of the Qatari population toward the official language of the State.

I would like to audio record this interview in order to ensure that all the information you provide is accurately documented. In case the interview is conduced online, the camera will be turned off to avoid an accidental video recording. You may still participate in the interview if you do not want the interview to be recorded.

Your responses will be kept strictly confidential will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. The electronic data will be stored on secure password protected computers to which only the research team will have access.

Do you voluntarily consent to take part in the study?

☐Yes   ☐No
If Yes, signature _____.

Consent to Record Interview
Do you also voluntarily consent to this interview being recorded?

☐Yes   ☐No
If Yes, Signature: _____.

If you chose to be interviewed, you will be given a copy of this consent form with your signatures.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from this study at any time without penalty.

All information obtained in this study will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. The data will be stored in secure lockable filing cabinets in the research team's individual offices. The electronic data will be stored on secure password protected computers to which only the research team will have access. Each respondent will be given an ID number which will be used for all transcription of data from the interview forms. The identity of the respondent will only be known to the members of the research team who will keep this information completely confidential.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Qatar University Institutional Review Board with the approval number QU-IRB 1368-EA/20. If you have any questions or concerns about this study, you may contact QU–IRB at <u>QU-IRB@qu.edu.qa</u> or at 4403 5307. Contact information of the research team is as follows:

Ismail Zahirovic   Dr Eiman Mustafawi
Email: iz1107978@qu.edu.qa   Email: eimanmust@qu.edu.qa
Telephone: 50224705   Telephone: 4403 4908

If you have read, understood the above, and agree to participate in this study please sign below:
Participant name in block letters:
_____

Participant signature: Researcher signature:
_____

                                              _____

Date:
_____

APPENDIX B: SURVEY AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Survey Questions

1. Is Arabic your first language?
    ☐Yes   ☐No

2. Have you lived in Qatar for more than 4 years?
    ☐Yes   ☐No

3. What is your age?
    ☐ 20-30 years
    ☐ 31-40 years
    ☐ 41-50 years
    ☐ 51-60 years
    ☐ Prefer not to say

4. What is your gender?
    ☐ Female
    ☐ Male
    ☐ Prefer not to say

5. What is your nationality/citizenship?

6. What is your religion?

7. What is your marital status?
    ☐ Single
    ☐ Married
    ☐ Divorced
    ☐ Widowed
    ☐ Separated
    ☐ Prefer not to say

8. Do you have children?
    ☐Yes   ☐No

9. Does your family live with you in Qatar?
    ☐Yes   ☐No

10. What is your highest academic qualification?
    ☐ Highschool
    ☐ Undergraduate university degree
    ☐ Graduate university degree
    ☐ Post-graduate university degree
    ☐ Other

11. What is the nature of your work/position at Qatar University?
    ☐ Administrative   ☐ Academic   ☐ Both

12. How many years have you lived in Qatar?

13. How do you see yourself as in Qatar?
   ☐ Expat
   ☐ Resident
   ☐ Other

14. How many years did you originally intend to stay in Qatar?

15. What does Qatar represent for you?
   ☐ Home
   ☐ Second home
   ☐ Temporary home
   ☐ Other

16. How long do you intend to stay in Qatar for?
   ☐ Up to 1 year
   ☐ 1 to 3 years
   ☐ More than 3 years
   ☐ Indefinitely

17. What is your first language/mother tongue?

18. What foreign languages do you speak?

19. What languages do you use at work?
   ☐ Arabic
   ☐ English
   ☐ Other

20. Do you need Arabic for work?
   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

21. How do you rate your level of Arabic language proficiency?

	Non-existent	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced
Listening	○	○	○	○
Speaking	○	○	○	○
Reading	○	○	○	○
Writing	○	○	○	○

22. Does your spouse speak Arabic?
   ☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ NA

23. Have you ever tried to learn Arabic?
   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

24. How important is learning Arabic to you? (1 not important at all - 5 extremely important)
   1 ○ 2 ○ 3 ○ 4 ○ 5 ○

25. If you attempted learning Arabic in Qatar, how would you rate your learning experience? (1 unsatisfactory - 5 excellent)
1 ○ 2 ○ 3 ○ 4 ○ 5 ○

