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LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICY IN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSYTEM IN IRAQI KURDISTAN FROM NATIONALISM TO GLOBALIZATION

A Dissertation

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to:

> ➤ The soul of immortal leader Mam Jalal;

> ➤ My dear son Awiar;

> ➤ My dear daughter Kanee;

> ➤ My dear husband Nasser.

With Love and Gratitude

Mihraban

Acknowledgments

Abstract

In the past two decades, teaching and learning English in Iraqi Kurdistan Region have received renewed momentum, and new methods, techniques, and strategies are being incorporated into the main body of current plans in Kurdistan. Alongside this applied trend, new breath has been infused into theoretical research into the workings and nature of the Kurdish language in light of recent theories in linguistics. The last two decades, for example, witnessed several excellent theoretical and applied researches into Kurdish linguistics and the language planning and policy adopted by the Kurdistan Regional Government following the uprising of 1991. Therefore, the present study is intended to follow this line of thought by investigating the current linguistic reality in the Kurdistan region and the challenges facing language planning. This dissertation is divided into six chapters.

Chapter one discusses the title, the scope of the study, the research questions and hypotheses, the procedures, and the value of the study. The second chapter discusses the literature review and background information about language policy and planning that have been taken towards anglicizing the syllabus in high education institutions since the uprising in 1991. The third chapter is about Language management in Iraqi Kurdistan. The fourth chapter is Challenges to introduce some issues of central importance to language planning particularly language planning at a level of higher education.

The fifth chapter is a data collection of language planning and policy via interviewing among the university population beginning from general directors and then academics to know whether we should anglicize the syllabi in high education institutions to catch up on the technological and scientific advanced mints of the developed countries.

The sixth chapter is a discussion on the result analysis of the collected data qualitatively and proposes recommendations and suggestions and solutions towards the above-mentioned topic.

Finally, the dissertation has arrived at some conclusion the key ones of which include the fact that there has been a compromise solution adopted by the university authorities alongside the ministry decision-maker to espouse the Kurdish language for the humanities and English language for the scientific disciplines. Another point is the former cabinet

Ministry of Higher Education focused disproportionately on private universities and institutes disregarding the public universities.

This dissertation ends with an abstract in Kurdish and Arabic and a list of Bibliography.

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviated form	Full form
ELT	English Language Teaching
ESL	English as Second Language
IDPS	Internal Displaced persons
IELTS	International English Language test
IKR	Iraqi Kurdistan Region
IK	Iraqi Kurdistan
ISC	International Security Council
IS	International Security
KDP	Kurdistan Democratic party
KRG	Kurdistan Regional Government
KR	Kurdistan Region
PUK	Patriotic Union o Kurdistan
TOFEL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
UN	United Nations
UK	United Kingdom

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The current education system has little effect on promoting teaching a foreign language to university students. In the past, the Kurdish people had been under a lot of political pressure and oppression and right after the 1991's uprising, the sense of nationalism reached a stage that caused the removal of the signs of Arabization including the languages in the schools and universities. The problem is that there is no language policy in the region to regulate language use.

Since then, Kurdish students have been taught in higher education and the system has been changed by a group of academics whom they were not professional as their national senses fell behind their academic will. However, the system followed a Kurdish only instruction system which caused them to deprive students of learning foreign languages. This step was highly important for their future, for example, Arabic was one of the important languages which were mostly used in higher education and schools before 1991 but later it ceased to be practiced and not used anymore as a language of instruction. If Kurdish educational decision-makers happen to decide not to choose even Arabic, they would still have English available for them to incorporate into their curriculum forcing the student to learn it. This would be useful in their future study and increase their chances to secure a better career.

1.2 The Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in the fact that it intends to set a new usage of languages of instruction in the universities of the Iraqi Kurdistan Region. It proposes that there should be a new plan for partly changing the higher education system in the Kurdistan regional government. Due to an increasing level of the nationalistic sentiment among the fellow Kurds, trials to adapt and accommodate other languages in the system of higher education was ignored which resulted in preparing new graduates with having no

further ability to continue his or her higher education study in abroad as we have has many examples of candidates who failed to proceed their study abroad.

1.3 The Aim of the Study

The aim is to adopt other languages especially English and Arabic alongside Kurdish in sharp opposition to a policy being practiced for years with no real outcome for graduates, a fact which could be connected with outside in terms of having a successful business and studying abroad.

This dissertation can be fully devoted to solving the issue of language policy in higher education in a way to prepare more successful fellow citizens with the ability to speak other languages without any problem.

1.4 The Procedure of the Study

Language planning can be defined as an attempt taken by someone or some part or institution or government to modify the linguistic behavior of a certain group because of some reasons, for example political, national, etc. (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). In other words, language planning is an attempt to change a language which should satisfy all the criteria; therefore, the language to be chosen should be free from any problems and to function as medium

In a monolingual society like the Kurdish society in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region, the desire to communicate with the speakers of other languages can be an individual factor that affects language planning. However, various language planners are motivated by linguistic assimilation, linguistic pluralism, and internationalization philosophies.

  Language planning refers to various ways of influencing the way a language is used. It comprises corpus planning, text analysis, and status planning. Language planning aims to describe and issue appropriate guidelines on standard language usage. Because conventions vary with the style and function of any text, language planning provides detailed information on how language is used in specific contexts and how it is changing, as well as issuing related guidelines.

This study is intended to review and reconsider the entire higher education system in Iraqi Kurdistan which is considered as a place that should appeal to different societal groups and satisfy the needs of the individuals.

For many years, Iraqi Kurdistan has been suppressed by the successive Arab Iraqi regimes. Fortunately, in 1991, the Kurds liberated this part of Kurdistan and managed to govern their territory by themselves. The first thing they started with was reviving the Kurdish language in every part of Iraqi Kurdistan and launched a project to Kurdify all aspects of educational and cultural life. Thus, the Kurds in Iraq were very keen to use their mother tongue in all official positions in the area. However, the monolingual Kurdish individual is now only able to speak Kurdish inside Kurdistan and find employment within Kurdistan only where there is not enough opportunity. On the other hand, a monolingual Kurdish who wishes to go further with higher academic study finds himself or herself unable to do this as there is not much material published in the Kurdish language; therefore the only solution for the young Kurd is to learn another language which has to be valued highly and accepted nationwide.

It has to be admitted that the attitudes towards the introduction of the mother tongue may change over time, due to the political situation and the change of the circumstances of that particular nation.

The main purpose of this study is to survey current linguistic reality in the high education system in Iraqi Kurdistan and explore the challenges facing attempts for a concrete language policy as well as providing a general language planning framework in that region. Iraqi Kurdistan is rather multi-ethnic and multilingual; so, this reality greatly influences the nature and quality of the language planning to be adopted. Moreover, political power is one of the factors that hugely impact the situation and a consensus must be achieved among all the ethnic and linguistic groups in the society in question.

This study is also aimed at exploring the possibility of bringing about a radical change in the higher education system in Iraqi Kurdistan by changing the language instructions and teaching from Kurdish into English or Arabic. To explore the possibilities of applying this proposal, we have to fulfil it by studying the higher education environment in Iraqi Kurdistan`s universities curricula and applying it practically to fulfil this project.

Unsurprisingly since 2003, the linguistic behavior of the Kurdish speaker has changed dramatically and English language schools became extremely popular in the region and is still an attractive business opportunity for British and American businesspeople, and the impact of economic reality and globalization has opened the door for foreign business and intellectuals which has affected the mentality of society especially the young generation. The impact of different political ideologies is another factor, in some settings the decision of choosing a language to function as a medium of instruction is purely political. The more powerful groups in the society usually force a language upon the less powerful groups, for example in Iran, English was a medium of instruction in the education system before the Islamic revolution, however, when the Islamic authorities came into power this was completely eradicated because the political relationships between the United States and Iran created a negative attitude towards the English language from the politicians' point of view(Tolleson 1991).

1.5 Research Questions

This study tries to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent does national language embody a concern for nationalism?

2. How much effect has globalization had on the Kurdish society in terms of the linguistic reality of language use?

3. How far has the linguistic behavior of the Kurdish speaker changed after 2003?

4. How far is the adoption of English as a global language valid and workable in the Kurdistan region as an alternative to Kurdish & Arabic?

5. To what extent does the adoption of English, as a global language, satisfy the needs of the generation in the Kurdistan Region?

1.6 Method of Research

The study is designed to be theoretically oriented. A qualitative approach is adopted with the main methods conducted being surveys, interviews, and polling techniques. An examination of survey methods used by traditional dialectologists will be followed by a review of interview techniques employed by researchers working within the framework of modern sociolinguistic research.

1.7 Data Collection

The data for this study is both theoretical and practical. The theoretical part is drawn from both hardcopy and softcopy books that of publications, journals, and independent articles in both English and Kurdish. And semi-structured interviews through interviewing the experts at the helm of curriculum design and language policy in the region from different academic institutions. The data for analysis are drawn from interviews and documents issued by and conducted with current and former authorities of the ministry of higher education and scientific research.

Chapter Two

Theoretical and General Background

2.1   Language Planning and Language Policy

'Language planning' denotes both language planning practices, that is, organized interventions by politicians, linguists, and others in language use and form (Christian 1989:193), and the academic discipline whose subject matter is the study of these practices. Language planning as an academic discipline began in the context of nation-state formation following the end of colonialism (see for example Ferguson, 1962; Fishman, Ferguson, & Das Gupta, 1968; Pool, 1972; Rubin & Jernudd, 1971). The chief concerns were related to issues of creating national unity and developing and maintaining effective communication within emerging nations (Mansour, 1993; Ricento, 2006). Such a focus privileges the consideration of national-level actions and the intervention of official bodies in the language questions facing a society (Liddicoat & Baldauf 2008).

Language planning as an academic field has emerged recently. Its first use is attributed to Haugen's (1959, 1966) description of the development of a new standard national language in Norway following independence from Denmark in 1814 (cited in Ferguson 2006).

Fishman (1974:79) defines language planning as 'the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level'. The reference here to the national level is indicative of the historic importance in language planning of nation-building and associated processes of national identity formation, including language standardization (Ferguson 2006:1).

Language planning is a relatively new field within sociolinguistics. Its central question is "What language is to be used?" There are two kinds of language planning. corpus planning and status planning. Corpus planning is concerned with standardization and codification of the language (i.e., grammar, spelling, new words, and script).

The French Academy, for example, decides what new technology should be called in French. Governments in the former Soviet Union decided to switch from the Cyrillic alphabet to a variety of other alphabets including Latin and Arabic. Status planning is concerned with the choice of languages and the attitudes toward dialects. Included in status planning are decisions about which languages should be taught in schools (Brown and Attardo 2005).

By the 1980s and early 1990s language planning (henceforth LP), as a discipline and an activity, had also become the object of a battery of criticisms deriving from Marxist, post-structural, and critical sociolinguistic perspectives. It was accused, for example, of serving the interests and agendas of dominant elites while passing itself off as an ideologically neutral, objective enterprise; of embracing a discourse of 'technical rationality' that transformed into 'simple matters of technical efficiency' problems that were value-laden and ideologically encumbered; of neglecting the inevitable implications LP enterprises held for power relations and socio-economic equality (Luke, McHoul, Mey 1990: 25; Williams 1992).

Another strand of criticism focuses on the tendency of LP to objectify language(s); that is, to treat languages as natural, 'out-there', discrete entities (Blommaert 1996, Ricento 2000), a view contrasting sharply, of course, with more recent conceptions of languages as political constructions (see Joseph 2004: 125), and of language names (for example, Malay, Swahili, English) as labels sheltering 'a disparate set of language practices' (Wright 2004: 98). Applied to Africa, such objectification lent support to the practice of enumerating a diverse set of distinct languages for each country – 41 in Zambia, 125 in Tanzania, 54 in Ghana, and so on. The impression thus created of unruly multilingualism, of a veritable Tower of Babel, provided arguments for language planners to discipline multilingualism, and to 'reduce sociolinguistic complexity' (Blommaert 1996: 212). However, as Makoni and Meinhof (2003: 7) suggest, these diverse, distinct languages are inventions in the specific sense that they are the product of decisions to divide a linguistic continuum into discrete named entities, decisions determined in the African case 'by outsiders without any reference to the socio-linguistic identities of the local communities' (Makoni and Meinhof 2003: 7) (Cited from Ferguson 2006:4).

According to Wright (2004), language planning was an integral part of nation-building and, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, intellectuals in the United States, France, Germany, Italy, and to a lesser extent Britain produced a rich literature on the subject. The work of the Germans, Herder, and Fichte, was particularly influential in the elaboration of the role of language in ethnic nationalism. Renan in France convincingly reconciled language and the theories of civic nationalism. The ideas of German Romantic nationalism and the theories of French Republicanism inspired a ferment of interest among those who aspired to the status of independent nations. The language was at the heart of nationalism. In the struggle for independence, it could be enlisted to define the ethnicity of the group and, after independence, it could be fostered to provide the statewide community of communication that nationalism seemed to require. Scholarly activists in the many groups seeking to exit from the rule of the British, Ottoman, Russian or Austro-Hungarian and French Empires labored to codify, standardize and disseminate a single language for the group, which could then be presented as part of the evidence for its claim to a separate polity. After independence was achieved, it was the role of the schools to eradicate dialectal differences and to promote this single 'national' language as the medium that permitted the business of the state and united its citizens in a single community. Naturally, this body of language policy and planning literature is highly committed, and the work should be interpreted in the context of its campaigning and polemic origins and purposes.

As Fishman predicted, the developing countries were of great appeal to sociolinguists who were 'interested in the transformations of group identity in general and societal (governmental and other) impact on language-related behavior in particular' (Ricento 2000).

Language planning scholars stretched along a continuum of opinion from those who believed that a decision could be taken centrally and imposed top-down through education to those who began to wonder whether language practice could be influenced greatly at all. Jernudd and Rubin posed the question (1971) 'can language be planned?' and concluded that some studies 'convincingly show the absence of planning from language planning' (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971: 201). Haugen (1966) reported the incremental force of individual decisions and suggested that top-down policy only succeeds when

bottom-up patterns of behavior are (or can be brought to be) in accord with it.9 Other scholars and most policymakers were less cautious; they believed that language policy could be introduced top-down through the agencies of the state and citizens persuaded of the utility of the rationalization (Wright, 2004:75).

As far as the relation of language planning to language policy, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: x-xi) state that language policy is part of the larger process of language planning view that language policy is "a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules, and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system" whereas Harold F. Schiffman (1996: 276) points out that: "Language policy is primarily a social construct. It may consist of various elements of an explicit nature- juridical, judicial, administrative, constitutional, and/or legal language may be extant in some jurisdictions, but whether or not a polity has such explicit text, the policy as a cultural construct rests primarily on other conceptual elements - belief systems, attitudes, myths - the whole complex that we are referring to as linguistic culture, which is the sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, religious strictures, and all the other cultural 'baggage' that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their background." (Saeed: 2018).

2.2 Language Planning

Although a distinction is drawn in the literature between language planning and language policy, the two terms will be used interchangeably here to cover the 'deliberate efforts' (Cooper 1989: 45) of governmental organizations and 'nongovernmental innovators' (ibid:148)—sometimes called 'language strategists'—to bring about changes in language use. The intention here is to influence the acquisition of foreign languages in a speech community (acquisition planning), the orthographic representation and grammatical structure of the national language (corpus planning), and the functional allocation of languages to communicative domains (status planning). Needless to say, the present study is intended to explore both acquisition planning and status planning i.e., on the one hand, the influence Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) has exercised on the acquisition of English as a foreign language in the Kurdish speech communities or

territories within the jurisdiction of the KRG and matters related to the functional allocation of languages in the KRG to communicative domains on the other.

2.3 Components of Language Policy

According to Sapolsky, the following make up the major components of language policy in the way he has outlined in his works:

2.3.1 Language practice

This component denotes the ecology of language and focuses on a kind of language practice that exists in the entity. Regardless of policy and beliefs and for a variety of reasons, certain languages are used in certain places and contexts. For instance, using English widely in a growing number of countries nowadays is part of language practice and ecology. Hence, the noticeable performances and choices ' what people do and practice ' stand for language practices. They are the selected linguistic features that are being used by a variety of languages. Regular and predictable language practices take part in the establishment of policy but it is the duty of sociolinguistic study that produces ethnography of speaking to define them. In one sense, this is the "real" policy though participants are not willingly acknowledging it. Meanwhile, it is unfavorable for language management to find language practices that supply the learner of a language with a linguistic context. Children's language acquisition relies in a large extent on the language practices they experience and are exposed to (Spolsky, 2009: 4).

2.3.2 Language Beliefs

The second components are 'language beliefs' which reflects ideologies about language that underlie/lie behind each policy. For instance, when a group supposes that nation and language are the same so that language can supply the nation with a unifying factor; another ideology could be the possibility perceiving other languages as irrelevant or as intrusions to the monolingual ideology or unity by a nation. By 'beliefs' here, he means beliefs about language, sometimes known as an ideology. The values or status assigned to named languages, varieties, and features are samples representing the beliefs that are given more attention by language policy and management. For instance, it depends on the role language varieties played in identification, the variety that one associate with his basic

membership group - his nation, his educational class, his region, or his ethnic heritage - is likely to have the highest value for him, while some other varieties may be inveighed. Thus, the status of a variant of variety relies on the fact of how many people use it and the significance of the users besides the social and economic advantages a speaker can anticipate by using it. A note to be taken is the possibility of not considering beliefs as practice since it may well be stigmatized forms being used (Spolsky 2009).

2.3.3 Language Management:

By language management, Spolsky refers to the specific acts that occur to manage and manipulate language behavior in a given entity. For Spolsky, management is a matter of the overt and noticeable attempts made by someone or some groups that dominate the participants in the domain to alter their practices or beliefs. Spolsky would rather use the term "management" than "planning" because it more accurately expresses the nature of the phenomenon. Planning was the term being used in the 1950s and 1960s in the post-war enthusiasm for the sake of fixing social problems but its use could not last properly due to the successive failures of social and economic planning (Spolsky, 2009: 4).

Spolsky (2009: 1) proposes that language policies at the national level are driven by four common and co-existing forces:

- national (or ethnic) ideology or claims of identity;
- the role of English as a global language;
- a nation's sociolinguistic situation; and
- an increasing interest in linguistic rights within the human and civil rights framework.

National ideology and identity refer to the infrastructure of beliefs and principles relevant to a collective psyche that may manifest in language policy. For illustration, Spolsky reflects on northern African nations where post-colonial Arabisation instituted Arabic as an official language on the primacy of the Qur'an in national and cultural identity (Spolsky 2004). The role of English refers to what Spolsky (2004) calls the 'tidal wave of English that is moving into almost every sociolinguistic repertoire' (p. 220) throughout the global language

ecology. As the language of global communication, English has come to index a cosmopolitan social and economic mobility. For example, as a language polity, the Netherlands emphatically prioritizes English as a second language (L2) (Ytsma 2000: 228). However, the wave can also create tensions between linguistic internationalization and local language interests (May 2014), meaning the tidal wave may also be resisted by way of interventions to protect the status or vitality of local languages. For example, discourse in Germany reveals a simmering worry about English, and debates ensue about the marginalization of German (Phillipson 2003: 80).

The sociolinguistic situation refers to 'the number and kinds of languages, the number, and kinds of speakers of each, the communicative value of each language both inside and outside the community being studied' (Spolsky 2004: 219). This is not just concerned with the factual sociolinguistic setting, but also with subjective perceptions about the importance of specific languages. However, it is important in language policy research not to accept any sociolinguistic situation prima facie because sociolinguistic arrangements may not be 'inevitable or logical, but rather the result of political processes and ideologies of state formation' (Ricento 2006: 15). This is not to undo this component of Spolsky's theory but rather to highlight its interconnectedness with his three other components, as well as the salience of examining language ideologies in language policy, given perceived and real sociolinguistic situations may be manifestations of socio-political arrangements and ideologies. The final factor, Spolsky (2004) claims, is the increasing global interest in 'linguistic pluralism and an acceptance of the need to recognize the rights of individuals and groups to continue to use their own languages' (p. 220). Spolsky (2005) especially recalls the international awareness of minority issues sparked by the American civil rights movement and twentieth-century international human rights instruments that affirm and protect language minorities either explicitly or implicitly. Language is positioned as an element of human rights, urging nations to offer language rights to their minorities in some way, such as provisions for minority language-medium schooling (Spolsky 2004). This is indeed the case, for example, for speakers of Maori in New Zealand (May and Hill 2005) and French Canadians outside Quebec (May 2014). Spolsky's final component, therefore, sees nations as necessarily interested in developing and implementing permissive language rights for their minorities (Cited in Albury 2016).