26. Do you think it is necessary for residents to have at least basic knowledge of Arabic for day-to-day life in Qatar
☐Yes   ☐No   ☐NA

27. How much time would you be prepared to invest in learning Arabic per week (with the right kind of support from your employer/the government)?
☐ 0 hours   ☐ 1-3 hours   ☐ 3-5 hours

28. Do you feel it is necessary to know Arabic in order to communicate with Qataris?
☐Yes   ☐No

29. Is it important to you that your children learn Arabic?
☐Yes   ☐No   ☐NA

In case you would be willing to take part in a follow-up interview, please leave your e-mail address: _____

Interview Questions

Residency in Qatar – motivations to come and stay, plans for the future

1. Prior to coming to Qatar, have you lived in any other Arab state?

   Planned prompts: If yes, briefly ask which countries, and for how long.

2. Could you please tell me more about how you came to Qatar?

   Planned prompts: Ask about the time the subject came to Qatar, motivations for coming.

3. How long did you originally intend to stay in Qatar?

   Planned prompts: Ask about if they are still following the original plan or the plan changed, and why.

4. What is Qatar for you?

   Planned prompts: Ask about the extent to which the subject feels at home in Qatar, is Qatar the only home, or a second home? Do you feel accepted and respected in Qatar?

5. Do you see yourself as an expat in Qatar or resident of Qatar?

   Planned prompts: Ask if the subject is aware of the change in the official discourse about expatriates in Qatar since the start of Qatar blockade – the speech of HH the Emir? Ask if they feel differently since the start of the blocked about their status in Qatar. Permanent residency law?

6. What are your plans for the future?

   Planned prompts: If the long-term plan does not involve living in Qatar, ask why not.

Language

7. What languages do you speak?

   Planned prompts: What is your mother tongues, first language? Foreign languages? At what levels?

8. What languages do you speak at home?

9. Which language or languages do you use at work?

   Planned prompts: Ask if the use of Arabic is important, necessary, officially required at the workplace. If yes, how do those who do not speak Arabic cope.

10. Do you think it is necessary for residents of Qatar to know at least some Arabic or does it suffice to know English only?

Arabic language

11. Do you speak any Arabic?

    Planned prompts: Ask how they would rate themselves, as beginners, intermediate…

12. If yes, where and how did you learn Arabic?

    Planned prompts: Ask the subject to describe all attempts at learning Arabic and the extent to which they were successful. Ask about the various experiences with learning Arabic.

13. If you don't speak Arabic, have you ever tried learning the Arabic language?

14. If you tried learning Arabic, could you please describe your experience of learning Arabic?

    Planned prompts: Ask about how the quality and effectiveness of Arabic language programs the subject attended, and the obstacles they faced.

15. If you never attempted learning Arabic, what are the reasons for not trying?

16. If prior to coming to Qatar you knew that you were required to know or learn some Arabic, how would this affect your decision to come to Qatar in the first place? Would such a requirement, if introduced now, change your future plans?

17. If given the right support from the government and the employer, would you be prepared to invest time and effort to learn some Arabic?

    Planned prompts: How much time would you be willing to dedicate to learning Arabic? According to Foreign Service Institute Arabic falls into the Category IV Languages: 88 weeks (2200 class hours) "Super-hard languages" – Languages which are exceptionally difficult for native English speakers.

18. If you there was a more clear, transparent and realistic path towards obtaining permanent residency in Qatar, which would also require you to learn some Arabic, would you be more willing to learn the Arabic language?

19. Is it important to you that your children learn Arabic? Why yes or why not?

APPENDIX C: SURVEY RESULTS

Table 5. Survey Participants Age

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	31-40 years	27	34.2	34.2	34.2
	51-60 years	24	30.4	30.4	64.6
	41-50 years	16	20.3	20.3	84.8
	20-30 years	12	15.2	15.2	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	100.0	

Table 6. Survey Participants Gender

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Male	41	51.9	52.6	52.6
	Female	37	46.8	47.4	100.0
	Total	78	98.7	100.0	
Missing	Missing Value	1	1.3		
Total		79	100.0		

Table 7. Survey Participants' Nationality

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	India	14	17.7	19.4	19.4
	United States	13	16.5	18.1	37.5
	Pakistan	7	8.9	9.7	47.2
	Canada	5	6.3	6.9	54.2
	United Kingdom	5	6.3	6.9	61.1
	Portugal	3	3.8	4.2	65.3
	Australia	2	2.5	2.8	68.1
	Bangladesh	2	2.5	2.8	70.8
	Bosnia Herzegovina	2	2.5	2.8	73.6
	France	2	2.5	2.8	76.4
	Iran	2	2.5	2.8	79.2
	Kosovo	2	2.5	2.8	81.9
	Turkey	2	2.5	2.8	84.7
	Burkina	1	1.3	1.4	86.1
	Denmark	1	1.3	1.4	87.5
	Greece	1	1.3	1.4	88.9
	Italy	1	1.3	1.4	90.3
	Malaysia	1	1.3	1.4	91.7
	Nepal	1	1.3	1.4	93.1
	Netherlands	1	1.3	1.4	94.4

Table 7. Survey Participants' Nationality (continued)

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
	Nigeria	1	1.3	1.4	95.8
	Philippines	1	1.3	1.4	97.2
	Sri Lanka	1	1.3	1.4	98.6
	Ukraine	1	1.3	1.4	100.0
	Total	72	91.1	100.0	
Missing	25 (Missing)	7	8.9		
Total		79	100.0		

Table 8. Survey Participants' Religious Affiliations

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Islam	38	48.1	48.1	48.1
	Christianity	23	29.1	29.1	77.2
	Prefer not to say	9	11.4	11.4	88.6
	Hinduism	3	3.8	3.8	92.4
	Non-religious	3	3.8	3.8	96.2
	Agnostic	1	1.3	1.3	97.5
	Atheist	1	1.3	1.3	98.7
	Scientologist	1	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	100.0	

Table 9. Marital Status

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Married	61	77.2	77.2	77.2
	Single	10	12.7	12.7	89.9
	Divorced	5	6.3	6.3	96.2
	Separated	2	2.5	2.5	98.7
	Prefer not to say	1	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	100.0	

Table 10. Children

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	64	81.0	81.0	81.0
	No	15	19.0	19.0	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	100.0	

Table 11. Family in Qatar

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	64	81.0	81.0	81.0
	No	15	19.0	19.0	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	100.0	

Table 12. Highest Earned Academic Qualification

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Post-graduate university degree	46	58.2	58.2	58.2
	Graduate university degree	25	31.6	31.6	89.9
	Undergraduate university degree	6	7.6	7.6	97.5
	Diploma	1	1.3	1.3	98.7
	Highschool	1	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	100.0	

Table 13. Nature of Work at Qatar University

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Academic	54	68.4	69.2	69.2
	Administrative	21	26.6	26.9	96.2
	Both	3	3.8	3.8	100.0
	Total	78	98.7	100.0	
Missing	4	1	1.3		
Total		79	100.0		

Table 14. Original Intention to Stay in Qatar

No. of Years	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
3	14	17.7	21.5	21.5
5	10	12.7	15.4	36.9
4	6	7.6	9.2	46.2
6	6	7.6	9.2	55.4

Table 14. Original Intention to Stay in Qatar (continued)

No. of Years	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
10	6	7.6	9.2	64.6
1	5	6.3	7.7	72.3
25	5	6.3	7.7	80.0
15	4	5.1	6.2	86.2
20	3	3.8	4.6	90.8
8	2	2.5	3.1	93.8
9	2	2.5	3.1	96.9
26	1	1.3	1.5	98.5
35	1	1.3	1.5	100.0
Total	65	82.3	100.0	
Missing -1	14	17.7		
Total	79	100.0		