It is to be noted that this dissertation works in line with the second proposal made by Spolsky, i.e., the role of English as a global language. This proposal is adopted as the core for promoting the idea that English language programs should be further enhanced and, in some contexts, and arenas replace the Kurdish language.

2.3.4 Language, Identity and Kurdish Nationalism

Kurdish national identity is defined by a shared culture, language, territory, set of symbols, memory, and experience, and future political aspirations., however, that most of these components of Kurdish national identity are deeply fragmented, due to both internal and external factors. Fragmented components of Kurdish identity, along with external oppression of the four states (i.e., Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria) have prevented Kurdish nationalists from achieving national emancipation, whether in the form of an independent Kurdistan or several autonomous smaller Kurdistan within the political boundaries of different states. In other words, the absence of a robust pan-Kurdish sentiment and cross-border identity has been one of the greatest obstacles to Kurdish national emancipation (Sheyholislami, 2009 p. 47).

Kurdish nationalism only began to develop after World War I in response to the attempts to build a modern Arab state that would permit no more than a minimal amount of Kurdish autonomy. Thus, the revolts of Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji in the 1920s and Mulla Mustafa Barzani beginning in the 1930s were mainly tribal affairs at times opposed by more Kurdish josh (literally or Kurds who supported the Iraqi government in Baghdad) than supported. In discussing the revolts of Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji, for example, David McDowall argues that "he had little in common with today's Kurdish leaders. Both the vocabulary and style are quite different. Significantly, Shaykh Mahmud did not waste his time appealing to nationalist sentiment. He was a sayid [literally a reputed descendant of Muhammed], and the language his constituency understood was the language of Islam. In 1919 he appealed for jihad, not a national liberation struggle. Furthermore, his style was to use kin and tribal allies and his aim was the establishment of a personal fiefdom."

Barzani's rise to prominence after his return to Iraq from exile in the Soviet Union in 1958 is not easy to fully explain unless one appreciates the contemporary roots of Kurdish nationalism in Iraq. As late as 1957, for example, no less an astute observer of affairs than

C. J. Edmonds, who had been a British Political Officer in Iraq during the 1920s and also written several useful analyses of the Iraqi Kurds, mentioned Barzani only in passing as a "fugitive rebel from Iraq" and concluded that "with every year that passes any concerted armed revolt becomes more improbable."

Kurdish nationalism only began to develop after World War I in response to the attempts to build a modern Arab state that would permit no more than a minimal amount of Kurdish autonomy generals, Barzani's retreat to the Soviet Union subsequently became epic in the rise of modern Kurdish nationalism in Iraq: "We marched for fifty- two days.

In the high years later, although now realizing that "the event which perhaps more than any other has caught the popular imagination is the return of Mulla Mustafa," Edmonds could only argue that "it is difficult to explain this rapid build-up into a national all-Iraqi figure... otherwise than as the work of a well-organized chain of communist propagandists long established throughout Iraq." Given subsequent developments, Edmonds's lack of foresight stemmed from his understandable failure to predict the contemporary rise of Kurdish nationalism in Iraq as a reaction to the excesses of Iraqi Arab nationalism.

Thus, only in the 1960s did the Kurdish movement in Iraq begin to take on the characteristics of a genuine nationalist movement. Following the destruction of the Mahabad Republic of Kurdistan in Iran in 1946, in which Barzani had been one of commanding mountain passes the late spring snow was six to twelve feet deep. We fought nine encounters, lost four killed, and had seven wounded." Even so, to his dying day, Barzani never fully exceeded the bounds of a tribal chieftain. In part, this helps to explain his bitter disputes with Ibrahim Ahmad and Ahmad's son-in-law, Jalal Talabani. In time, however, Saddam Hussein's genocidal attempts to reduce the Kurds in the 1970s and 1980s had the opposite effect of fostering Kurdish nationalism in Iraq. Iraq's defeat in the Gulf Wars of 1991 and 2003 spawned the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), a federal state in the post- Saddam-Hussein Iraq in which an increasingly strong sense of Iraqi Kurdish nationalism began to grow within what was largely a Kurdish-ruled state. Social and economic factors also played important roles in the development of Kurdish nationalism in Iraq. The oil industry, construction of major dams, cement and tobacco factories, and agricultural mechanization all created greater wealth and helped move

people out of their smaller traditional valleys into the larger urban world. In the first decade of the 21st century, Iraqi Kurdish nationalism has become the most highly developed form of Kurdish nationalism among the entire distinct Kurdish identity." Although Bedir Khan's writings were propagandistic and contained simplistic, misleading, and distorted analyses of Kurdish history, they still maintain an important influence on the subsequent development of Kurdish nationalism and its analysis. Kurdish people, but its origins are mainly contemporary, dating only to the events described briefly above.

Only in the 1960s did the Kurdish movement in Iraq begin to take on the characteristics of a genuine nationalist movement Celadet Bedir Khan was elected the first president of Khoybun, a transnational Kurdish party created in 1927 by Kurdish intellectuals living in exile in Syria. The Bedir Khan brothers' (Tureyya, Kamuran, and Celadet) attempt to develop or invent Kurdish nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s also aptly illustrates its contemporary roots. The three brothers were grandsons of the famous Bedir Khan of Botan whose powerful emirate was only destroyed by the Ottomans in 1847.

The three brothers grappled with many problems, including the ambivalent nature of the Kurdish relationship with the Turks and the primitive state of affairs in Kurdistan. As Martin Strohmeier notes, "all Kurds were deep if variously enmeshed in social, ideological, economic and personal relations with the Turks. These bonds hampered the development of a self-assertive, robust, and establish a strong Kurdish national liberation movement with a trained fighting force that would not depend on the traditional tribal leaders and helped instigate the unsuccessful Ararat uprising of the Kurds in 1927-1930. Subsequently,

Celadet Bedir Khan devoted himself to literary work and helped to develop a Kurdish alphabet in Latin characters. During his final years in the 1960s, he served as a spokesman for Mulla Mustafa Barzani, the famous Iraqi Kurdis leader discussed above.

In 1937, Kamuran Bedir Khan published Der Adler [Eagle] von Kurdistan, a formalistic and forgotten attempt to write an epic novel to promote the Kurdish cause on the magnitude of Franz Werfel's classic, The Forty Days of Musa Dagh for the Armenians. Bedir Khan attempted to forge an imagined Kurdish nation that illustrated its heroism, patriotism,

reverence for the land, identification with the mountains, pride in the language and heritage, beauty of the folk tales and songs, strong and patriotic women, and overall Kurdish solidarity. He even sought to assert that the Kurds' true religion was Zoroastrianism and that the Biblical Garden of Eden had a Kurdish counterpart in the legend of the Thousand Lakes (Bingol). Proverbs such as "Lion, put your faith in your paws," demonstrated how the Kurds relied on their strength and did not merely await divine aid. Kamuran Bedir Khan's effort to produce a Kurdish national epic, however, proved unsuccessful and failed to stir Kurdish nationalism. The large majority of the Kurds had not yet imbued enough sense of Kurdish nationalism to part with other Muslims (Gunter, 2014).

2.4 Language Policy and Education in Iraqi Kurdistan:

The Kurdistan Region of Iraq is an autonomous region in the Federal Republic of Iraq. It is located in the North of Iraq and borders Iran to the east, Syria to the west, and Turkey to the north. According to a semi-official census conducted by the UN in December 2002, Kurdistan had a population of 4.07 million, living on an area of 40,643 square kilometers. The language in Kurdistan is mainly Kurdish, but Turkmani, Arabic, Armenian, and Assyrian are also spoken in some areas.

The events are rooted in the British interest in the region of Mesopotamia during World War 1, especially in the oil fields of Kurdistan and its strategic location as a trade route between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean coastal region. After the collapse of Ottoman power in the war, Britain occupied the province of Mosul including Kurdistan. Then, in 1923, the treaty of Lusanne between Turkey and the allied powers abolished the treaty of Severs, which had granted the creation of a Kurdish state. instead, Kurdistan was divided between Turkey, Iran, Syria, and Iraq to appease each of them. The British occupation of southern Kurdistan and its integration into the newly-created country of Iraq caused an endless cycle of violence and oppression against the Kurdish people, which led to continuous revolutions by the Kurds in Iraq until the First Gulf War in 1991(Arif 2016).

The present autonomy in Kurdistan dates back to the 11th of March 1970, when the Kurdish opposition leadership and the Iraqi central government agreed on the autonomy of Kurdistan and its political representation in the central government in Baghdad. However, after gaining full control over the army and other government bureaucracies in Iraq, the central government refused to fulfill the key parts of the agreement, which led to another conflict between the Kurds and the central government. This battle ended with the Iran-Iraq agreement in Algiers on sharing the Shatt Al- Arab waterway in 1975, as Iran had previously suspended assistance to the Kurds and closed its border to them. (Ahmed 2012:27).

However, the successive regimes ruling Iraq until 2003 have constantly discriminated against the Kurds in general and especially from 1979-1988 when it embarked on drastic operations to wipe out the Kurdish ethnic identity in Iraq (Arif 2016). In particular, through the "Anfal Campaign" a genocide campaign in which 183,000 Kurds were murdered and thousands of others disappeared ending with the tragic event of the chemical bombardment of the town of Halabja in 1988.

To give a brief overview of the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan, we provide the following discussion drawn from Arif (2016):

In 1991, there was a major Kurdish uprising following the First Gulf War in 1991, along with an uprising of the Iraqi people against Saddam Hussein, in which two million Kurds were forced to flee towards the bordering regions of Iran and Turkey. To facilitate the rectum of Kurdish refugees to the country, a northern no-fly zone was established by the UN to protect them from Saddam's army. Later, in October 1991, Saddam withdrew the Iraqi army and his administration from Kurdistan completely.

The Kurdish nation was then able to rule over its land when the Kurdish parties and the Iraqi Kurdistan front held an election with the support of the United Nations and independently founded the first Parliament and government in 1992، However, the Kurdish government did not declare independence from Iraq but rather remained an internal semi-autonomous region within a united Iraq. After the American and joint coalition invaded Iraq in 2003 and ended the dictatorship of Saddam the establishment of democracy and the creation of a new Iraqi constitution in 2005 declared the rights of

Kurds and other minorities in Iraq for the first time in the Iraqi history. Furthermore, in the constitution, it is set that Iraqi Kurdistan is a federal entity recognized by the Iraqi central government and the United Nations.

Besides, it recognizes the Kurdish language as a second official language, besides Arabic, in Iraq, and as the first official Language in the Kurdistan Region with its local government and parliament. So, since 1992, the Kurds have been able to build their government with all important ministries, and each worked seriously to build up the region. They also formed strong new military and police forces, which are the reasons behind the security in the Kurdistan Region today (Arif 2016).

The second reason for choosing the KRI is the development of the English language in this region. After the events of 1991, the people in Kurdistan have realized that they are not able to use English well enough or to speak fluently enough to communicate with the new international society. One reason for this is the attitude of Saddam Hussein towards English and the focus on Arabic in the media, press, and T.V. throughout the country, which led to a lack of English language contact. Secondly, the English curriculum that was taught in Iraqi schools in the last decades only concentrated on the structure of English rather than language use. Both reasons have led to a low standard of the English language for the people in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, but only the latter, that is the English curriculum, will be the topic of this thesis. Since 1991, there has been freedom of the media and press in Kurdistan, and the availability of information technologies that grant some contact with the English language, but these factors have not sufficiently solved the lack of knowledge and practice of English.

Therefore, the Ministry of Education has decided to take measures to improve the English of the new generation and supply them with a solid base of education to create well-educated people. Because of current global trends in education Kurdistan's development towards internationalization, and the weak situation of the English language in the region, it has been realized that a reform of English language teaching curricula in Kurdistan schools is urgently needed to create high levels of English competency and meet international standards of education. Therefore, the Kurdish Government in general, and

the Ministry of Education in particular, decided on the Educational Reform of 2006, to create a new generation of students who are proficient in English and able to successfully build global relations in every field. Why is there such a big interest in English language teaching in Iraq, particularly in Kurdistan? This surely has to do with the need for English as a common language between the country and the international community.

With the uprising of 1991, the Kurds started a new era in their political, social, cultural, and economic life, different from their history in the past century. Thanks to information technology, the plight of more than 1.8 million Iraqi Kurds who fled to the borders of the neighboring countries to escape Saddam Hussein's oppression and genocide was communicated to the world. Many UN and international organizations poured into the region. The organizations brought their employees from all over the world and the only language used for communication with the Kurdish government and people was English.

According to Arif (2016), there are two reasons for this. Firstly, English was the only foreign language that had been taught in Iraq. Therefore, English was the only foreign language the Iraqi people and the Iraqi Kurds, could speak. Conversely, the lack of Arab employees working within the organizations made communication in Arabic an ineffective choice. Besides, as English is an international language, its usage facilitated the establishment of contacts with other countries and Kurdish participation in globalization. Again, this helped the Kurds to develop Kurdistan and to participate in the development of the new federal Iraq. Secondly, American support and protection of the Kurds from Saddam Hussein's aggressive policy, and humanitarian support for Kurdish asylum seekers by European countries like Germany, Sweden, and Britain, since the Chemical Weapon Genocide of Halabja in 1988, motivated the Kurdish people to establish friendly contacts with the western world.

Again, English is the first choice as a common language in establishing these contacts with the Western World. Moreover, at the time of Saddam's oppression, there was also contact with thousands of foreign employees who worked all over Kurdistan, supplying people with humanitarian aid in the sectors of health and nutrition, social service, education, etc.

The past situation of the people was so dire that the organizations will have to continue to work there for a few years to come. Also, the fear of genocide and the return of Saddam's army demanded the presence of the UN and American troops for a longer period. Thus, English became an important part of the Kurds' daily life and was used to establish contacts with their rescuers and supporters. After forming a Kurdish parliament and government in 1992, Kurdistan's international relations have developed rapidly through the active work of the ministries of the new government and the foreign protection from any attack or invasion by Saddam Hussein. Therefore, the government started building political and diplomatic relations with the countries of the Western World, in addition to the already existing diplomatic relations with us, the UK, the United Nations, and the International Security Council. After the victory over Saddam Hussein's regime, Kurdistan became a safe area in Iraq. Soon after, Kurdish delegations visited various foreign countries to attend different international conferences on topics like politics, health, etc., that were held mainly in America, Europe, and Southeast Asia. At the same time, many foreign delegations of different politicians and experts in the above-mentioned areas have visited Kurdistan to build closer bilateral relations with the Federal Territory.

Chapter Three
Language Management in Iraqi Kurdistan

3.1 Introduction

Language management is a discipline that consists of satisfying the needs of people who speak multiple different languages. These may be in the same country, in companies, and in cultural or international institutions where one must use multiple languages. In the Iraqi Kurdistan context, we are presented with a linguistic situation where two languages are constitutionally official, i.e., Kurdish and Arabic while English is adopted as the solitary means of instruction in some schools/colleges/universities besides the fact Turkmani and Assyrian are spoken and adopted as means of instruction in schools of areas where the Turkmen and Assyrians are a majority. This linguistic reality calls for a sound and rational resolution or management at all levels particularly at the academic levels which we are interested in here.

Thus, the main of the present study is to suggest ways on how to take the multilingual situation in Iraqi Kurdistan to an English plus situation in a similar manner we have witnessed in Singapore.

3.2 Language shift and Identity in Iraqi Kurdistan

In a strikingly similar case to the Singaporean language situation, many perspectives on language shift in Iraqi Kurdistan Region point to a situation where traditional languages (Arabic in particular and the Kurdish) are losing their grip on younger generations in the Kurdistan region population. Cavallaro and Serwe (2010), Pillai (2009), Ramiah (1991), and Li et al. (1997) in their study on language shift in Singapore, all found that their participants aged 18- 29 were more comfortable in English. Pillai (2009) even reports that young Singaporean Malayalams are not at all interested in learning Malayalam, a linguistic reality similar to Iraqi Kurdistan where young people are more interested in English than

Kurdish and Arabic. For some other languages such as Assyrian and Turkomani, the shift may be more drastic.

There can be two key factors behind the current language practices in IKR: government policies, and people's desire for personal gain and social mobility, with both issues closely tied in with language attitudes and language identity. Iraqi Kurdistan has experienced significant social and economic development in the past few decades. These developments have in part been brought about through the government's emphasis on good English language skills (Ministry of Education in IKR has taken steps to Anglicize the scientific subjects starting from the first year of primary schools).

Due to some potential conflict that might arise in the future consisting in promoting Kurdish as the sole language of communication in IKR, there would be some likelihood for language conflict with players such as the Turkomans and the Assyrians as well as the central government resisting such efforts based on the constitutional support, English can be an ideal alternative to secure a smoother language policy in the IKR. This means that, in effect, English will replace all other languages as a supra-ethnic language. As in all language contact situations, the co-existence of English with other languages will give rise to a new contact variety of English with substrate influences from other local varieties (Hokkien, Mandarin Chinese, and Malay in Singapore and one potential variety is likely in the IKR). The new variety might be named something like Kurdglish!

3.3 Language and Nationality

Nationalism is a concept that cannot easily be defined. There are various definitions of the term nationalism. One of the best-known definitions is from Anthony Smith who defines the term nationalism as 'an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation' (Smith, 1991, p.73). In this definition, Smith wanted to show the goals of nationalism, which he believes to be national autonomy, national unity, and national identity.

Ernest Gellner in his book 'Nation and nationalism' defined nationalism as 'primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent' (Gellner, 1983, p.1). Moreover, Gellner thinks that nationalism is a necessity of the new

world (Gellner, 1983). By looking at these two definitions it becomes clearer that there neither is more adequate than the other.

This might be because nationalism is different from a place to another.Also, there are different types of nationalism, for example; cultural, civic, ethnic, political, eastern, and western nationalism. These kinds of nationalism, understanding national ideologies, and the relationship between nationalism and language will be discussed in the next sections, in particular the role of the Kurdish language in the Kurdish national uprising in 1991. This is because the Kurdish language played a considerable role in the uprising, and it is generally believed that Kurdish nationalism is a linguistic nationalism (Mahmud, 2013), which means that the Kurdish language and Kurdish nationalism are closely linked.

3.4 Ideologies of nation and nationalism

The word 'nation' in medieval times was used for groups of students who came from the same region (H. Herb & H. Kaplan, 2008). The modern meaning and the idea of being a nation can be traced back to the Eighteenth Century, when philosophers Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) and Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) claimed the greatness of the German nation was due to the German language and culture (Kuzio, 2008, p. 17). However, we could say that the German philosophers' notion was very simplistic and they looked on a nation as having a collective culture rather than looking for political statehood. Nationalism is often discussed with the meaning of the nation. This is because one cannot argue the term nationalism without considering what is a nation. Generally, nationalism is a term used to describe the attachment and feelings of an individual to a particular group, which could be a political group for achieving statehood or an ethnic group, which was related because of their language, history, religion, and so on. There are various views about nations and nationalism because those people who defined both terms had different opinions and ideologies. Also, the term has been extremely debatable because of its importance. Ernest Gellner, in his book 'Nation and Nationalism' redefined the term of nation and nationalism, argued that 'a man must have a nationality as he must have a nose and two ears' (1983, p. 6). In contrast, Marx and Engels rejected nationalism completely, and they claim that 'the working class has no country' (Curties, 1997).

Anthony D. Smith defined a nation as 'a named human population sharing a historic

territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all' (Smith, 1991, p.14).

Smith's definition could not classify nations according to their spirit (Barrington, 1997), for instance, distinguish between the nation of Iraqi from that of Kurdish, or Spanish from Catalan, and so on. Furthermore, he included a 'common economy', which is experienced in one state (Barrington, 1997). One might ask that about a Kurdish or Turkish nation as Kurds live in various countries which have different economies. If they are not a nation, what does Kurdish nationalism mean? Also, the same explanation is true for Turks who have more than one state. Not surprisingly, Smith made some remarkable changes in his definition of 'nation' in 2002, when he stated that a nation is 'a named community possessing a historic territory, shared myths and memories, a common public culture and common laws and customs' (Guibernau, 2004). As has been seen, there are some fundamental obvious changes, which Guibernau (2004) also mentioned; he removed the 'mass' character of public culture and a 'common economy', also 'common legal rights and duties' have been swapped with 'common laws and customs'.

Benedict Anderson defined a nation in a different way saying that a nation is 'an imagined political community.' Anderson argues that all members of nations do not know each other even in the smallest nation, but they have an image of their communion (Anderson, 1991, p.6). He criticizes Ernest Gellner who thinks that 'nationalism invents nations where they do not exist' and he discusses that all communities are imagined not by their false genuineness but by the style in which they are imagined and they are distinguished by their imagined style (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). I think Anderson's ideas are more appropriate for the Kurdish community and nationalism. This is because whole Kurds are not similar in culture, faith, country, even they do not have one united language to understand each other, but they feel and imagine they are Kurdish.

3.5 National identity and nation-state

The historian Hans Kohn differentiated between western and eastern nationalism and thought that western nationalism is territorial-civic nationalism because the middle class was active in the west and aimed to create a liberal and rational civil society, but eastern nationalism is ethnocultural nationalism because of the weakness of the middle class. Nationalism in the west was only 'the dream and hope of scholars and poets' (Kohn, 1982, p. 29-30). As a result of both kinds of nationalism, nation-states were built, and most theorists agree that nation-states are contemporary constructions (Kohn, 1982; Gellner, 1983; Anderson, 1991; Smith, 1991). Nation-states were widely accepted and national boundaries were drawn. Following that, the issue of those ethnic groups who do not have a state has appeared and it was theorized under the term 'nations without states'.

Despite there being various theories and views to show what should be called national identity, one has been compelled to accept one's state as a national identity officially e.g. states are members of the United Nations (United-Nations, 2013). This means that the identity of Scots is British, not Scottish, and the identity of Kurds might be Turkish, Iraqi, Iranian, or Syrian but not Kurdish. As has been argued by Smith (1991), identity plays a central role in nationalism and according to him national identity 'involves some sense of political community, history, territory, partiality, citizenship, common values and traditions' (Guibernau, 2004, p. 133). Smith's definition also could not include nations without states, and he was criticized for ignoring nations like Basques, Flemish, Kurdish, and so on (Guibernau, 2004).

There is no doubt that some nations in the world do not have their states due to the last centuries' conflicts, both World Wars. Some people think that every nation should have a state, while some others claim that democracy can give ethnic rights to various nations within a state. One of the biggest stateless nations is the Kurdish nation. They were victims of peace settlements after the Ottoman Empire collapsed (Gotlieb, 1994, pp. 101-104). Kurds and similar nations are generally called nations without states or stateless nations. I agree with those people who think that every nation should have their state because democracy is not a static term, and those nations who are a minority in a country are looked upon as lower-level citizens. The most obvious example could be the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq who were massacred by their states in 1937 (Demirhan, 2010) and the 1980s (McDowall, 2004, p.352)

3.6 Language and nationalism

As the researcher mentioned earlier, there are two main kinds of nationalism: civic nationalism, which is also called liberal nationalism, and ethnic nationalism. Liberal nationalism is more about being a citizen than blood (Gellner, 1983). It is a modern mode of thinking about being a citizen in a group without thinking about blood loyalty. On the other hand, building upon the ideas of ethnic nationalism, nationalism is closely linked with blood, meaning individuals are members of a nation because of their common language, culture, color, and so on. According to ethnic nationalism, it is believed that language is a national basis and one nation needs to have one common language. Ignatieff argued that ethnic nationalism is based on 'blood loyalty' (Billig, 1995, p. 47). Regarding Kurds, it is thought that Kurdish nationalism is based on ethnic nationalism because being Kurdish is linked with language, spiritual thinking, culture, and so on.

It is assumed by most traditional social scientists that language commonality is a crucial point, and members of a language need to seek their political recognition to save their language (Billig, 1995). Besides, language has been used by nationalists for political support, for instance, Kurds in Iraq in the second half of the last century. They used their language to increase nationalist feelings among Kurdish inhabitants against the Iraqi regime at that time (Mahmud, 2013). In the 1991 uprisings, the Kurdish language played a significant role in various sectors. If media is taken as an example, Dangi Geli Kurdistan Radio was one of the most effective voices at that time, especially through those messages and speeches which were propagated to Arabs in Iraq, arguing for ethnic rights and revolution against the process of Arabization (Mustafa, 2009, p. 31-40).

Generally, the Kurdish language has been a very important tool for Kurdish nationalism. The deputy of the head of the Kurdish academy called Kurdish nationalism as linguistic nationalism (Mahmud, 2013). He means that the Kurdish language is the main or one of the main bases of Kurdish nationalism. Also, Jaffer Sheyholislami believes that 'Kurdistan, as a territorial and cultural nation, has been imagined and defined in terms of a Kurdish language' (Sheyholislami, 2009). Moreover, the modern scholars of Kurdish studies have suggested that 'Kurdish language is arguably the most salient symbol of Kurdish identity' (Sheyholislami, 2009).

This fact could be the main factor for linking the Kurdish language with Kurdish nationalism and politics strongly. Every political wave in Kurdistan would affect the Kurdish language. Also, Every Kurdish language issue might have an impact on Kurdish nationalism. This could be the main cause that encourages Kurds to have Kurdish standard language, in particular in Iraqi Kurdistan. This is because this part of Kurdistan is the only place the Kurdish language is formal and studied widely.

3.7 The role of language in the 1991 Kurdish national uprising

After the invasion, Iraq withdrew from Kuwait in February 1991 because of a massive US-led military campaign (BBC, 2013). Many Iraqis expected that the United States and its allied army would go beyond Kuwait and remove the Ba'athist regime but this did not occur and President Bush asked the Iraqi people to remove the dictator themselves (Reuters, 1991). Moreover, Bush's speech was broadcast on opposition radios and the Voice of America. Some people think that this speech played a great role in the Iraqi uprisings in southern Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan in 1991 (Fisk, 2006). The Kurds rose against the Ba'athist government and Ranya was the first town to be liberated on 5th March. Following that, the people and Peshmarga1 in most Kurdish cities and towns started to fight against the Iraqi regime, and the government was forced to leave most Kurdish areas (McDowall, 2004).

It is generally believed that the uprising was the outcome of some other events, which were, firstly, the international reactions against Iraq because of the Iran - Iraq War and the Kuwait invasion. Secondly, the bad internal Iraqi situation was due to the Kurdish genocide and Shiite uprising (McDowall, 2004). Also, the language was another spur for the Kurdish uprising. This was because, in most multilingual and multi-ethnic societies, language plays a significant role in managing tensions and making political waves. Besides, the media can be used as a tool to send these sorts of messages. There are various examples of such usages e.g. the messages of Dangi Geli Kurdistan Radio in 1991. During the uprising, Dangi Geli Kurdistan Radio The *Voice of the People of Kurdistan'* was chosen as a mouthpiece by 'Barai Kurdistani' United Kurdistan Parties, and its language played a considerable role due to the fact that the radio broadcast some

effective private-sphere messages for public-sphere purposes (Mustafa, 2009). Generally, the Kurdish language played two vital and effective roles in the 1991 uprising, which were; firstly, the linguistic role of the Kurdish language was because Kurds didn't have linguistic rights. Even though Iraqi Kurds were supposed to have more rights than other Kurds in Turkey, Iran, and Syria, they were forced to study and speak in Arabic by the Iraqi regime. Besides, Kurdish has been sidelined and the most important languages in those areas where Kurds live have been Arabic, Turkish, or Persian (M. Azeez, 2005, p. 553). As a reaction, the Kurdish nationalists have encouraged people to protect their language because it is believed that Kurdish should have the same right as other languages and it must be taught, published, and printed (Nawkhosh & Khoshnaw* 2011). As we have seen above, people in Iraqi Kurdistan were massacred in the 1980s because of being Kurdish. They were forced to take action when their language also was threatened with linguicide. Secondly, the role of a motivated Kurdish language on regular people, which was used for political ends in the media, flyers, publications, speeches, marches, etc. Dangi Geli Kurdistan Radio was chosen as an example because it was the main radio at that time and played a very effective role (Mustafa, 2009).

Paying no attention to how many languages and dialects the Kurds speak, Aziz (2015: 50, 51) gives the priority to the theoretical dimension of language which should be considered as a fundamental element in the process of strengthening national identity which is confirmed by many Kurdish nationalists such as Hajar Abdurrahman, Hemen Mokryani (from Iranian Kurdistan), Aladdin Sajadi, Jamal Nabaz, and Ferhad Shakely. That is, the Kurdish language is of high significance as it is a symbol indicating who the Kurds are and it has been a crucial protector of their (kurdayati) Kurdishness.

The troubles with the Kurdish language are the reflection of the troubles of a nation that has stepped up and pulled through deep pain towards nation-building that gives the meaning to providing a political environment that gives a new meaning to culture, cultural freedom, and language. Besides, it has neither been able to provide a suitable political setting for Kurdish culture nor solve the simplest problem with the Kurdish language during one century of its age. (Sabir, 2008: 115)

Language proves the nationality and the existence of a nation. If any nation cannot use its language by writing and reading, it will melt within the spirit of another nation ad hoc in the near future. It is a national duty for political parties to form a coherent plan to urge their supporters and members to speak in the Kurdish language at home, never forget their language, and never consider it the second degree. Jambaz (2014: 59-61; 115, 116)

Sabir (2008: 111, 112) points out that the ruling experience of the government of South Kurdistan and the absence of a national cultural policy besides the absence of having a plan for adopting a standard language for formal speaking and writing indicate that the political authority cannot achieve and create the foundations for cultural and language unity without profound national awareness and cultural policy that covers every aspect of education and science. It will probably increase the rate of language distribution and differentiation and it will complicate the spiritual and political lives of Kurds. Meanwhile, Sapir indicates that the language policy (concerning the national language or minority language inside the state) composes part of the policy of the state- particularly the internal policy of the state (Khalid, 2015).

However, language and the linguistic reality in IKR has been influenced by a number of important factors. The following discussion is drawn from Saeed (2018):

3.8 Language and Economy

In addition to political support, Sabir (2008: 110) considers economic support an influential factor for any language to be able not to retreat behind other stronger languages. Jambaz (2014: 60) discusses the factors beyond the spread of language and mentions some of them, such as occupation, commerce, migration, religion, and the economy. Consequently, some states are using language as an influential economic card, for instance, when Jack Shirak was the Prime Minister of France, he made a suggestion to the 36 Francophone states where the formal language is French and offered to forgive them from paying back their debts whenever they used French over English. The French deployed and distributed their language in this way and they still ask and are motivated about opening French departments. Likewise, the Spanish authorities have attempted to establish institutions for teaching Spanish. If France, Spain, and the UK make such efforts,

what should we do? The Spanish government spent 75000000 dollars on a project to develop the Spanish language outside Spain (Tofiq, 2007: 24).

Economically, formal languages have something to do with occupation and making use of vacant positions. For instance, the efforts made by Spanish parents who traveled to the US, as they prefer to learn English even in those states of the US where the majority of the population have their roots in Spanish migration. That is, they force their children to attend English schools rather than Spanish schools because English is the language of all of the states of America. Spanish parents think that not knowing English will threaten the future of their children. Talking about the formal language of Iraq during the Ba'ath regime and finding it normal to have Arabic as the formal language and the language of the majority of Iraqis, Tofiq (2007: 57) notes that learning the Arabic language leads to more job opportunities. As parents we're always worried about finding a better future for their children, they have found learning Arabic a necessity. Unfortunately, there was and still, there is no space for such economic policy in terms of serving the Kurdish language. The situation in Iraqi Kurdistan is different since the people try to speak Arabic because of their Arab customers. The people who can afford to send their children to private schools where the language education is English do not pay attention to the costs which weaken the Kurdish language. Since the economic efforts in Iraqi Kurdistan are serving foreign languages, the political authority is required to allocate an amount of money to enhance the linguistic situation of the Kurdish language to spend less in the future and to avoid being in the same boat with the Western Arabic states (i.e. Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia) which allocate an amount of money every year to reduce the impact of French language on their people in their countries(Spolsky 2004: 134-135).

Accordingly, if nothing was done in the past in terms of making use of the economic factors concerning the Kurdish language, the authority is required to follow appropriate procedures such as opening a Kurdish department in universities outside Iraq especially in Europe and America in the future so that foreigners can learn Kurdish language and at least one will feel that there is a sort of enthusiasm and activity (Saeed,2018, 191)

3.9 Language and Religion

In general, Kurds are a religiously diverse ethnic group since most Kurdish people are Sunni Muslims and belong to Shafi'i madhab (school of jurisprudence), some are Shi'i and some Yarsan (also called Ahli Haqq or Kakayee), Alevi or Yazidi, and others are agnostics, atheists recent converts to non-sectarian Christianity or fit other religious descriptions. King cited in Taucer, Vogi, and Webinger (2015: 22)

Indicating the role of religion, on one hand, and showing its relationships to language, on the other hand, Sabir (2008: 115) refers to the nation of Jews for whom language was not the original element of the culture and national identity; their basic identity was the religion. That is, they protected themselves through their religion, not their language.

Before Islam, for Nabaz (1976:10) the prevalent religion for Kurds was the mere religion of Yazidi. Nabaz makes sure that the believers of this religion could not get the chance to prevail in their religion in Kurdish as one of its mediums of religious expression. Yazidi believers have two sacred books known as Kitab Djilwa (the book of Revolution) and Mashafrash (Black Book) and because of the oppression they confronted, they were written in a mixture of Kurdish sub dialects: such as Mukriani, Sulaymani, Ardalan, and Badinan sub-dialects. Accordingly, the influence of the two sacred books on the development of the Kurdish nation-building in Hassanpour's viewpoint (1992: 74) has been minimal because the two sacred books have been kept and not allowed to act as the base of general religion for Kurds and Kurdistan people. Though Jukil (2014: 70) indicates that many religious movements arouse in Kurdistan for reforming Islamic religion on the base of ancient Kurdish religions such as Ahli Haq, Shabak religion, and Kakayee whose holy books were not in Kurdish and their religions were persecuted, some evidence showing how Muslims coexisted with Jews and Christians, and how Muslims avoided any sort of tensions with exotic religions and sects that are not close from Islamic and more ancient roots in IKR. One may refer to Yezidis, Ahli-Haq, and Alevis as samples for the syncretic mixtures of Muslim elements with pre-Islamic Persian and Shamanic religions. A closed community having its authorities and laws, mostly speaking dialects of Kurdish is composed of each of such religions (Saeed,2018, 193).

As a matter of fact, the role of the religions in terms of the Kurdish language was not and still is not the same. That is, Tofiq (2007: 48) doesn't find the role of Mashafi rash (black

mashaf), Jilwa, and the total of Yarsans (Ahli Haq) effective or useful since they have been used within a very small scope throughout their history. Likewise, Nawkhosh (2007:92) assumes that both writings of Jilwa and Mashafa rash didn't only play no roles in Kurdish linguistics but they stimulated and encouraged Kurdish writers to explore the religion of Yazidiyati rather than the language of these two writings. (Saeed,2018, 193)

Unfortunately, Kurdish educationalists particularly Kurdish clergymen, Tofiq (2007: 16) believes, were the first to fall into the trap of working for the Arabic language throughout history. That is, those who were literate and could add something to the Kurdish language were clergymen who were busy with the morphology, grammar, and rhetoric of Arabic language, and did not pay enough attention to the Kurdish language except for a small minority. For example, Khani and Sheikh Marif Nodaiyee wrote two dictionaries, the purpose of which was to be familiar with the Arabic language, which means that these two dictionaries were written for the sake of the Arabic language too. Historically, Nawkhosh (2007: 49-50) thinks that it was due to the impact of the holy Quran that many Kurdish scholars like Ali Tarmakhi, Mala Mahmudi Bayazidi, Sheikh Husein Qazi, Mawlana Khalidi Naqshbandi, and Mala Abdulla Jalil Zada wrote their educational works. Notably, it was due to the impact of the Holy Quran that the Kurdish intellectuals tried to compose a Kurdish alphabet on the Arabic alphabet. Thus, Ala´addin Sjadi, Jamal Nabaz, Mustafa Nariman, Hamid Farij believe that Kurds after being converted to Islam tried to imitate Persians and have their Kurdish alphabet composed on the Arabic alphabet. Adopting the Kurdish alphabet is found apparently in the writings of Yazidis and Kakayees. These texts are proofs that Kurds used these orthographies in the 11th and 12th centuries. Accordingly, having the same idea of Hamid and Raza (2013: 108), Alyawayee (2003: 8) indicates that Kurdish Mala (clergymen) served Islamic religion through writing many books on Tafseer (translating Qur'an), hadith (the speeches of the prophet), and other scientific topics. He mentions the name of some of those Kurdish scholars whose writings were in Arabic and some of their poems were in the Persian language. He refers to Imam Rafi's, Sa'adi Taftazani, Imam Bukhari, Qutbuddin Razi, Sibawaihi JaraAllah, and Zamakhshari. Though such scholars wrote in Kurdish too, Persian language was common till the end of the first world war when the Ottoman Empire came to an end. Then studying Kurdish at schools gradually started to appear. What is of interest here is the attitude

Alyawayee has in this respect. That is, he stands against those who blame the Kurdish clergymen for not serving the Kurdish language as required. He thinks that all parts of Kurdistan were under the power of the colonized states and nobody could do anything at that time. He points out that the chance given to the clergymen in Iraq in 1959 when the Iraqi government decided to open courses for literate people (i.e. clergymen) to let them teach at schools after their graduation after being tested. Thus, in addition to serving as teachers, they set out working on translating the Holy Qur'an in addition to the books related to the biography of the prophet and those that are the curriculum of the religious students (Faqe). The modern history witnessed an outstanding movement in the field of translating many religious books and the priority is given to the analysis (Tafseer) of the Holy Qur'an. To name a few of them it is possible to refer to Malai Gawra, Muhammadi Khal, Mala Abdul-Karimi Mudarris, Mala Othman Abdul-Aziz, and Mala Ibrahim Guli in the past and many other Kurdish Islamic scholars give the meaning of reviving many Kurdish words. Then the translation of the Holy Qur'an by Shapol, Hazhar Mukriyani, and Tahseen Doski played a great role not only in enriching the Kurdish language with religious words but for better understanding the Holy Qur'an in a way that such text in the Kurdish language made a change in the literate structure. That is, the Kurdish literate (reader) not only gets further Kurdish words but its scope of thinking gets expanded as he can understand such texts to a great degree. Because Muhammadi Khal and Hazhari Mukriyani had written the Kurdish dictionary, they made a great effort this way to find identical Kurdish words for these Qur'anic words. Accordingly, it is through these analyses and translation of the Holy Qur'an and other religious books related to the bibliography of the Prophet Mohammed as well as other sources the Kurdish religion students (Faqe) make use throughout their studies in the hujra (religion school) and Islamic institutions that a Kurdish dictionary could be written for such religious words of the Kurdish language. Hereby, the Kurdish language will experience a very important change within a very short period and all these efforts will be counted as part of the Kurdish linguistic movement. (Saeed,2018, 195).