Table 15. Length of Residency in Qatar

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	6.0	13	16.5	16.5	16.5
	5.0	7	8.9	8.9	25.3
	7.0	7	8.9	8.9	34.2
	15.0	7	8.9	8.9	43.0
	8.0	5	6.3	6.3	49.4
	9.0	5	6.3	6.3	55.7
	13.0	5	6.3	6.3	62.0
	4.0	3	3.8	3.8	65.8
	10.0	3	3.8	3.8	69.6
	12.0	3	3.8	3.8	73.4
	16.0	2	2.5	2.5	75.9
	19.0	2	2.5	2.5	78.5
	30.0	2	2.5	2.5	81.0
	31.0	2	2.5	2.5	83.5
	4.5	1	1.3	1.3	84.8
	5.5	1	1.3	1.3	86.1
	6.5	1	1.3	1.3	87.3
	11.0	1	1.3	1.3	88.6
	14.0	1	1.3	1.3	89.9
	17.0	1	1.3	1.3	91.1
	21.0	1	1.3	1.3	92.4
	25.0	1	1.3	1.3	93.7
	26.0	1	1.3	1.3	94.9
	27.0	1	1.3	1.3	96.2
	29.0	1	1.3	1.3	97.5
	34.0	1	1.3	1.3	98.7
	36.0	1	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	100.0	

Table 16. Intention to Stay in Qatar

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Indefinitely	32	40.5	41.0	41.0
	More than 3 years	26	32.9	33.3	74.4
	1 to 3 years	17	21.5	21.8	96.2
	Up to 1 year	3	3.8	3.8	100.0
	Total	78	98.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.3		
Total		79	100.0		

Table 17. Self-Preception in Qatar

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Resident	42	53.2	55.3	55.3
	Expat	34	43.0	44.7	100.0
	Total	76	96.2	100.0	
Missing	Missing	3	3.8		
Total		79	100.0		

Table 18. Perception of Qatar

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Second home	35	44.3	44.3	44.3
	Temporary home	23	29.1	29.1	73.4
	Home	19	24.1	24.1	97.5
	A place to work	1	1.3	1.3	98.7
	Home away from home	1	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	100.0	

Table 19. First Language / Mother Tongue

	Language	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	25	31.6	34.7	34.7
	Urdu	8	10.1	11.1	45.8
	Malayalam	6	7.6	8.3	54.2
	French	3	3.8	4.2	58.3
	Portuguese	3	3.8	4.2	62.5
	Albanian	2	2.5	2.8	65.3

Table 19. First Language / Mother Tongue (continued)

	Language	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
	Bosnian	2	2.5	2.8	68.1
	Pashto	2	2.5	2.8	70.8
	Tamil	2	2.5	2.8	73.6
	Turkish	2	2.5	2.8	76.4
	Bengali	1	1.3	1.4	77.8
	Creole	1	1.3	1.4	79.2
	Danish	1	1.3	1.4	80.6
	Dutch	1	1.3	1.4	81.9
	German	1	1.3	1.4	83.3
	German and English	1	1.3	1.4	84.7
	Greek	1	1.3	1.4	86.1
	Hungarian	1	1.3	1.4	87.5
	Mandarin	1	1.3	1.4	88.9
	Marathi	1	1.3	1.4	90.3
	Mbo	1	1.3	1.4	91.7
	Nepali	1	1.3	1.4	93.1
	Persian	1	1.3	1.4	94.4
	Spanish	1	1.3	1.4	95.8
	Tagalog	1	1.3	1.4	97.2
	Ukrainian	1	1.3	1.4	98.6
	Urdu and English	1	1.3	1.4	100.0
	Total	72	91.1	100.0	
Missing	-1	7	8.9		
Total		79	100.0		

Table 20. Foreign Languages

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English;	22	27.8	27.8	27.8
	Arabic; English;	8	10.1	10.1	38.0
	English; Arabic;	4	5.1	5.1	43.0
	None	2	2.5	2.5	45.6
	Arabic;	2	2.5	2.5	48.1
	Arabic; English; Farsi;	2	2.5	2.5	50.6
	English;French ;Spanish;	2	2.5	2.5	53.2
	Arabic;English;German;	1	1.3	1.3	54.4
	Arabic;English;Hindi;	1	1.3	1.3	55.7
	Arabic;English;Macedonian;	1	1.3	1.3	57.0
	Arabic;English;Spanish;	1	1.3	1.3	58.2
	Arabic;English;Urdu;	1	1.3	1.3	59.5
	Bengali, Hindi;Arabic;English;	1	1.3	1.3	60.8
	Bosnian; English; French ;Turkish; Spanish; German;	1	1.3	1.3	62.0
	Creole; English; French ;	1	1.3	1.3	63.3
	English; Arabic; Hindi;	1	1.3	1.3	64.6