For Nawkhosh (2007: 19) the translation and the analysis of the Qur'an in Kurdish is a turning point in the movement of Kurdish linguistics because it is through this way that hundreds of Kurdish words, terms, and expressions are saved from death. To be to the point, on can't ignore that translating Bible through Armenian language and alphabet, on one hand, and making efforts in changing some prayers of Christians into Kurdish created a scope/space for education for Kurds which enables them to explore their languages, cultures, and religion. It was also a factor for confirming part of the history of (Kurdish literature text). The project was indirectly in favor of Kurdish linguistics in a way that at least attention was paid to Kurdish through text. (Nawkhosh, 2012: 123-167)

In brief, the role of Kurdish Islamic clergymen in Iraqi Kurdistan very crucial. Besides the awareness of the people, the clergymen have to highlight language policies and relevant issues because this topic is not mentioned too much. Accordingly, the role of Muslim clergymen is to talk more about the position of language in religion. They have to indicate that languages are equal and they have to be used equally. They should talk about such issues in their Friday sermons and make use of nearly 2800 mosques where they deliver their speeches every Friday. (Jambaz, 2014: 234) and (Tofiq, 2007: 243)

3.10 Language and Education

Many things happened and a lot of work has been carried out in the field of education. According to statistics presented by Jambaz (2014: 237), there were 497 preparatory schools, 633 journals, and newspapers, 180 radio, and TV stations besides many other satellite TV channels, which are using the Kurdish Language at the late of 2014. Nevertheless, Jambaz wonders whether such educational centers and channels are working according to a planned policy or not. In an answer to such a question, he refers to the phenomenon of prohibiting answering questions in exams in the universities of the capital city of Iraqi Kurdistan where the expression 'answering in Kurdish is not allowed' is repeated more than once every year during the exams. Changing the language of education for the topics of humanitarian sciences in Kurdistan Universities, under the supervision of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Studies through translating, preparing, and writing processes is a task that is not too difficult. That is, except for university students, the Kurdish Departments of the Colleges of Languages, Education,

and Basic Education, the students that pass the secondary and preparatory stages will come up against a wall since they will find themselves forced to study and deal with their curriculum sources (the ones in Humanitarian Sciences) in the Arabic language. This is the result of the carelessness and lack of effort in translating many such sources into Kurdish, especially after the uprising of 1991. It was possible for the teaching staff to teach and use the Kurdish language in all college departments of Humanitarian Sciences. If a question was asked about the inability of the students to learn Arabic, though he or she would study it during his/her time at university, the answer would require the change of education system and the facilities provision for learning any language (ibid, 87; 116). Accordingly, the language of education is of great importance, and most of the nations of the world give it a priority. Using two different dialects in two different regions may result in adopting two standard languages in the educational system. No nations allow having two languages for the education system because it will lead to the slow destruction of the nation. Therefore, the internal obstacles are not less than the external obstacles. They are just like wind and rain for melting snow because the external obstacles are intentional and the internal obstacles are ignorantly working on executing the Kurdish language. (Nawkhosh, 2013: 25).

By the end of 2014, more than 5740 schools existed wherein the language of education in Kurdish. These schools belong to the Ministry of Education, and hundreds of publications have been printed in governmental and private publishing centers in Kurdish along with hundreds of channels that Kurdish citizens could not deal with becoming available. Language has become a crucial issue, and it has caused those who are prevented from using their mother tongue language in their countries to try to learn it at home and teach it to their children. (Jambaz, 2014: 170).

In a similar strategy, the Ministry of Education has repeated the same mistake in terms of those students who finished their studies abroad or outside Kurdistan over the years. Those whose language of education was not the Kurdish language are not required to take Kurdish lessons for the final exams of grade 9 and grade 12. Therefore, why is a student whose language of education is Kurdish to be exempted from taking exams in the Arabic language if he or she relocates to an Arab inhabited area? (ibid, 88)

Despite the negative points found in the educational system, the first half of the 20th century witnessed movements and awareness of education besides the revolutionary movement of the Kurds. These movements were headed by the Kurdish educationalists who were leading figures in politics as well. That is, they were the decision-makers and the influential players in both fields of politics and education. (Tofiq, 2007: 13)

In a word, Kreyenbrock & Allison (1996: 29) show that the Iraqi Kurdistan Kurdish-language education system made a massive contribution to Kurdish Studies through founding an intellectual élite that operates from within 'Kurdistan' rather than from the diaspora. Though Kreyenbrock & Allison think that the Kurdish-language education system was unable to cater for speakers of minority dialects and the political situation made it exposed to intrusion and government intervention, besides Arabic departments in the College of Languages, Education, and Basic Education, there are Turkish, Persian, French, and Germany departments in College of Languages, and Syriac Department which is already opened in College of Education. Despite the separate and independent efforts made by the lecturers in different governmental universities in terms of translating the topics they teach, Jwaideh (2006: 288) views that it is the responsibility of the state to dominate the education and similar matters. Hereby, the government strategy is crucial not only because it has the ability to approve any given undertaking in this field, but also because it is the only way to get things done.

3.11 Language and Culture

For Sabir (2008: 112) language is the most important element of culture. It is the means by which the nation expresses itself, or it could be the framework within which the culture is estimated. Therefore, language comprises the essence of each nation and highlights the features of knowledge, civilization, and personality. For Kurds, since the 1990s the

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Kurdish language has become progressively and more precisely a self-marker since then. The Arabic language has come to be perceived as a clear cultural and/ or ethnic indicator that can be mapped out to conclude where the political frontiers and boundaries are (Aziz, 2015: 53). Accordingly, for Kreyenbrock & Allison (1996: 48) the culture and language of this society are supposed to oral and unwritten, or they are a matter of "local' varieties being in contact in one way or another with the prevailing cultures and languages of the Middle East - Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Hereby, Sabir (2008: 109) believes that culture and the national language cannot remain isolated and neglected inside enclosed geography.

Since several languages and cultures in states around the world which have their political unity protecting them are currently under the threat of becoming extinct, what will the situation of culture and language of a stateless nation like the Kurds be like in the future? Language and culture are related to each other; therefore, policies on language and culture are an inevitable necessity that the Iraqi Kurdistan Government must take into serious consideration. Although the problems of culture and the Kurdish language are related to identity, national identity, and personality, this is a political problem as well. Therefore, it cannot be fixed without the political authority adopting a cultural policy. Nevertheless, it will not be easy to sort out such a problematic issue, as it is complicated to the degree that it affects the political authorities. This is why we are facing a problem that could be the base of the crises of Kurdish thought and politics. Furthermore, it is not possible to discuss the hegemony of political life without the hegemony of culture.
The solution to the problems of culture and the Kurdish language requires political and national determination and cultural policy in the first stage. Cultural policy for Sabir (2008: 124) implies the total sum of the structures of the procedures adopted by the community in terms of culture and language issues, which includes cultural fields, language topics, literature and art, education in all its stages, media and publishing.

3.12 The Kurdish Academy

According to Saeed (Saeed,2018, 202) citing from Talabany (2013: 103) defines the Kurdish Academy as: "an independent scientific organization directly linked to the presidency of the council of ministers and it is a supreme reference for anything that has to do with the Kurdish language, its dialects, preservation, and enrichment to reach a united official language". It has the following aims and goals:

1. It preserves, revitalizes, and develops the Kurdish language and its different dialects in addition to Kurdish culture and history. Meanwhile, it works on uniting dialects in different ways one of which is to gather Kurdish vocabularies among different dialects and prepare scientific dictionaries in all different fields.

2. It aims at uniting and finding the most appropriate way for national consensus in respect of having an official language in the Kurdistan region.

3. It is urging the officials of education to be of help and make a tremendous effort to have the one standard language of education in IKR which was one of the problematic issues due to having two languages of education in the past few years. Thus, uniting the language of education is to be given priority and there is to be serious cooperation among the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher education, and the Kurdish Academy.

4. It tries to improve the level of the conducted researches in Kurdish to be in accordance with scientific and cultural development.

5. Showing and making use of the role of Kurdish experts in the fields that are in close touch with culture, it revives Kurdish culture through making use of science, literature, and art.

6. It shows its adherence to the decision made by UNESCO, which asks for using the mother tongues to be taught for children to enable them to study in their mother tongue or their related dialects.

To perform and execute the major programs and tasks the Kurdish Academy has and to make use of experts from different Kurdish dialects, there are the following committees which are overseen by active members of the academy:

1. Dialect committee: is one of the basic and influential committees of the academy which is required to look for genuine Kurdish dialects and work on them from the perspective of different fields.

2. Dictionary committee: which is entirely responsible for the dictionaries preparation and getting them published through making use of the different dialects of the Kurdish language. For instance, the dictionary of (Upper Kurmanji – Lower Kurmanji) and the dictionary of (Hawrami – Sorani) have been published so far. Further, the committee was successful in publishing tens of specific bilingual and trilingual dictionaries in all major disciplines of Kurdish researches.

3. The history committee is interested in recording the general Kurdish history adopting an academic methodology.

4. Journal committee: is the unit that is specifically responsible of publish a quarterly scientific and academic journal. It was able to publish more than 26 issues of the journal in Kurdish and Arabic till now.

5. Bibliography committee: is a committee whose duty is to prepare bibliographies for different fields of Kurdish research.

6. Publication and Distribution committee: is one committee and in direct contact with the process of publishing and distributing scientific and academic researches that are referred to in article number 4 of the Academy's law.

7. Language committee: is responsible for conducting researches and investigations related to the problems the Kurdish language and all the dialects it has without making any difference between them.

8. Literature committee: pays attention to dealing with and recording the history of Kurdish literature. Manuscript and Evidence committee: is one of the sources of collecting and compiling all the Kurdish manuscripts anywhere in the world. Further, it gathers and follows any archive evidence related to Kurds and Kurdistan (Saeed,2018, 204).

9. In addition to the aforementioned committees and the duties they have, another important project the Kurdish academy has is the Encyclopedia of Kurdistan, which contains a lot of information about the Kurds and Kurdistan and covers the following topics: famous personalities in different disciplines, geographic location,

historic events, tribes, sect and families of Kurdistan, nations of Kurdistan, ethnicities, religion, beliefs, customs, traditions, Kurds in the diaspora, Kurdologists, experts of language, history, sociology, geography, literature and so on. Such a scientific project is expected to come out in ten volumes and around five thousand pages. Notably, to be able to let others have an idea about the activities of the abovementioned committees and to display what the Kurdish academics and language scholars have in terms of the Kurdish language, the academy is supervising and presenting the seasonal scientific seminars. Many seminars have been held by the academy on various educational topics until now.In a word, Kurdish Academy is a seasonal scientific and academic journal the Journal Committee including an active member of the council is going to oversee and issue. It is noteworthy, that the universities from different locations of Kurdistan accredit this journal for scientific promotion. The fields where the researches are conducted and published are language, culture, and Kurd civilizations. The journal is supervised by a group of professors and university lecturers. The language the journal depends on to publish researches are either Kurdish, Arabic, or English. Likewise, one of the major and active duties of the Kurdish Academy is to publish books besides researches and dictionaries. According to confidential detailed statistics, the academy has published more than 220 books in Kurdish, Arabic, and English from 2003 to 2013 which means that the number is much more now.

Chapter Four

Challenges

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is intended to introduce some issues of central importance to language planning, particularly language planning at the level of higher education. Of particular importance are some cases of India and West African countries where a tendency towards Anglicization and/or de-Anglicization has been in the spotlight for the last three decades. A discussion of language situation and planning in all these countries would require long treatment; hence the case of India has been covered in detail due to its multilingual nature and the complexities of language planning that the country has gone through.

4.2 Language Planning in Universities

Of all levels of education, higher education has been the most internationalized. This internationalization is, however, not a new phenomenon and the international nature of universities' work can be seen from the inception of the university. The idea of the itinerant scholar is one that predates the founding of universities as educational institutions. In the medieval West, foreign students and foreign academics were an indispensable part of the earliest universities (Welch, 2005). Nonetheless, contemporary universities are characterized by a focus on internationalization at an unprecedented level that influences the profile of the student body and academic staff, the curricula being offered, and the sorts of educational experiences that universities offer to their students (Källkvist & Hult, 2016; Liddicoat, 2004). For universities, internationalization has meant a substantial increase in multilingualism and a need to respond to changes in both the language profiles of university populations and in the languages of universities' work. This means that universities have increasingly been faced with the need to plan languages as part of their work to respond to the changing linguistic context in which they work.

The internationalization of the contemporary university exists within a wider context of demographic, cultural, and economic internationalization that has been accompanied by a

greater focus on education as a tradable commodity, on research as a global endeavour and the ideology of English as the lingua franca of commercial, cultural and educational life. The growing role of English as an international language has, in particular, been a feature of contemporary universities in all aspects of their work and has become a central focus of many universities' language planning. All of the papers in this volume engage with the role of English in academia either explicitly or implicitly.

The impact of the globalization of the English language on contemporary education is not, however, equal for all universities. In countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States, or Australia, where English is not only an academic lingua franca but also the dominant language of public communication, universities have often shown little interest in the linguistic consequences of internationalization. For example, universities in Australia, the context in which I have worked most, have seen internationalization largely in terms of "business as usual". Where language issues have surfaced for such universities they have usually been couched in terms of the "deficient" linguistic abilities of international students (e.g. Birrell, 2006; Bretag, 2007). Such universities' language planning has therefore focused mostly on remediation of students' deficiencies in the form of academic support programs (Andrade, 2006; Baik & Greig, 2009), of increasing English-language scores on standardized tests for admission to degree programs (Benzie, 2010) or of assessing the English-language capabilities of currently enrolled students (Murray, 2014). These can all be considered as monolingual responses to the linguistic diversity that exists within Australian universities (Liddicoat & Crichton, 2008). Moreover, the focus on internationalization does not seem to have strengthened the teach- ing and learning of additional languages in Australian universities as the period of internationalization has seen the reduction in both the number of students taking languages and the number of languages offered in most Australian universities (Diller, White, & Baldauf, 1997; White & Baldauf, 2006). The approach to internationalization in Australian universities can thus be seen as an instance of a monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 1994) that constructs internationalization as something that occurs mainly through a single language (English) and requires only knowledge of that language for full participation in the internationalized academy. In my personal experience, this English-language monolingual habitus has also been reflected in the ways that universities evaluate research published in other

languages. Thus, internationalization seems to have led to a heightened focus on monolingualism rather than on multilingualism. The only exceptions would be in the development of marketing materials in the languages of significant markets as a way of attracting students to Australian universities, and even here, marketing in English is more often the norm.

In countries where the national language is not English, however, the impact has been much different and there has been a move to increasing multilingualism, where multilingualism often a focus on the addition of English to the linguistic repertoires of academics and students (Källkvist & Hult, 2016; Ljosland, 2007). The impact of internationalization on the language planning of universities can be seen in all areas of academic work, in teaching and learning, in research, and administration.

In teaching and learning, the primary language-planning issue confronting institutions in many countries is the question of the medium of instruction. Universities are increasingly adopting English as a medium of instruction in some courses or some disciplinary areas as either the main or an auxiliary medium of instruction. The rationales put forward for this are usually framed in terms of the need to internationalize but there appear to be two different positions put forward. The first relates to the desire to attract international students, who it is believed will not be attracted to universities that teach in their local languages (Byun et al., 2011; Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2011; LeLièvre & Forlot, 2014). This locates the use of English within an economic motivation, a desire to attract fee-paying students, and allocates to English a greater economic value than the local language(s). English may also be chosen as the medium of instruction because it is in some way considered to be more appropriate for teaching a particular area, either because English is seen as the language in which knowledge is created or because it is seen as the prototypical language in which such knowledge will be used in the world of work (Doiz et al., 2011; Wilkinson, 2013). Such policies thus represent a normalization of English as the language of work, both inside and outside the academy, at least in some disciplinary areas such as business studies or the sciences.

Questions of a medium of instruction have not, however, always focused only on the use of English alongside national languages. There have also been instances where

universities have adopted minority languages as languages of instruction, especially official minority languages (e.g. Bull, 2012; Mgqwashu, 2014; Nkosi, 2014). Such language planning is, however, relatively rare and may not be well accepted by local communities and students, who value education in majority official languages, especially those with international reach more highly than education in a local minority language (Nkosi, 2014).

Universities' language planning may also consider the place of foreign language learning in university curricula. One feature of this in contemporary universities has been the focus on foreign language learning for students who are not majoring in a language. This has broadly meant in many countries that such students are required to study English at some point in their university program of study. Such policies have often meant that English is the only language studied by the majority of higher education students and that other languages may have only a marginal position in university curricula. This may be the case even in contexts where English is not a mandated subject for university students. For example, in Japan, although English is not a required subject for university students in Japan's macro-level educational policy, it is widely studied as part of university-specific policies, and the study of other languages is quite restricted (Kakuharu, 2007; Koishi, 2011; Sugitani, 2010). Thus, the language planning for the learning of additional languages in contemporary universities is increasingly geared to the teaching of English, either as the only foreign language studied by students or in combination with other languages, while in the English-speaking world, language study is usually only for students with a special interest.

In research, university language planning has increasingly come to emphasize English as the language of publication (Hamel, 2007, 2013). Such language policies reflect a larger shift within the academy that shows publication practices increasingly coming to focus of English as the normal language of knowledge production in the academy, with many journals shifting from publishing in the national language to publication in English. This was for example the case with the French journal Revue de physique, which began publishing in both French and English from the 1970s (Langevin, 1981) and eventually ceased using French by the beginning of the 1990s (Liddicoat, 2008). Studies of

publication over time have tended to show a decreasing presence of most languages in favour of English (e.g. Ehlich, 2001; Lee & Lee, 2013; Sano, 2002).

One of the factors leading universities to shift increasing to publication policies focusing on English has been the development of national research evaluation processes that have sought to rank publications as a way of measuring research quality and such rankings have tended to privilege research developed in English (González-Alcaide, Valderrama-Zurián, & Aleixandre-Benavent, 2012; Tietze & Dick, 2012). In fact, in the ideological construction of internationalization of research in contemporary universities, "internationalization" has come to mean publishing in English and publications in English are seen as being of high quality (Lillis & Curry, 2010) or at least as of higher quality than publications in local languages. There is also evidence that the language of publication can influence citation practices of researchers publishing in English, even in disciplines where such practices would seem to be less warranted (Liddicoat, 2016). The language planning of universities is thus done in the context of the hegemony of English in knowledge creation and the resulting policies are developed in ways that typically reinforce that hegemony at the expense of multilingual research practices. Such practices may work to diminish or marginalize the place of local languages in academic discourses and may also diminish or marginalize local epistemologies as they fail to recognize the role languages play in the ways that knowledge is both created and disseminated (Liddicoat & Zarate, 2009; Thielmann, 2002).

The language planning of universities in relation to administration is probably the least well-developed area of the language work of any universities. Often the working language of the nation in which the university is located in the language of administration, reflecting a national rather than international influence on language decisions. Such language policies may create particular difficulties for aspects of university administration, especially where English is not a working language of the university, but where it has been promoted for either the recruitment of international students or of English-speaking academic staff. In some cases, universities adopt a policy of employing bilingual staff who can communicate with students in a local language and English (as reported, for example, for Denmark by Haberland & Preisler, 2015), but this is not always the case.

In officially multilingual contexts, it may be the case that not all languages used in society will have equal use in the administration of universities. In some cases, less-dominant official languages will be used only for more symbolic aspects of administration such as signage, or for communication associated with specific groups of students. Alternatively, it may be the case that some official languages are not used at all in university administration (Cots Josep et al., 2012; Weber & Horner, 2013) or that their use may be dependent on the local language practices and capabilities of individuals rather than on an explicitly articulated policy.

In some administrative contexts, English may be used as an additional language alongside the national language(s) as a way of developing international visibility, particularly in the case of university websites, which increasingly commonly have parallel English versions and may also have a specific material in other languages targeting very specific audiences (Callahan & Herring, 2012). English websites typically exist only for external communication, with the material produced in the local language(s) serving as the mode of communication with the local students and communities. This external communication may be supplemented by additional languages used to target specific markets, especially for international students.