Table 20. Foreign Languages (continued)

	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
English;French ;	1	1.3	1.3	65.8
English;French ;German;	1	1.3	1.3	67.1
English;French ;Hindi;	1	1.3	1.3	68.4
English; French, Spanish; German; Italian , Swedish, Norwegian, English;	1	1.3	1.3	69.6
English;French ;Spanish;Italian ;	1	1.3	1.3	70.9
English;French ;Spanish;Italian ;Farsi;	1	1.3	1.3	72.2
English, French ;Spanish; Portuguese;	1	1.3	1.3	73.4
English;Hindi;	1	1.3	1.3	74.7
English;Spanish;	1	1.3	1.3	75.9
Esperanto;	1	1.3	1.3	77.2
French ;1 Arabic;	1	1.3	1.3	78.5
French ;English;	1	1.3	1.3	79.7
French, English; 3 other African languages;	1	1.3	1.3	81.0
French ;German;Spanish;	1	1.3	1.3	82.3
French ;Spanish;	1	1.3	1.3	83.5
Hindi;	1	1.3	1.3	84.8
Indonesian; Arabic; French, Spanish;	1	1.3	1.3	86.1
Japanese;	1	1.3	1.3	87.3
Japanese;English;	1	1.3	1.3	88.6
Sesotho;	1	1.3	1.3	89.9
Spanish;	1	1.3	1.3	91.1
Spanish;French ;Russian;	1	1.3	1.3	92.4
Spanish;German;	1	1.3	1.3	93.7
Swahili;	1	1.3	1.3	94.9
Swedish, Polish;English;French ;	1	1.3	1.3	96.2
Urdu and Kashmiri;	1	1.3	1.3	97.5
Urdu, Hindi,Tamil, Malayalam, Arabic; English; French ;	1	1.3	1.3	98.7
Urdu;English;	1	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	79	100.0	100.0	

Table 21. Arabic Usage at Work

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	No	46	58.2	58.2	58.2
	Yes	33	41.8	41.8	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	100.0	

Table 22. Languages Used at Work

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English ;	52	65.8	66.7	66.7
	Arabic ;English ;	17	21.5	21.8	88.5
	English ;Arabic ;	7	8.9	9.0	97.4
	Arabic ;English ;Urdu;	1	1.3	1.3	98.7
	English ;French;	1	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	78	98.7	100.0	
Missing	-1	1	1.3		
Total		79	100.0		

Table 23. Listening Skills Proficiency Levels Amongst the Non-Arab Expatraites

		Frequency	%	Cumulative %
Valid	Non-existent	17	21.5	21.5
	Basic	40	50.6	72.2
	Intermediate	8	10.1	82.3
	Advanced	14	17.7	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	

Table 24. Speaking Skills Proficiency Levels Amongst the Non-Arab Expatraites

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Non-existent	25	31.6	32.5	32.5
	Basic	34	43.0	44.2	76.6
	Intermediate	9	11.4	11.7	88.3
	Advanced	9	11.4	11.7	100.0
	Total	77	97.5	100.0	
Missing	System	2	2.5		
Total		79	100.0		

Table 25. Reading Skills Proficiency Levels Amongst the Non-Arab Expatraites

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Non-existent	25	31.6	32.5	32.5
	Basic	24	30.4	31.2	63.6
	Intermediate	16	20.3	20.8	84.4
	Advanced	12	15.2	15.6	100.0
	Total	77	97.5	100.0	
Missing	System	2	2.5		
Total		79	100.0		

Table 26. Writing Skills Proficiency Levels Amongst the Non-Arab Expatraites

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Non-existent	39	49.4	50.6	50.6
	Basic	23	29.1	29.9	80.5
	Intermediate	7	8.9	9.1	89.6
	Advanced	8	10.1	10.4	100.0
	Total	77	97.5	100.0	
Missing	System	2	2.5		
Total		79	100.0		