The internationalization of universities is presented ideologically as an opening of the university, which has essentially been national institutions, to a wider world. While this ideology is one of internationalism, it does not appear to be an ideology of multilingualism and university language policies do not seem to have engaged deeply within multilingualism. In fact, in many contexts, it would appear that internationalization is often reduced to a form of bilingualism in a national language and English, with only peripheral roles for other languages in many institutions, or to a monolingual, monocultures form of internationalization in universities in many English-speaking countries (Liddicoat, 2016).

4.3 Language Policy in India

India's linguistic, cultural, ethnic, religious diversity is very strong and widespread. Heterogeneity and multilingualism are not recent products. It goes back to the time when Aryans came to India with Sanskrit and thereafter many came, invaded and settled in

India, and with them was their languages. Since that time India is managing its diversity and multilingualism very beautifully and ardently. At that time multilingualism in India never created problems in the smooth functioning of the government. Different languages were assigned different roles in different domains but there was no conflicting situation. Even at the time of British rule, the British promoted the Indian vernaculars as well as English too. It isn't that the making of language policy in India was thought after independence but it was there much before that. Even at the time of Mughal empires, this policy existed. Language policy is about language choice or the usage of languages in different domains. But a very strong face of the policy was seen at the time of Macaulay's minute. Macaulay insisted on providing English education to the Indians. Macaulay said,

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and intellect (Thirumalai, 2003).

Before this, the British government was not very keen on promoting the English language as it was seen as the tool of governance in their hand. On March 7, 1835, Governor-General Bentinck issued an order in favour of Macaulay and agreed to spend funds for education to be employed for English education alone, but with that guaranteed not to abolish any College or School of native learning. On the other hand, the Orientalists wanted to promote the indigenous languages and were against English education. The conflict between the Anglicist and Orientalist led to the „polarization" of language policy. (Saba, 2013).

The Indian language policy took a U-turn when the Indian National Congress started supporting and promoting the Hindi language written in Devanagri. The nationalists wanted to compete with the British by their language. But Gandhiji was not supportive of this view because he knew that if Hindi with Sanskritized words will be chosen then the Muslims having Urdu will be marginalized. This will create a great cleft between them and will be a threat to the unity of the country. So he went for a mid-way introducing „Hindustani" as the common language for pan India.

Then in 1947 India got its independence and thus formulated the Constitution. That was a great turning point in the history of this country. The essence of being independent led every heart to grow with its desire. At that time the most important task was to administer the newly independent country. For proper administration, the areas important were that of law and order, education, etc. A language was needed to convey the ideas to its people. But India is a vast polity with lots of diversities led a big question in front of the leaders of the country. The leaders wanted an India where the government passing a law in a language should be understood to all, anyone can easily communicate to others via a common language. One of the motives behind this thought was the eradication of the English language. The imposition of a common language was nothing but was a determination to eradicate all the memories of the colonial rule so that India can have its voice. But the mark of colonial history was so deep that the government of India was unable to remove English.

At that time many had little idea of the issues at stake. There was a need to make a language policy for India. For effective administration, a language commission was appointed to meet the need of having a language policy. The commission was formed to have a thorough study of the language policies of the multilingual countries across the world. After looking into all the reports and policies of different polities the commissioners came to the conclusion of adopting „the Soviet Model" of language policy. A report regarding the adoption of „the soviet model" was given by the secretary of the commission, S. G. Barve (1957) who warned against the borrowing of any model without adapting it.

Obviously, no two cases in a field like this are exactly or even broadly similar; therefore any lessons to be had from the experiences of like circumstances in other countries must be drawn with great care (Schiffman, 1996:162).

English was made the language of education in 1837 (Krishnaswamy 2006: 43). The aim of the government's policy at that time was to establish English language schools (Krishnaswamy 2006: 44). The first policy statement on education declared by the British Government and the Company is said to be Wood's Despatch of 1854 (Krishnaswamy

2006: 47-48). This document basically planned to reduce the disrespectful and imperial language of Macaulay's Minute (ibid).

Concerning English, Wood's despatch stated that the English language should be taught wherever there was a demand for it and was not intended to replace the native languages in education (Krishnaswamy 2006: 48). The study of Indian languages should become an integral part of education and their development should be a major task of the government (ibid). In the nineteenth century, English was the language of business and administration and all the universities had English as the medium of instruction (ibid: 54). As a result, the public demand for English was becoming great and English used as the medium rose around the universities and in towns (ibid). The development of Indian languages and the education of the masses were not of utmost importance as they had no market value and their teaching was more or less ignored (Krishnaswamy 2006: 54-56). The number of schools and colleges using English as the medium of instruction and the respective number of students indicates the growing demand for English and thus the importance of English in India at that time.

Based on the increasing number of English medium schools, colleges, and universities, Krishnaswamy claims that by the end of the nineteenth century

English had become the 'prestige' language of India, the language of power and money, completely replacing Persian and other Indian rivals. (Krishnaswamy 2006: 54).

This view, which also Kachru (1983: 23) supports, seems justified as English provided access to universities, which guaranteed job opportunities and thus wealth, for which people in India were respected. Considering, however, the masses whose education, in particular that of English, was almost ignored, English can also be regarded as the language of the elite at that time.

In 1882, the first Indian Education Commission was appointed which did however not come up with any new or specific recommendations and completely left out university matters (Krishnaswamy 2006 57-58). It generally restated Wood's Despatch (ibid). In relation to English and Indian languages, the commission suggested that the media of

instruction at lower levels should preferably be indigenous languages (ibid). This recommendation was due to a premature introduction of English as a subject in middle schools because English was the medium in many high schools and the language used for examinations (ibid). However, the recommendations of the Commission about the medium of instruction were rather vague and ambiguous. As a result, the focus of education was still in English since there was a great demand for it from the market (Krishnaswamy 2006: 58).

In the post-independence era of India, Krishnaswamy (2006: 114) points out that most of the recommendations in the reports and policies after 1947 had already been made in the reports written before 1947. The first education commission in independent India was the University Education Commission from 1948/49, which focused on the higher levels of education (Krishnaswamy 2006: 115-116). The report of the commission did not make any innovative or specific recommendations with regard to the study of languages or media of instruction (ibid). It did however give very interesting statements about the status and position of English in relation to Indian languages.

English as such divides the people into two nations, the few who govern and the many who are governed, the one unable to talk the language of the other and mutually uncomprehending, which is a negation of democracy (RUC: 316/V./39.).

A child in India usually grows up speaking two and knowing at least three languages (Tickoo 2006: 161). It might speak the language of the mother, and often the father speaks a different one, which it may also acquire. Sometimes, the mother and the father even communicate in another language, which the child might also use or at least understand. Finally, the language of the immediate environment is usually different from the home language and the child might get to know it as well. Besides, children will possibly learn some English as it is part of the living culture in urban areas (ibid).

Another complicating factor is which language the child uses. The medium of instruction, even if it is the mother tongue, may be different from the language the child predominantly uses (Tickoo 2006: 161). Although Article 350 A, and as the following chapters will show, all the educational policies, make recommendations to consider the multilingual context of

India, all of them seem to fail in their successful implementation because they do not give a clear-cut definition of notions like that of the mother tongue.

4.4 The Three-Language Formula

To obtain a better view of the Indian language situation, we found it appropriate to base our discussion on Julia Meiringer's 2009 dissertation as follows:

In the 1960s, after more than a decade of independence, the status of English, Hindi, and other regional languages was still not clear for official as well as for educational purposes (Agnihotri and Khanna 1995: 38). To cope with the complex language situation, the Government introduced the so-called three-language formula that was recommended for all schools by the conference of Chief Ministers in 1961:

> 1. [The first language should be] [t]he regional language or the mother tongue when different from the regional language.

> 2. [The second language should be] Hindi, or any other Indian language in the Hindi speaking areas

> 3. [The third language should be] English, or any other modern European language (Krishnaswamy 2006: 122)

The three languages, which the formula intended to be learned, are thus the regional language, Hindi, and English. They are called first, second and third language, and the formula was thus aimed at the subjects of study and not at the media of instruction.

In the following years, the formula was modified and states that: The First language to be studied must be the mother tongue or the regional language.

In Hindi speaking states, the second language will be some modern Indian language or English, and [i]n non-Hindi speaking states the second language will be Hindi or English.

In Hindi speaking states [as well as in non-Hindi speaking states], the third language will be English or a modern Indian language not studied as the second language [...]. (Mallikarjun 2001b: ch.2.)

Each of the three languages has a different teaching time, goal, and marks in the curriculum (Annamalai 2001: 158). A consequence of the formula has been that the number of languages offered at school has been gradually reduced (ibid). In principle, Tickoo (2006: 170) points out that the three-language formula should help to control "the status, roles, and responsibilities of languages and their teaching in schools or colleges throughout the republic of India". The basic idea behind the formula was that (a) the mother tongue was the best means for a child to acquire literacy, (b) that Hindi would develop into the most important link language within the nation, and (c) that English would link India with other nations (Tickoo 2006: 170).

A major problem of the formula is however again, the notion of 'mother tongue' and 'regional language'. As already pointed out earlier in this chapter, the definitions of these two concepts are not clear and often totally ambiguous, which has certainly contributed to the ineffective implementation of the formula. Another serious problem for implementing the formula successfully was that it has been interpreted and adapted differently by each state, even if the states had agreed upon the formula as a political consensus (Annamalai 2001: 158).

Krishnaswamy (2006: 122) also criticizes the ignorance of the formula concerning the "motivation among learners in the Hindi-speaking north to learn any other Indian language and the sentiments of the people in the south." This view is certainly justified as Hindi is the majority language of the country, especially in the north. If an Indian thus successfully communicates in Hindi in his area, he or she has no reason any more to learn any other Indian language. As a result of the different linguistic situations in India, some states have adopted a two-language formula while others have failed to teach a third language successfully (Mallikarjun 2001b: ch.8. referring to NCERT 2000). In a few states, classical languages such as Sanskrit or Arabic are studied instead of a modern Indian language, and several institutions even offer European languages like French and German instead of Hindi (ibid).

4.5 Towards Anglicization

4.5.1 Arguments against Anglicization

Looking at news articles on the anglicization of the Dutch higher education system, criticism and concerns about anglicization seem to be the norm rather than the exception (e.g. van Bree, 2014; Klaassen, 2001; & Trouw, 2002). Klaassen (2001), for instance, argued that students do not study as thoroughly when English is the primary language of instruction. Dutch students might have a harder time understanding the information in English, which is why they might learn more superficially. Van Bree (2014) raised the point that when English is used in Dutch universities, it supposedly lowers the transfer of knowledge. This would result in exam fail rates that are almost twice as high for students taking courses taught in English as for students taking courses taught in Dutch. The study of van Bree (2014) showed that this was true even when the English level of the instructor was of good quality. A study by Trouw (2002), however, found no significant difference in exam performance between students following Dutch or English courses.

Another point is that the process of Anglicization could place native English speakers at an unfair advantage in the sense that Dutch students might need to invest more time and energy to compensate for not being a native speaker when English is used as the language of instruction (Neerlandistiek, 2018). Since English native speakers do not have to expend this time and energy, they can focus more on other subjects, such as mathematics, additional studying, or hobbies. Thus, one can argue that it might be easier for native English speakers to achieve higher grades since they do not need to focus as much on understanding the language of their study materials. This might then facilitate concentration on the actual content of their study materials. However, it is important to consider that most international students in the Netherlands and Groningen specifically are non-native English speakers (NRC, 2017; Groningen City Monitor, 2018), and are thus not advantaged in this way. Most international students that are non-native English speakers, however, did make a conscious choice to follow a study program instructed in English which may leave them better prepared for studying in English.

This is not necessarily the case for Dutch students who, for example, started a study program that was initially instructed in Dutch and only later switched to English for certain courses within the program.

Additionally, a study by Hendriks, van Meurs, and Hogervorst (2016) suggested that students' comprehension of non-native English (e.g. Dutch) lecturers depend on how strong the lecturer's accent is. They found that lecturers with a moderate accent were perceived as less comprehensible, and less likable than lecturers with a more subtle accent (Hendriks, van Meurs, & Hogervorst, 2016). De Voogd (Trouw, 2017) argued that fully English-taught university programs hinder the transition between higher education and the Dutch labor market. According to him, universities have a social responsibility and should prepare students for the local labor market (Trouw, 2017). M. de Roij, a student at Leiden University, observed that the quality of argumentation declined for both students and lecturers when English was spoken instead of Dutch (EenVandaag, 2017). Huygen (2017) argued against English programs at Dutch universities because, according to him, even before Dutch universities started offering English programs, Dutch universities were highly ranked in international lists. He criticized university policies for being too focused on the financial influx that international students bring with them, and failing to take into account that this leads to more competition among students when the study program is taught in English, due to the limited number of places universities have to offer. Huygen (2017) also claimed that English programs will be at the expense of Dutch language skills and that studying in English will not improve students' English language skills, because the level of English proficiency students is exposed to is not sufficient, and English language errors are not corrected (Abing et al, 2018).

4.5.2 Arguments for Anglicization

There are, however, also many positive aspects of Anglicization. One of the main arguments, as put forward by the KNAW (2017), is that the international environment at higher education institutes promotes diversity which could benefit the quality of education. However, there are two necessary conditions mentioned by the KNAW (2017) which need to be fulfilled to truly benefit from Anglicization. Firstly, institutions must invest in the subject-specific and pedagogical aspects associated with their language choice. Lecturers

must not only possess adequate English skills, but also the pedagogical skills needed to teach in a second language (KNAW, 2017). Secondly, students and staff must master an adequate number of intercultural skills. Hence, a solid policy is important to achieve these benefits of Anglicization. Besides, study programs that aim to prepare students for an international labor market usually use English, whereas programs that want to prepare students for the Dutch labor market typically use Dutch. Thus, the labor market which the students are going to be part of after graduation seems to be an important factor in determining the language of instruction (KNAW, 2017). Anglicization is also partly influenced by economic reasons, as there is a global competition between institutions for good students and staff (KNAW, 2017). International students represent a source of financing for institutions of higher education as well, thereby offering the possibility to increase the quality of education. The Dutch Minister of Education (Nu.nl, 2018) states that universities should discuss Anglicization and make clear that English lectures are not only used as an instrument in competition. She assumes that some universities choose to offer English-instructed education to boost the number of students without a substantive reason (Abing et al, 2018).

Chapter Five
Research Methodology

5.1 The Design of the Study

This chapter outlines how the study was designed. After a review of the methodology of the qualitative study, the discussion defines the parameters of the cases under study and the research site selected which is the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research/KRG. The next section describes the role of the investigator and the data collection techniques employed. Finally, a plan is presented for analyzing and presenting the case study data.

5.2 An Overview of Research Methodology

The nature of the issues and questions dictated that the qualitative case study would be the most appropriate design for the research. In the decision to select this design, the following elements were taken into account: the nature and purpose of the research questions, the amount of control on the part of the researcher, the desired end product, the unit of study, and the uniqueness of the situation. The research questions are directed by the attempt to discover and understand the language education policy and planning process in Iraqi Kurdistan. The interest of the study lies in discovering, describing, and interpreting phenomena related to defining and implementing language education policy rather than investigating narrow cause-and-effect relationships of a limited number of variables. The study of large organizations does not lend itself to simple quantitative techniques, which cannot provide a true picture of the issues being researched. Understanding is most likely to be achieved through an in-depth investigation of a wide range of interrelated factors. Since the study seeks to include as widely and accurately as possible the variables and major factors, which determine not only the policies themselves but also the process and mechanism of such decision making, there is very little potential for the researcher to isolate certain variable sand to measure the relationships among them. The variables likely to be studied or discovered in such a study are extremely complicated. They cover a wide range of issues, from the overt as well as covert goals of

the government to the values and attitudes of the population affected by the policy. In this case, a non-qualitative approach would be highly ineffective. As for the desired end product, the study aims to contribute to the knowledge of language policy and planning by providing a holistic description and interpretation of such phenomena in the Iraqi Kurdistan region context, since very little research has been published about the language planning and policy in Iraqi Kurdistan region. Although intensive description alone would form a database for further comparison and theory building, this study intends to go beyond description by using the descriptive data to develop conceptual categories, to illustrate, support, and challenge theoretical assumptions held prior to the data gathering.

The final reason for using a qualitative case study design is that, although the study includes numerous locations, events, participants, and phases of a process, they are subsumed under a unit of analysis or a case. Moreover, language planning within the Iraqi Kurdistan regional context constitutes, of course, a unique case. The main issue of the generalizability of findings concerns whether the processes identified are more generally applicable to the language education of other minority nationalities in the Iraqi Kurdistan region.

5.3 Defining the Case and Selecting the Research Sites

The case selected for study is an examination of the language policy and planning process in Iraqi Kurdistan with a focus on language policymaking the policy by the Ministry of Higher Education/KRG. The case selected for this study is not just an individual, a program, an institution, an event, or a social group. It is a combination of all of these within the Iraqi Kurdistan region context. It is a process involving numerous organizations and individuals at various levels. It can be visualized in terms of a unit of analysis or "bounding problems" (Guba & Lincoln, 1981) or "bounded system" (Smith, 1978).

The major criterion for the selection of research sites is whether they are likely to be relevant for studying the research problems. Accessibility is another practical concern. Based on the above criteria, three locations—Erbil, Sulaimani, and Duhok- were chosen as suitable field research sites, since these places parallel the levels of the policy process being studied and applied which the Ministry designed.

Erbil, the capital city of Iraqi Kurdistan, where most important policies are made and documents stored, and where the experts reside, was chosen as the only suitable place to conduct an investigation into policy formulation and implementation at the national level. The party that designs the policies locates in the regional capital.

Fig1: **Map of Iraqi Kurdistan**

5.4 Data Collection Techniques

Once the research site in which the KRG Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research is selected. The next concern was how best to obtain the information needed to address the research questions. One of the major strengths of this study is the idea of using two methods of data collection viz interviewing and documentary review.

5.4.1 Interviewing

The reason for interviewing is that it "is the best way, perhaps the only way to find out what is in or on someone else's mind" (Patton, 1980, p.96). What is on the minds of those who participate in language education policy-making and planning, as well as the reactions and attitudes of those individuals affected by the policies, are a major source of information needed for understanding the phenomenon under study. To obtain that information, the following issues need to be considered: who will be interviewed and for what purpose; what questions will be asked; how should questions be asked; and how will information be recorded?

For this study, different types of information are needed at different administrative /organizational levels. For example, at the national central level, officials at the Ministry of Higher Education/KRG were selected and interviewed by the researcher. At the regional or provincial level, the officials helped to sort out the issues in the policy of education in the region.

Of all the issues to be considered, the key to good interviewing is to ask the right questions, for questions are at the heart of the interview. In this study, interviews were semi-structured, open-ended, and conversational, because the purpose of the interviews was as much to access the perspective of the person being interviewed to obtain specific factual data. Indeed, on many factual issues, the responses should be entirely predictable in tens of what the interviewee thought was the "correct official thing to say; but the unofficial contextual cues from the conversation were often crucial as a means for interpreting organizational roles, processes, and decisions. Although the interview was not an oral form of the questionnaire, the key questions and the points were carefully thought out and prepared. For example, it has to be taken into consideration to what extent the western concept of administration, interpretation, and implementation correlate with the Kurdish education policymaker's understanding of their roles. The questions were kept clear by using familiar, neutral language. They were also sensitive to the feelings of the policymakers. It was indicated to the informants that they have something important to contribute.

All of the data from interviews were recorded in two ways depending on the nature of the situation: note-taking during the interview and note-making after the interview. Field research conditions ruled out the use of tape or cassette recorders in connection with topics perceived as sensitive by interviewees.

5.4.2 Documentary Review

Locating and analyzing relevant documents was a crucial way to obtain certain information for the study, especially in the case of Iraqi Kurdistan, where the details of the decision-making process were very often kept in declassified documents available for the general public and some of them unavailable. This quasi-publicity is a means of power and control. The documents reviewed for the study comprise a broad range of materials, and some of them are the only source that addresses the issues under study.

At the national level, materials such as archives, constitutions, and relevant laws, government reports and directives, conference reports, regulations and written policies, scholarly journals, and memorandum are the most dependable sources for data. Published and unpublished research materials relevant to the issues were another source for review. Similar types of documents at the regional level and below were reviewed in addition to the local history, newspapers, pamphlets, and publications, as well as the reports and records of meetings. At the ministerial level, official letters, reports, and some of their work were all used as sources of data.

On the whole, the documentary review was an essential source of information as well as a means to obtain information which could not be gathered through interview and observation. All three techniques formed a means for triangulation. During the field study, the researcher was able to examine and takes copies of various documents that are available in the Ministry of Higher Education in KRG.

5.5 Analyzing and Presenting the Findings

The next concern after the data gathering process was to analyze and present the findings. This does not suggest a linear relationship between the two processes. Data analysis was perceived in this study as an ongoing process and as an activity simultaneous with data collection. In fact, "analysis begins with the first interview, and the

first document read" (Merriam, 1988, p.119). This way the emerging insights, hunches, and research questions help to refine and reformulate the research questions, which in turn lead to the next phase of data collection. This means that as soon as the data were collected, they were categorized and coded or commented on as an initial analysis. After the initial process of data collection and ongoing analysis at any site was completed, the intensive analysis began. However, during the stage of data analysis, new data were constantly needed, which sent the author back to the data collecting stage again and again. The intensive analysis was carried through with the help of the analytical framework developed earlier. The questions that shaped the inquiry are addressed. For the most qualitative analysis, the researcher searches to answer the research questions through charts and figures of keywords in the collected data.

Chapter Six

Results & Discussions

6.1 Introductory to Analysis

Based on the examination and analysis of the information obtained from extensive interviews and documentation reviews, as well as on-going correspondence with some people working in the related fields, the saga of language planning emerges.

This chapter unfolds the picture of the planning and policy-making process for Anglicizing languages at the national level in Iraqi Kurdistan, from 2009 onward, when Dr. Aladdin took the seat of ministry, to the present period of on-going reforms and modernization initiated by the ministry. The scenario is illustrated by specific cases, from the creation and reformation of Anglicizing the university level of education to the implementation of the suggested plan.

KRG's governmental organization has undergone continual changes, and therefore any analysis must grasp the system in detail to understand policymaking at any given moment. From 2009 onward doors are opened to KRG universities to the outside world as the source of evidence for policy changes to the present-day Ministry of Higher Education.

Since then, the Anglicizing of the syllabi has undergone numerous changes. Some were given new powers to strike academic deals with other international institutions without returning to the ministry, and some others have been doing it via the ministry.

This chapter seeks to integrate the perspectives developed in Chapter Two to illuminate how language planning and policy (or lack of planning and no formally decided policy) were subject to the interplay of Anglicizing the syllabi, to Kurdish traditions deeply rooted in most ministry policymakers, to the urgency of the internationalization's globalization agendas, including personal power struggles within the ministry in which when each ministry came to the seat of the ministry introduced some changes to the strengthen

strategic positions, and to the influence of international forces. The study will also examine how the whole policy process was further complicated by delicate relations among government bureaucracies at various levels.

The analytical perspectives and historical moments provide a chronological framework to piece together the puzzle of the language planning and policy process at the micro-level. Since Aladdin's takeover, there was a policy for the ministry which is attached in the index of this dissertation. The following diagram was first introduced to include another language that was English into the system in the hope to internationalize the academic institution in KRG.

Figure (2) Reform in the Education Ministry of Higher Education (2009:21)

Process in the policy of on-route to Quality, the ministry emphasized that

"The education and training style in the region is very traditional and behind the times. It neither helps students to develop their skills nor does it assist them in thinking creatively or independently. In Iraq, students from preparatory school right through university training are taught merely to memorize materials and feed it back. They are not encouraged to research information, think independently, or contribute to academic debate inside or outside the classroom. As a result, students are unable to compete in markets or the world of business upon graduation. Concerning second languages, only a small number of people enter the university able to speak another international language besides Kurdish (i.e., Arabic or English). This can be seen very clearly among students with undergraduate degrees and even among postgraduate students".

If we closely look into their policy, we will see a shift from previous language policies into a new level which is paying more attention to learning a new language besides Kurdish which was seen in English then Arabic. All the participants interviewed in this dissertation were Ex-Ministers of Higher Education, Former officials in the ministry, and curriculum designers at the level of ministries
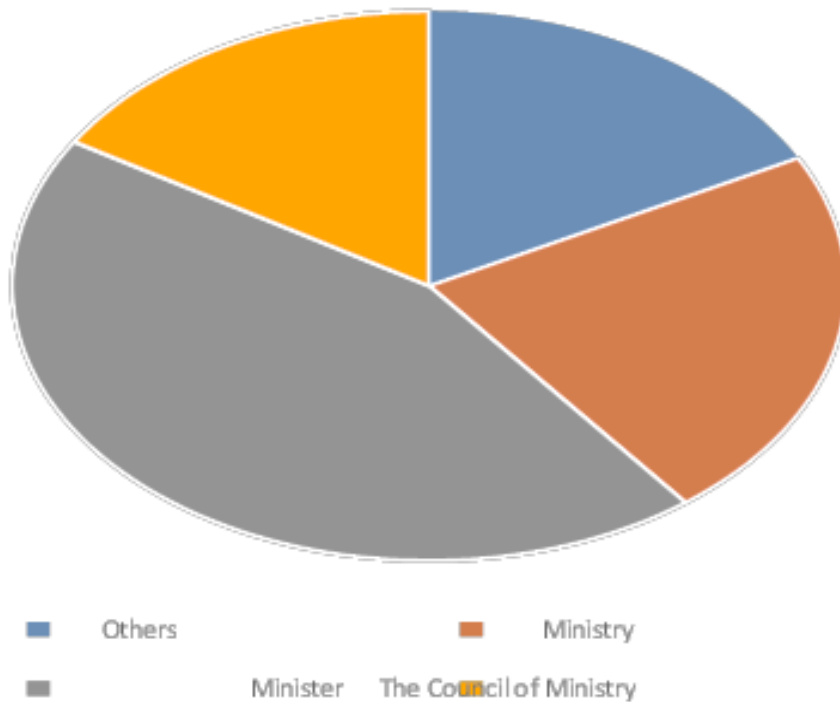

Figure 3: Decision Making

Most of them agree that the ministry council has the final say in this matter, but some of them did not hide the fact that politics and political parties give green lights for them then the decision is made.

The Kurdish society, within the perspective of this vision,   will have these features: developed in accordance with its own cultural, geographic, and historical characteristics and relying on the ethical principles and values and to the blossoming of KRG and also proud of being part of the anglicizing syllabus world. During the data collection phase, we have asked the following questions to those who had responsibility at some point in the highest education ministry:

1. Who makes policy decisions in higher education and who participates in the decision-making process?
2. At which level are policy decisions made?
3. Who are the official and/or de facto policymakers?
4. What is to be accomplished?
5. Do policymakers take into consideration nationalism?
6. Do you involve the new generation in the policymaking process?
7. Does your language policymaking prepare students for the global market?
8. Which language do you use in the curriculum as a medium of instruction?
9. What language-related behaviors are expected, literacy, and education?
10. What are some of the competing goals in education policy in higher education and how are they dealt with?
11. What non-linguistic goals are intended, national unity, political stability, the satisfaction of interest groups?
12. Do you apply a melting-pot policy in higher education in KRG? If yes, how? If not, why not?
13. How are policy instruments decided?
14. How do higher education authorities arrive at decisions, by what means? (Policymaking process: overt/covert activities)
15. What are the conditions which influence or determine policy? (Factors, under what conditions)

16. What structural factors: political, economic, social, demographic, and ecological in decision-making?
17. How are implementations monitored and guaranteed?
18. How are certain models of bilingual education decided on?
19. What factors influence the selection of the curriculum and resources?
20. How universities adopt policies from above for implementation?

Before gauging their responses, the following topics served as a basis for analyzing interview data to know about the language policy in the region:

- Language preference

- Attitudes towards standardization

- Thinking that children may lose their mother tongue

- University officials and education experts' reaction to the implemented bilingual program

First Question: Who makes policy decisions in higher education and who participates in the decision-making process?

Participant 1: committees in the ministry of higher education made the decision. You know, it's very important to create the culture of your firm decision. And then creating the culture of a firm decision is coming from creating a culture of continuous assessment and improvement, which is the evaluation and all of these would require a solid and concrete policy.

Participant 2: I really cannot say which, who, and way of making a decision here. Because we have inherited political parties not democratic, a senseless higher education policy, nobody responsible for any planning and language policy. And up to now, it hasn't been updated. In this bureaucratic system, it is defined by a couple of rules and regulations here and there to identify that explaining the education in this country. I can say what you see in the markets around us. The results were, what the country is in that

government, is the result of such a policy and such an education policy. I should say, in Iraq in general, as a total and nothing has changed. And we have had complex attempts in the region to reform and fix those back rows in the laws and education and make it more futuristic and planning for market-driven education innovation. They haven't succeeded. Therefore, we are still stuck in a very bureaucratic system. And we follow it word by word without question. And they still, you see the condition of the education we have.

Participant 3: we have the ministerial council. All the rectors of the universities of the Kurdistan region are part of this council and the decisions are made in this council regarding the language, all the languages, Arabic language, Kurdish, and English. Sometimes, we form committees in the Ministry of Higher Education to discuss the issue of these languages. So, I've been a part of some committees. One of them was developing the English language in the Kurdistan region and I worked for two years in this committee as the head of the committee. Yeah.

Participant 4: So, who makes the policy decision in higher education, as far as I know, it is the Council of the minister, which basically represents the President of the universities, the general directors, and the ministry and the only advisor in which we have the Dr. Amanj.

Participant 5: The Ministry of higher education and scientific research is the one who makes all policies on higher education and the highest authority in the Ministry Council, which was made above the minister and university presidents, but only public universities. As I understand, the director generals and the minister of higher education and ministry advisors will attend this making.

Participant 6: I would like to say something about a constitutional issue. We have a ministerial council and committee whom they decided in language policy and planning.

Participant 7: those who are decision-makers in the MHE are in the table management which includes the minister and the general directors of the ministry and the council of ministry in which its members are public university presidents. The long-term strategies and plans are discussed in the ministry by the general directors and the minister.

Participant 8: Regarding planning and policy we have two main places that the decisions are made there. We have a law that is known as the council of the minister in higher education law. According to this law, the council includes the university presidents. And it includes general directors and counselors that sometimes they do not have the right to make decisions. I can say that in the process of making any decisions include such people that I mentioned. Second is the minister himself since he has a specific vision for his planning and works. His previous plans affect the policies and plans in the ministry of Higher Education. And also, the government's plans and policy may affect the policy of the Ministry of Higher Education. now I can see that there are three main characters that affected the decisions in the ministry of Higher Education: the government's policy and plans, the minister's visions and missions and the council and the ministry

Participant 9: First of all, this country high education was trying to Since 2009 as I mentioned since and 2009, I was involved personally in the ministry of high education KRG in Iraq and me, myself part of a committee who make a decision and ministerial council.

Participant 10: Okay. The ministry council or the council of ministry power education is ultimately responsible for designing policy and the council is headed by the minister and the presidents of all the state university and state universities or public universities are members plus a few other civil servants from the ministry. So collectively, they by law have the ultimate power of changing policy or designing policy.

Participant 11: Yeah, the decision-making process is long actually it depends on what kind of policy you're going to discuss or to make. Usually, there are committees in the ministry of higher education. In the ministry of higher education, the biggest committee or the most influential committee is called the ministry Council. These consist of the minister himself, some of the director generals in the ministry, in addition to the president of the public universities in the region. As I said, this is a long process if there is any. When the decision is related to a scientific program or students or the faculty or the employees of the university, it usually starts from the scientific department.

And then it goes to the college council, as I say in terms of the process, terms of the steps and then from the College Council, it goes to the University Council and the University Council is a council that consists of the deans of the different faculties in addition to the President and the Vice President.

Participant 12: Well, the decision-making process should be very systematic. But unfortunately, I can't see that within the Ministry of higher education here in Kurdistan. There are decisions taken sometimes by the Minister, sometimes by the university president, sometimes committees are, let's say, meet for that purpose. But as I said, we don't have a very systematic way of making decisions in this country, especially when it comes to language policy. You know, we still don't have a policy for our native language. So how about the foreign language? We don't have a standard language in this country. And this needs a political decision. I mean, language policy is to some extent, the political issue. So to have let's say, a standard language in a country needs a

political decision to have a second language policy needs a political decision. And these decisions are missing at the moment.

Participant 13: I think it depends on the decision that you're talking about. Some of the decisions are at the authority of the ministry, some of them are belonging to universities, but if you are talking about strategic decisions, then this comes higher the level of the council of ministers. So, it depends on the kind of decision, but we are talking. If you're talking about language, planning, or language policy decisions, and it should come from the higher level from Council of Ministers, which, unfortunately, I don't see right now come from there. So, there should have been aboard to talk about language strategy or language policy of the region, so that every minister when he comes to the cabinet or when it starts, the two of you will have this as a framework as a guideline to follow.

Participant 14: Well there are different levels. It starts with the director-general. And then through the director-general General's committee, one or more than one committee started to study a specific subject and the report will be prepared. And then the results of that report to be discussed in their ministry council where all directors of universities are represented. They are the members of this committee. They have 14 rights Plus, the advisor to the minister or advisors to the minister, and currently have only one.

The director-general directors, are presented or they also are allowed to be in those meetings, but they don't have voting rights. So, the results of that or let me say the report will be discussing these meetings. And then the decision will be made up into this Ministry Council.

Participant 15: the council of ministry in high education, minister, and the president of public universities

Participant 16: General director and the minister himself.

Participant 17: The council of the Ministry of Higher Education, the minister, and the president of public universities. Regarding the first question, almost 70% of them believed that the decision is based on personal preference and personal whim in the ministry since there is no clear parameter on which to decide upon it. 26% of them believed that the decision is central and it is made by the minister himself without consulting experts in the area that is supposed to be made. While the remaining 4% percent believed that there is a clear policy made by experts assigned by the ministry and the minister himself.
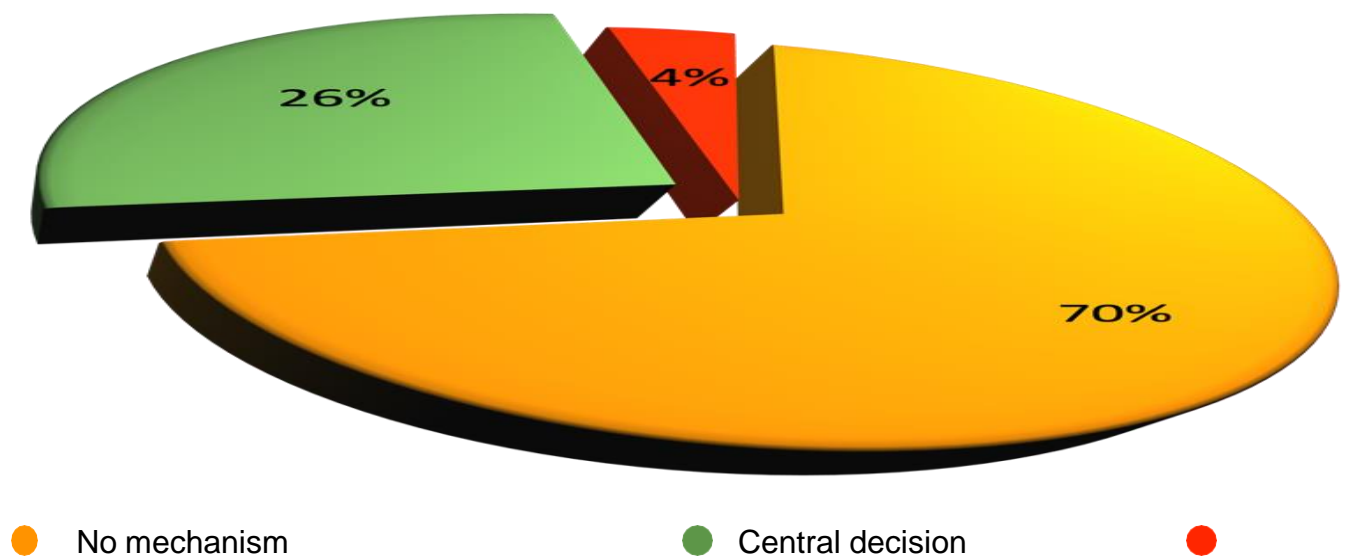

● No mechanism   ● Central decision   ●

Figure 4: Decision by Experts in the Ministry

Second question: At which level decision policy made?

Participant 1: then the decision made at a ministerial-level you would come up with a policy out of the research based on the outcome that you get from research and based on the assessment whether they do it or not

Participant 2: At a high level, therefore, we are still stuck in a very bureaucratic system. And we follow it word by word without questioning

Participant 3: At the Ministerial level

Participant 4: At the highest level, I suppose, which is the Council of Ministers then they will take the president of Universities a point of view into consideration.

Participant 5: At the department level, you have got the Scientific Committee that they propose to the head of the department, and the head of the department, they've entered into a proposal, give it to the college. And in the college, they have good the college committee of the College Council, which is made up of the Dean of the College and all heads of departments, representatives of the students, representatives of the staff. They are the ones who will make the decision and then they will bring it up to the president. And the presidents of this, some of them, he cannot prove it. But when it comes to curriculum, and it has to be given to the University Council, which the University Council is made up of the president, vice presidents and the deans of the colleges, representative of staff and representative of students. They're the ones who will make the policy. Sometimes if it is related or if it is not within our powers, we have to get permission from the Ministry of higher education and scientific research.

Participant 6: From a higher level

Participant 7: The long-term strategies and plans are discussed in the ministry by the general directors and the minister

Participant 8: As I said the ministry Council is effective in making decisions the minister himself is in charge of this Council. In my experience, we didn't only rely on the ministry Council but also, we got advice from the councilors within the ministry, international language centers, and the related conferences that we attended to them to gather new ideas and bringing them to the Kurdistan region of Iraq. We used to design our policy and plans according to the new ideas that we brought from abroad. Despite the counselors and advisors within the Ministry of Higher Education, we had

other sources to depend on to make our decisions. There were two conferences that we used to attend continuously; there was a conference 'Educational World' which is held every January in Britain- I can see that all of the ministers of education attend this conference. Another conference was 'Going Global'- I can say that all of these conferences are devoted to higher education. In the Going Global conference, the problems that faced higher education in the world and the challenges and the new ideas were discussed. After coming back home, we used to create teams to discuss the new ideas that we learned from such conferences. We got advantages from the developed countries because some of the problems and goals were possible for our country. Then we tended to make relations with them, then making decisions and policies in our ministry.

Participants 9: the decision making on the university level is done by the committees who raise their minutes to the University Council and at the level of the university the Ministerial council will decide on the main issues, the important issues regarding curriculum language use and other important issues regarding quality, the ranking of the universities

Participant 10: We have several levels of decision- making policy process in higher education, we have different committees, local committees and we have a council of ministers in higher education responsible for making those decisions. We have several levels of members of the council include all presidents of universities in the region, so they are responsible for making those policies.

Participant 11: This is the level, Early decision made is different from influencing policy. The policy is made by this body, by the council of the ministry. But by influencing that there are many factors. So, ultimately these people are responsible for adopting or not adopting any policy

Participant 12: the steps are from the College Council, it goes to the University Council and the University Council is a council that consists of the deans of the different faculties in addition to the President and the Vice President.