Table 27. Attept to Learn Arabic

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	61	77.2	77.2	77.2
	No	18	22.8	22.8	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	100.0	

Table 28. Importance of Learning Arabic

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	5	31	39.2	39.2	39.2
	4	22	27.8	27.8	67.1
	3	15	19.0	19.0	86.1
	1	7	8.9	8.9	94.9
	2	4	5.1	5.1	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	100.0	

Table 29. Arabic Learning Experience

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	3	21	26.6	35.0	35.0
	4	19	24.1	31.7	66.7
	5	8	10.1	13.3	80.0
	1	7	8.9	11.7	91.7
	2	5	6.3	8.3	100.0
	Total	60	75.9	100.0	
Missing	System	19	24.1		
Total		79	100.0		

(1 Unsatisfactory – 5 Excellent)

Table 30. Necessity of Arabic for Day-to-Day Life in Qatar

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	41	51.9	51.9	51.9
	No	23	29.1	29.1	81.0
	Maybe	15	19.0	19.0	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	100.0	

Table 31. Readiness to Learn Arabic

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	1-3 hours	43	54.4	56.6	56.6
	3-5 hours	17	21.5	22.4	78.9
	More than 5 hours	9	11.4	11.8	90.8
	0 hours	7	8.9	9.2	100.0
	Total	76	96.2	100.0	
Missing	Missing	3	3.8		
Total		79	100.0		

Table 32. Importance of Children Learning Arabic

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	48	60.8	78.7	78.7
	No	13	16.5	21.3	100.0
	Total	61	77.2	100.0	
Missing	NA	18	22.8		
Total		79	100.0		

Table 33. Arabic-Speaking Spouse

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	No	48	60.8	60.8	60.8
	Yes	17	21.5	21.5	82.3
	NA	14	17.7	17.7	100.0
	Total	79	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX D: ETHICS APPROVAL

Qatar University Institutional Review Board QU-IRB
QU-IRB Registration: IRB-QU-2020-006, QU-IRB, Assurance: IRB-A-QU-2019-0009

September 16th, 2020

Dr. Eiman Mustafawi
College of Arts and Sciences
Qatar University
Tel.: +974 4403 4908
Email: eimanmust@qu.edu.qa

Dear Dr. Eiman Mustafawi,

Sub.: Research Ethics Expedited Approval
Ref.: Student, Ismail Zahirovic; e-mail: iz1107978@student.qu.edu.qa
Project Title: "Muqīm in Qatar without Arabic"

We would like to inform you that your application along with the supporting documents provided for the above project, has been reviewed by the QU-IRB, and having met all the requirements, has been granted research ethics **Expedited Approval** based on the following category(ies) listed in the Policies, Regulations and Guidelines provided by MOPH for Research Involving Human Subjects. Your approval is for one year effective from September 16th, 2020 till September 15th, 2021.

> 1) present no more than minimal risk to human subject, and
> 2) involve only procedures listed in the following category(ies).
> **Category 7:** Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Documents Reviewed: QU-IRB Application_Ismail ZAHIROVIC, QU-IRB Check List_Ismail ZAHIROVIC, Thesis Research Proposal_IsmailZAHIROVIC-1, Consent Form_Survey_Ismail Zahirovic, Survey and Interview Questions, UPDATEDConsent Form for Interview_IsmailZahirovic, QU-IRB Review Forms, responses to IRB queries and updated documents.

Please note that expedited approvals are valid for a period of **one year** and renewal should be sought one month prior to the expiry date to ensure timely processing and continuity. Moreover, any changes/modifications to the original submitted protocol should be reported to the committee to seek approval prior to continuation.

Your Research Ethics Expedited Approval Number is: **QU-IRB 1368-EA/20**. Kindly state this number in all your future correspondence to us pertaining to this project. In addition, please submit a closure report to the QU-IRB upon completion of the project.

Best wishes,
Dr. Ahmed Awaisu
Chairperson, QU-IRB

Institutional Review Board
(IRB)
Office Of Academic Research

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