Participant 13: Well, sometimes I can say there are, two ways through which decisions are made in this country. But very often decisions are made to top-down. Let's say, at the top of the hierarchy, somebody decides on something and sometimes without a clear understanding of the issue. For example, when you have a new person in the office, let's say a new minister because we have recently formed the new cabinet so somebody else came to the office in the ministry of higher education. And that person didn't have a lot of experience in higher education.

But then decisions were taken by that person in the office without having a clear understanding of the situation of higher education. Sometimes, of course, we can say it works the other way around. I mean, sometimes when the ministry wants to make a decision then they ask people within the university.

Participant 14: I don't think it should be at the lower level, it is usually sometimes at the ministerial level. It is done because we have seen likely when this committee that I'm a member of is established, it was established by the ministerial order, not by the Council of Ministers, not by University. So, it is at the Ministry level.

Participant 15: Ministry Council level, they have power over all these decisions.

Participant 16: at the level of council minister and prime minister

Participant 17: at the level of the council of ministers and ministry.

Regarding the second question once again most of them agree that the council of ministers gives a final decision, leaving no choice to the scientific council within the ministry and the committees formed from the colleges, universities, and ministry of higher education. This tells us a very essential point which is the academics are not consulted in academic matters and some other non-academic people make decisions behind closed doors and then they impose the decisions.

As for the second question, the interviewees emphasized the fact that due to some potential conflict that might arise in the formation of politics in the ministry, there would be some likelihood for political conflict with players in the ministry who are appointed by the political parties in the region to run the ministry, therefore, their decisions are made on political grounds. For example, some are pro-nationalistic while others pro-western tendency. Almost all the respondents 90% believed that due to political appointments, this situation is a mess-like one.

While the remaining 10% believed that the policy decision is made on solely academic one taking its academic route. on the Ministry of Higher Education & Scientific Research.
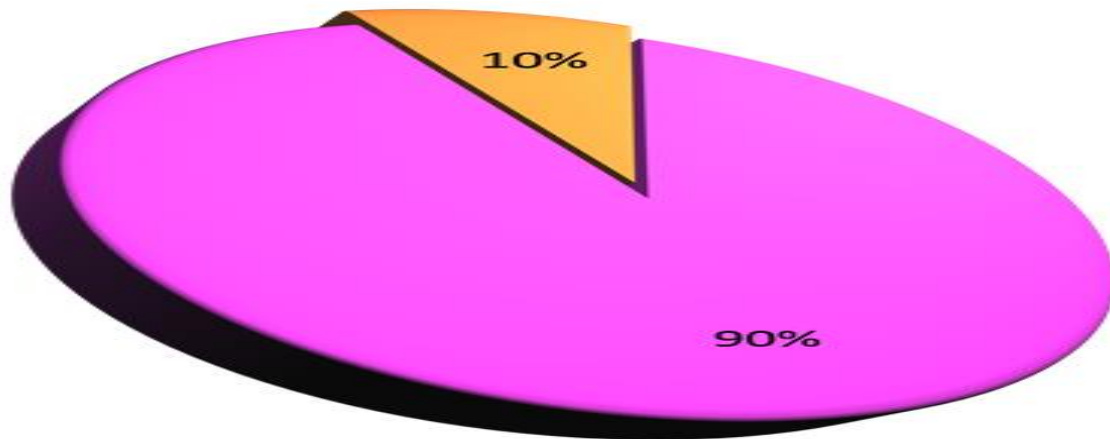
Figure 5: The level of decision-making

Third question: Who are the official and/or de facto policy-makers?

Participant 1: the ministry council and general director are official whom they affiliated to one of the political parties, unfortunately, we've seen this. We've seen, you know, the leaders of higher education, are appointed by political parties, but at the same time, the trend should be to have qualified people from these political parties to be there. And even if we've not, probably partly because of the competence of these people, and partly because of the system that is not in place, it hasn't led the whole process of making policy in the right direction. So these influences are critical. Because once you don't have the right person in the right place, then he would be kind of, you know, ringing the bell for the higher education and this is what he can see right now. And you know, that higher education is the word

Participant 2: The council community, minister and university president I think it should be a committee of the council from Higher education

Participant 3: No official as I said, in the beginning, the council of minister I and the committee is formed for these languages

participants 4: on the position of the minister, it is a political position. The position of General Director, it is political. It's like, we have, for instance, six general directors at the division of the Ministry of higher education. Three are from the KDP party and three from the PUK party. Do you mean that they have influence? Yes, it is like the 50-50 power-sharing

participant 5: we decide on our curriculum for all the departments. I mean, all the programs that we have at all the colleges. Having said that, the ministry three years ago has started to intervene in the curriculum of, you know, the Department of law. And now they have decided that they're choosing two subjects, every year, annually, that these subjects are decided by the Ministry, and they run their ministerial exams for it. So those like the central examination for those subjects. But the other subjects are decided by us. What do they study and also how exams are made. I mentioned it before higher education is centrally administered and then the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. The Minister of higher education has got the full authority over all the universities either public or private

participant 6: Minister himself and member of a council committee

participant 7: The agendas of the ministry of higher education were prepared and collected within a package by the general directorates and sent to the ministry council. The council of the ministry discussed the agendas as the public university presidents are members of the council

participant 8: the officials were counselors and advisors within the Ministry of Higher Education

participant 9: president of universities, because they are the head of that Council. And sometimes they initiate things, sometimes things are initiated by the departments and they decide on it because everything is suggested, but those have the members of the University Council or ministerial Council has the right to decide on it to approve it or not. Ministerial council will decide on the main issues, the important issues regarding curriculum language use and other important issues regarding quality, the ranking of the universities

Participant 10: Some of the universities presidents decide and advisor from the ministry of higher education. They are still using the foundation year and the foundation year is considered as a basis for any undergraduate students who want to do a bachelor degree in science and all that requires the English language this is in private universities but not in our public universities some of our public universities trying to make students for Medium of instruction to the English but the majority of private universities are doing this Foundation is a policy number one is Foundation year, is a year for English language preparation The second Step is changing most of the regulations related to postgraduate studies, English was a prerequisite requirement for everything for masters, for Ph.D. and any other studies, that was policy number two

Participant 11: Early decision made is different from influencing policy. The policy is made by those officials, by the council of the ministry. But by influencing that there are many factors. So, ultimately these people are responsible for adopting or not adopting any policy. These people have management and leadership position of the university

Participants 12: It always depends on as I said, on the strategies you want to adopt on the policies you want to create that say I would say many, many people are in charge starting from the Scientific Committee at the department as the perhaps the smallest, or the least influential committee, let's say compared to a committee such as a ministry Council, for instance. So, when a decision is passed about changes in the policy actually, it starts from the scientific department. Now, when there is a change in regulations for admission to higher studies as an example, a proposal is created by different scientific departments. That is usually based on requests based on demand from the ministry or the presidency of the universities. So, the scientific committees convene, and they suggest regulations, and these regulations are all unified later in the University Council. And then every president has, you know, his regulations approved by the University Council and they take it to the ministry council now from the different ministry from the different universities, different regulations have different recommendations come, they convene in the ministry Council, and they adopt the best decision after discussions and the minister approves it. And by the way, the Minister is just one voice. I mean, he has one, you know, vote in the ministry Council.

Participant 13: Well, people that have got power, you know. Speaker 1: Who got the power?
Speaker 2:   You know, power comes with a position. Speaker 1:Yeah.
Speaker 2:   If you're a minister, let's say. You have power
Participants 14: To be frank with you, Ministers now they are assigned and appointed by political parties and there is an agreement between them. So, there is some politics and definitely. There is some drive or some push by the political parties. But if you're coming to the scientific and academic level of policymaking, it starts from the minister and then the Minister of higher education on scientific research, and it starts from the Ministry Council, which constitutes all the presidents of universities along with advisors and general directors. Along with some decisions, not decision suggestions for decision making, are coming from the committee members.

Participant 15: well, again, you have the director-general, who has his or her own opinion after making general some studies about that specific subject and then bringing that on to the Minister Council. And then the final decision will be made by their minister counsel, sometimes minister does the decision okay if there is a dispute on that specific subject, you know, so then they will give their you know, full power to the minister to make his judgment and make a decision about it.

Participants 16: the ministry of higher education and scientific research.

Participants 17: The Ministry of Higher Education.

Regarding the third question, the real de facto policymakers in the ministry are those of non-experts in the field of higher education and policy making according to 87% of the interviewees that is why we are having the multi-policy regarding language some of them pro-Kurdish while others want to change the language of education into English which means anglicizing the syllabus. 11 % of them believe that the real de facto policymaker is someone outside the ministry dictating those in the ministry since that person is having a political status. While the remaining 2% believe that the minister is the de facto policymaker with the ministry council.

● Non-experts in language policy   ● Out side the ministry ● Minister and Council
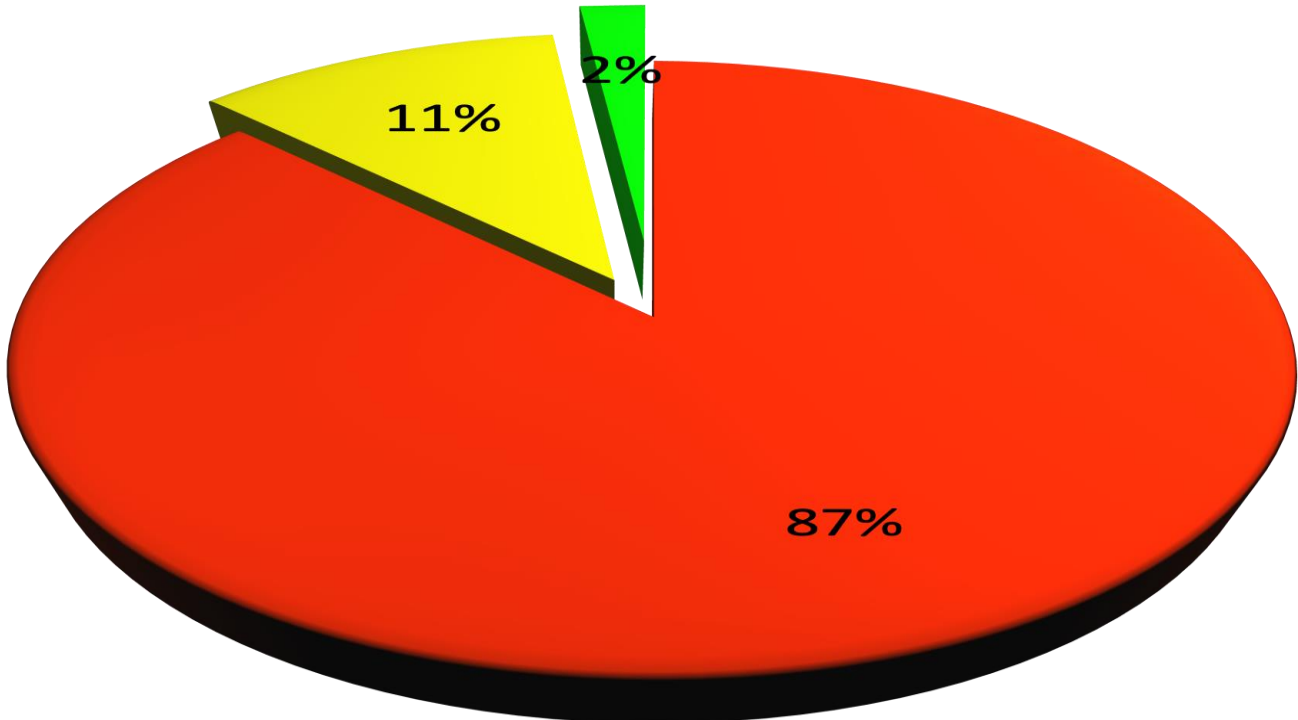

Figure 6: De Facto policymaker

Fourth Question: What is to be accomplished?

Participant 1: The aim of that policy is reforming the language policy and planning across the region at all the universities, both private and public universities. Improving language quality.

Participant 2: the decision should serve the academic and should serve the new generation

Participant 3: We have two aspects. First internationalization, we need the English language. This is one, to develop the English language in the universities so that the teachers and students can

communicate in English because I can say the majority of the source's references, we use in the universities are in English. But we have a national strategy also to develop the Kurdish language. Recently, we provided some scholarships for foreigners to come here to do a master's degree and Ph.D. in the Kurdish language and we have conferences on Kurdish language issues related to the Kurdish language. So, we have two kinds of policy one for internationalization English and the other one is to develop the Kurdish language

Participant 4: Improving the education systems especially the language field. But the aim should be to standardize the language and to practice it because as we know now, in recent years for the last 10 to 15 years even on the level of primary schools, they support the learning and teaching of English language, and even in math and science and many public schools. They do teach English science and mathematics in the English language,

Participants 5: Promoting our university ranking through learning languages

Participants 6: Promoting languages for example First, since we are a part of Iraq and the ministry of higher education used to be a part of the Iraqi higher education process. Second, Arabic is significant for studying in many fields. Since KRG is a federal state in Iraq and the official language is Kurdish. Finally, because of globalization English has been used as a medium of instruction. As you know, one of the stipulations in higher education is the English proficiency exam even for Sharie students (Islamic studies) (IELTS or TOFEL).

Participants 7: Of course, the main objective of designing a new strategy by the minister is to serve society. The agendas of the MHE were prepared and collected within a package by the general directorates and sent to the ministry council. The council of the ministry discussed the agendas as the public university presidents are members of the council.

Participants 8: We had some agreements with some countries. We had an agreement with Amid east Language Learning Centre which is available now in Harrogate. It is an international American language learning center. We had another agreement with the Education First organization which is an international organization. We had a competition about the English language learning level. Our university students and teachers all participated in the competition to know the level of English language in our country. We did it and the results could be available in the ministry of Higher Education. The purpose behind doing this walk to know our level within the international levels first we discussed the problems of the ministry of higher education. We created a committee that included two or three German ex-pats, they diagnose the problems. One of the problems was the English language. We intended to create a teacher who has knowledge and capacity of conveying this knowledge. This can be done by having new sources and teacher pieces of training- then where can we train our teachers? We thought about teacher training either we were supposed to bring trainers from abroad or sending our teachers abroad. In the case of inviting foreign trainers, we needed to think about the language that they had to use during the training courses. That's why the teachers I needed to know English to understand the training courses and transferring the knowledge to be universities. So for implementing any project in the field of accreditation, pedagogy, or quality assurance or any other Project, we needed the English language. That's why we intended to build capacity for our teachers. The English language has occupied the world in three different areas: business, economy, diplomacy, and science. Then, if we would have university teachers who know the English language, they intended to develop all of the mentioned fields. According to researches, those nations who know English, they can develop their countries' easily. They do not need a second language to read and study with or translate the knowledge from another source. For developed countries, the English language is a good tool to go into the globalization.

Participants 9: The aims of universities and ministries nowadays is to gain quality. Quality of teaching, quality of learning, quality of the universities ranking, competing with the international universities, qualities of the teacher's quality of the students. So these are the aims they work on.

Participants 10: Preparing our students for inside and outside market through learning languages

Participant 11: I aimed to be in touch with the rest of the world, who speak good English, and come and teach the rest of the new generations. So, we realize that would be so we introduced two big measures in higher education that shook the system. That managed a fantastic system to change the finds foundation, one with introducing something called quality assurance. The quality assurance system involved modernizing the curriculum, making teachers and students work harder to achieve quality and for them to become more competitive in the national and global markets. Otherwise, they would remain restricted to a local market and we end up importing skilled workers. So, we want to through the quality assurance scheme that has many facets, many

components. One is to put pressure on the teacher to learn a new language, IT skills, update their knowledge, all that pressure on teachers, and then pressure on the students and the pressure on management. So and the environment as well as modernizing curriculum and the other thing we did we realized that for decades, people from our region not just Kurds, but non-Kurds as well, were denied the opportunity to go to Canters of Excellence abroad, to study in foreign universities, learn foreign languages and form way of thinking and then understanding the modern way of running the university. So,

we did not have enough people, worse regimes before as the governments of Iraq, always invested more in the people in Mosul in the south.

Participants 12: Now, I can deal with this question in terms of my specialization and my field in terms of English, for instance, there's much interest in further promoting the adoption of English. In the public universities and the private universities in the Kurdistan region. There have been so many attempts so that the universities would develop more or go towards internationalization. You know, globalization has affected you know, education so much, and education in Kurdish.

In Kurdistan as well. I mean, in general, and particularly in this region as well. We are part of, you know, the process if we like it or not. So, there are many attempts towards further introducing encouraging the faculty and the students to adopt English. And I can give you, you know, lots of examples about that many attempts have been made to invite faculty from different international, esteemed international universities in the West. So that we could be able to transform Western you know; pedagogy is and Western culture and Western you know methods of teaching and learning to our educational system. And this is to be done definitely by promoting the English language. We have programs with Cincinnati University, for instance, we had programs with some of the well-known

companies to help the university design an English curriculum for all of the students in the university and as an example, we have a foundation course. It's a foundation English course called general English, I think it was developed by Mac Miller in the past the hours of studying in English in the non-English you know, non-departmental English disciplines that have been increased from two hours to six hours per week. And some of the departments have adopted the English language as the first medium of instruction although they are not English departments, because in the past it used to be only the English departments. Now the Department of Social Work.

Participant 13: Our aims are we need to pay more attention to language. Especially, English because whether we like or not, English has become an international language. It's de- facto, it's a lingua franca. So, we need, as I said, to pay greater attention to language skills, especially English language skills. This is one way that we can make our institutions more international that can work and collaborate with the outside world, with institutions and Western countries and elsewhere

Participant 14: The aim of that policy is reforming the English language departments across the region and all the universities, both private and public universities. So, it's not only related to public universities. It's too public and private universities and the English departments because we have seen that the English level of the graduates of these departments was not up to the expectations of the ministry, up to the expectations of the labor market.
That's why one of the aims was to reform the status of the English departments and public and private universities.

Speaker 1: I see. To reform, you mean, the plan that you have done it already, you're not satisfied with the old plan.

Speaker 2: I didn't mean plan. I mean curriculum or the program of the study. So, the reform included three parts. Reform in the curriculum, reform in the system of an admission of the students, and then graduation and the reform in the teacher training. So, all the levels of reform.

Participant 15: Well, we should have policies concerning anything you know. So, if you are asking me about the English language that I say, well, it is you know, the Minister has his vision about the English, the use of English and the level of English which should be, which our students and staff should have, you know, in higher education. So, accordingly, I mean, report and study should be prepared, you know, should be done and prepared. Yeah, and usually minister has the most power, you know, it's easy for the minister to persuade in rectors on specific subjects.

Participant 16: improving the higher education quality and upgrading the education system

Participant 17: improving the higher education system and upgrading it.
As for the accomplishment till now, the majority of the respondents believe that some of the good things accomplished but others believe that regarding the language policy when any minister comes, he will overwrite what the other one accomplished while the remaining believed that nothing accomplished till now since due to having multi-policies, we are in the state of shambles regarding the language policy.

● Nothing Accomplished ● Good Accomplishment ● Some accomplished but overwritten
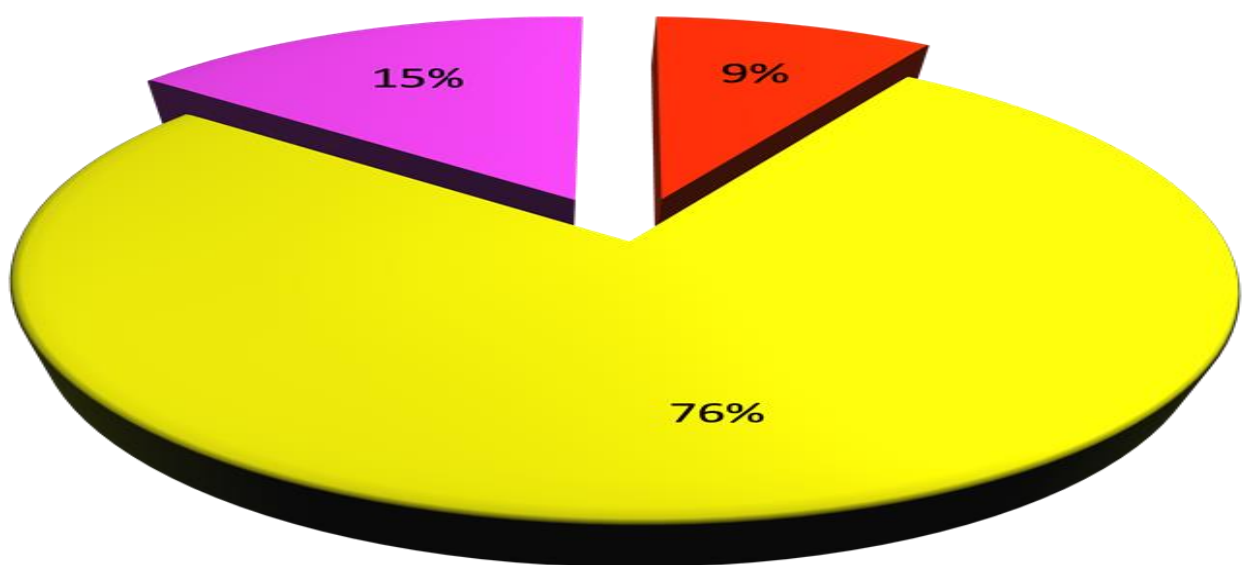

Figure 7: accomplishments

Regarding policymakers take into consideration nationalism, some language policymakers take into consideration the identity of Kurds, the interviewees considered foreign language teaching and learning as a major educational area but without having any effective plan. Like that of now, the respondents believed that some ministers wanted to consider the Kurdish identity while some of the other ministers ignored that aspect. In a nutshell, 77% of them believed that Kurdish identity was ignored regarding the language policy since the Kurdish language is sidelined by the language policymakers while 14% of them believed Kurdish identity is mixed with the process of Anglicization whereas 9% believed that the Kurdish identity is preserved in the language planning and policy.

Fifth Question: Do the policymakers take into consideration nationalism?

Participants 1: You know, if you're a nationalist, you want to achieve something for particularly sector, and you want to achieve best for these people because you want your people to be kind of superman in this part of the world. So, I wouldn't say, you know, you're talking about patriotism to get to the circuit party, and loyalty to certain party this is something different that you know, different than the nationalism. But I think those who are loyal to a certain party, they follow the policy agenda. And you know, the Kurdish language has to maintain, I mean, if you take a look at the principle of nationalism, one of them is language and, you know, apart from the actions that didn't take, so, you have to have a unified actions among individuals and the decision-makers in the country. The language is one of the pillars of nationalism. But at the same time, you can keep that language but people would be able to learn different languages because they want to learn about different cultures, and I'm personally into having the Kurdish language as a pillar for whatever, but the language of science everywhere in English. You could even see the European countries are turning those, you know, with the nationalist ideology, they're turning into English because of the globalization fact. So, I think I would keep that, you know, language as a Kurdish, but at the same time, I would just, you know, make sure that the other languages are there.

Participant 2: I don't think so

Participant 3: Yes

Participants 4: No really, because, as you know, nationalism is an attitude that won't fit with the idea of globalization, so I don't think I will be considering the idea of nationalism in this procedure, because we Kurds, we have to think about a future for our new generation and make them involved in the new policy

Participants 5: No, I think the academic decisions are based on academic grounds and it will be made by people who are not even Kurdish. Because in our departments we have Kurds, we have got Indian's, we got Australians, we have got French, with sometimes Arabs and Turks.

Participants 6: Of course, the national identity is taken into consideration. Now, we have three identities: the national identity of Iraq, the Kurdish identity, and the globalization identity of English. There are two stages in the process of higher education in KRG. Before the Kurds uprising in 1991, we just had one university, Salahaddin University, and three technical institutions in Howler, Duhok, and Sulaymaniyah. They were a part of Iraqi higher education institutions. The government's policy was reflected in the educational instructions. The policy was to serve the Arabic language. There were no chances to use the Kurdish language. The second stage is after the uprising 1991, the process was changed. We established the Higher Education Council in 1993 and the MHE in 2004. Then a united MHE after establishing a new government cabinet in 2006. The MHE institutions are responsible for choosing the mediums of instruction according to the laws such as Law (No.8) Higher Education and Scientific Research (2008) and the law of private universities (2013). And the issued regulations in MHE are used for the issues of language.

Participants 7: They shouldn't, they have to be more academic

Participants 8: We do not care about nationalism because we have chosen the English language not because of nationalism because it's the language of science. If the Arabic language would be the language of science, why not choosing it. here we can say that because there is a suitable environment for using and learning the English language.

Interviewer: It means you do not consider nationalism? Interviewee: Not at all.

Participants 9: To some extent because nowadays they are more open-minded.

Nowadays they work on diversity. They work on getting benefits from all the whole world to make the quality that they seek. Because nationality is part of their work otherwise if the others depend on international experiences and people also depend on them when they try to study something or decide on it.

Participants 10: No, not at all

Participant 11: Usually at the ministry people try and not allow nationalism to dictate quality or practicality. But being humans, you cannot avoid it. Because sometimes, sentiments or emotions play a role when decisions are made on whether Kurdish should be taught at the university level and should be a core lesson. That's when the debate becomes heated because If you're studying say for engineering, why should you learn Kurdish when you're in university and this is where this sentiment can come into play, but also when it comes to English, there are many people who

study law and when you dictate that they have to pass a certain level of English language, they may argue and say, "I don't need English". So, this is where language in different forms create debates. And nationalism comes into play only when, on two occasions. Only when (a) Kurdish is involved. That's when people feel sentimental. For example, more and more people want to study specialties like law, like the economy, like everything in Kurdish, And that is a problem because Kurdish literature is poor. So that's one area. (b) The other area if you make decisions on Kurdish and has implications on the student's life and ability or efforts or money, then they would make an issue. But, in higher education in Kurdistan, sentiments don't play a major role.

Participant 12: It's a yes and a no at the same time, I would say, I agree with you. We have, you know, many of the policymakers at least they pretend that they are nationalists if they are, you know, not nationalist. Now, for some of the programs, yes, they do take into consideration nationalism. I mean, we used to study things such as you know, the history of Islam and history of the Arabs in the past. Now, we have the history of the Kurdish history you know is part of the program in political history and Department of History in general in some of the other departments, they have modified the curriculum in such a way that our Kurdish culture and our history has become part of it which was forbidden in the past, but at the same time, I would say that Kurdish as a language has been, you know, suffering, because of the as I said, because people are going towards English now they pay more attention to English. Arabic for instance, has been ignored to a certain extent. Although it is still the medium of instruction in some of the departments, especially in the private

Participants 13: I think there is nationalism is always in place here in Kurdistan. You know, and this is because of our political situation, we have been oppressed by all these different nations around us.

Speaker 1: You mean by all your neighbors?

Speaker 2: Yes, that's why nationalism is still in power, very much in place. You know, parts of this, let's say, oppression that we have gone through. You know,

there is always a reaction inside. For example, although officially, Arabic is considered as the second language in Kurdistan, or let's

say as the official language, because it's the official language of Iraq, which we are part of, but we consider English a second language. And that's because we have suffered a lot under, let's say, Arab people.

Participant 14: I think still, yes. Because we have suffered a lot as a nation, as Kurds. Of course, we have suffered a lot from the brutality of the successive regimes of bad and others. And our language also has suffered like us, like human beings. So, I believe that in the heart, in the mind of all decision-makers, there is nationalism. There is nationalism as the drive for decision making

Participant 15: Well, let me say Kurds in the past were nationalist, in general, yes, but I'm not familiar with the English language okay how you do have considered this one? As I have and just do it, you know, because it is not related to my office you know, this subject but our previous minister he was very much for you know, having all study higher education studying English apart from you know, law and maybe few other you know

Participant 16: no, they will consider diversity

Participant 17: Diversity not any other thing.
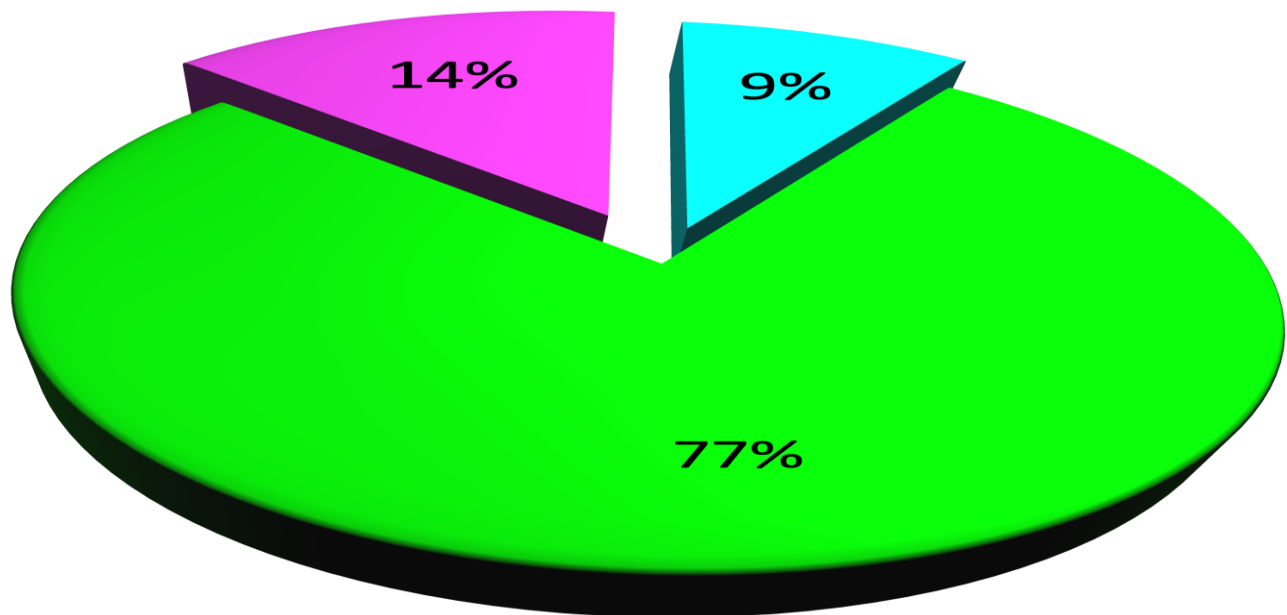
Figure 8: Kurdish Identity in Language Planning

Sixth question: Do you involve the new generation in the policymaking process?

Participant 1: No, I don't think so, the new generation has been deprived of everything even education.

Participant 2: No, the new generation has been ignored totally

Participant 3: Yeah. For all these decisions the committee's trying to do workshops, seminars for the teachers and the students. In my committee, I consulted the student representatives, Students Union, what's their view about the English language and Kurdish language. So, in my committees Yes, they take into consideration the new generation especially I consulted student union and students' representatives, what is their view about the English language and Kurdish language, so, some colleges and some universities.

Speaker 1: Some students represented?

Speaker 2: That is represented Yeah, they are presenting all the students in the Council of colleges and Institute's Yeah.

Participant 4: To some extent, yes

Participant 5: yes, we have student representatives whom they are part of a decision-making process.

Participant 6: Yes, of course, the ministry council invited the student representative to attend a meeting

Participant 7: Of course, the main objective of designing a new strategy by the minister is to serve society. We consider job marketing needs in Kurdistan for our students. The ministry would have a plan to revise the curricula in all of the scientific departments at the universities. We want to make correspondences between job marketing and the studied curricula. The reform has just been started in English language departments. The studying system has been renovated by applying a new system which is the Bologna process. Learning styles are changed from teacher-centered classes into the students-learner center. We want to consider our new generation by creating new curricula and programs. In the Bologna system, the students are the center of learning practically. They are involved in the learning process. In the old system, students have to do the tasks that the teacher gives to them. However, in the newly applied system, the students are required to do different tasks such as presenting presentations and spending more time in the labs. As I mentioned, in the old system the students were required to collect units during an academic year but in the Bologna system, they are required to collect credits. In the old system, the contact ours were less. The lectures were theoretical. But in the Bologna system, the majority of the modules have more than 4 credits. The students are required to do 30 hours of activities to collect 1 credit. We want to change the classes from teacher-centered classed into student-centered classes

Participant 8: Yes, we tried to get help from new generations especially when we decided to strengthen the language centers. We got advantages from those people who graduated from universities in abroad by the building capacity project and we got help

from others while they graduated from universities abroad. We can say that they can be leaders in their fields because they are young and they studied abroad and they know a new language which is English.

According to a definition of language, it is not only a means of communication but also it carries the values of knowledge and social contacts and it is the knowledge source. Those who know a foreign language are better in thinking.

Participant 9: To some extent because nowadays young people are more open-minded. Nowadays they work on diversity. They work on getting benefits from all the whole world to make the quality that they seek. Because nationality is part of their work otherwise if the others depend on international experiences and people also depend on them when they try to study something or decide on it.

Participant 10: we have arranged several meetings with the student representative from public universities to take their opinion and view regarding certain decision already been I would say, we have to prepare our students for lifelong learning flexibility skills communication skills, soft skills
, these are the keys area we need to focus rather than fixing to a specific curriculum, I would say a premiership is an innovative approach and also and lifelong learning, these are the thing we need to focus, For every single one of them we need to prepare them for languages, we need a language of communication because is quit essential for Our student's future. We need a Generation new-generation multilingual generation why because multilingual approach for the capacity of speaking with different languages is one of the survivals for the market

Participant 11: Yeah, basically, they deprive these developers are capacity buildings. So, we try to compensate them by announcing or by protecting funding for a major scholarship (Twana sazi), which is, you know. And we try to send as many people even though that our time was short. We have no culture of sending people abroad. We have no system, no mechanism of scholarship. We've never had that mechanism. Yet, we wanted to send thousands of people in a short time. So, we had to make people just go, just rush and we just asked him to go. And without this, we would have a gap. A generation gap of professional leaders is so luckily; we managed to get to award 4500

people and 3000 of them already left. And many of these have come back, had it not been for the economic crisis, even more, would have come back. So this was to bring back a generation of hundreds or thousands of people put them in old institutions of the state and the private sector and make them lead the new generation, the lead in the effort and they will bring with them language, language skills, understanding, insight into language because language is not just the words. There's a spirit inside the language inside, that's insight.

Participant 12: Yes, I think so

Participant 13: I don't think so.

Speaker 1:   You don't think so.

Speaker 2:   No. But we need to listen to this new generation. And let them say their views on the matters that are relevant to them. There are, let's say a small, and let's say there is a small percentage of those people that are in power, they want to listen to this new generation. If I give you an example recently, the ministry decided on a project, which was pedagogy. So, with this new project, I think some new people came forward and they are very passionate about that change within higher education. But still, we need to make use of the energy that this new generation got because I can see that among the participants of our teacher training program at the moment. Some of them are very, let's say, experienced, energized, passionate. So, we can use this as a powerful force for change in the future.

Participant 14: Any planning, whether it's on language level or any level it should include several generations should look at the future of this generation. So, yes, definitely, language policy, language planning, and any planning should take into consideration the young generation because as you said they are different, their demands are different, their needs are different. That's why you have to take into consideration

Participant 15: Well, okay, good, very good question. I think we consider them, but I think we do that on in your way. We think on their behalf. Okay. We don't involve them in our decision making. That's a real problem, you know, and a big mistake, you know, we don't involve them in this policymaking, you know, process, we think on their behalf and which is very wrong So, this is a good point to make. I think. Speaker 1: You think about a consideration? Speaker 2: Sure. But I mean, they are not. They don't contribute. You

don't involve them, you know, in this process, as we think of their behalf. We are all the generation and we think that they should be like this and that, you know, but it's very important to have them in this process in the policymaking process, you know, which we, you know, in my opinion, they are ignored, you know, the new generation is ignored in Policymaking.

Participant 16: Yes, the representative of student body and youth are attending the decision- making meetings in all the public universities

Participant 17: sometimes the students' representatives. As for involving the new generation in language policy making, 85% percent of the respondents believe that though the new generation does not have any experience due to their party affiliation they are part of the language policymaking. While the remaining believe that it would be better to engage them in the process since they are good in technological means. new generation, once you decide on that policy, you take it into
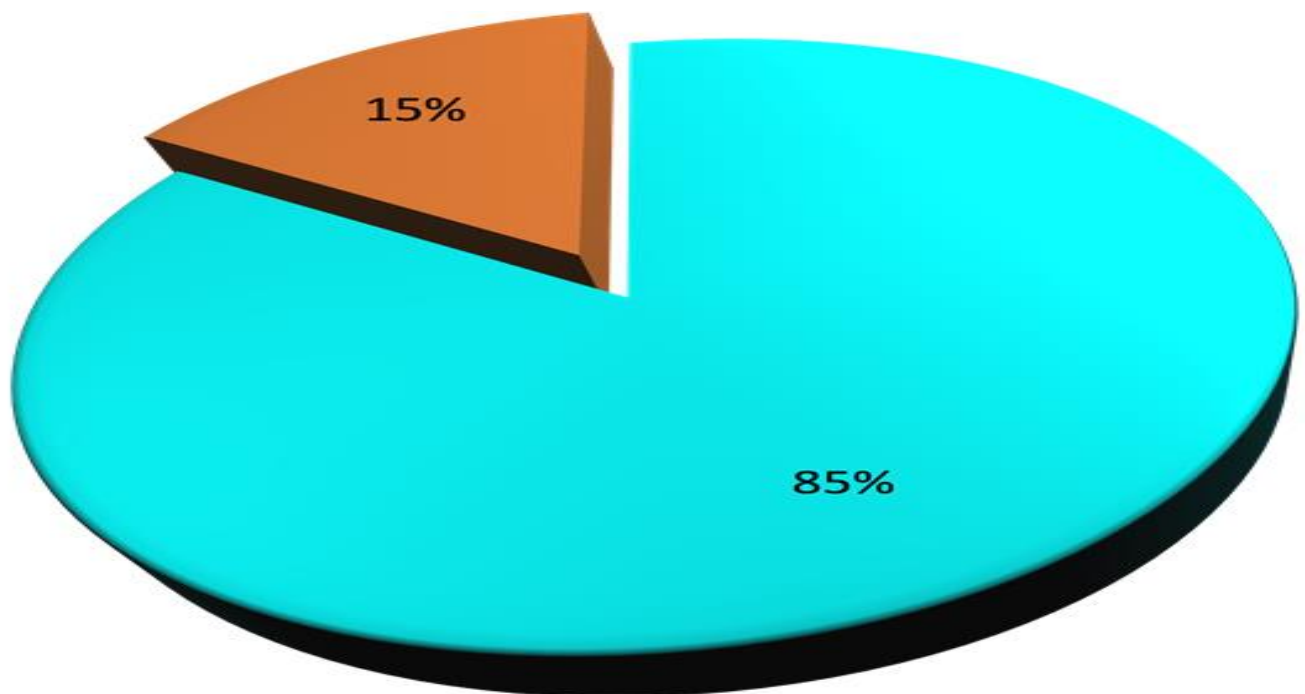

Figure 9: New Generation in Language Policy

Seventh question: Does your language policy-making prepare students for the global market?

Participant 1: I wouldn't say so. It's, again, partly because of the lack of a system that once you have the leaders and you know, the leader is competent and qualified, but at the same time, you need to evaluate the performance of the leaders to see to what extent the losers achieving the goals and objectives. A plan that the government has in terms of bringing their high quality for the educational sector. But in the lack of any evaluation, you cannot come up with saying this leader is qualified or not, unless you come up with some key performance indicators to the leaders and then you assess their performance and evaluate, you know, their qualification, this particular position that they will take. In the absence of this procedure. I think it's not easy to come up with the outcome to see whether this leader or that leader would be qualified for the position

Participant 2: I don't see any market in the region. In our region at this Kurdistan. The market defines the industries and their products. The market defines by the construction industry by infrastructure, by industry in different sectors and jobs and services. I have not seen a real sector of productions here or services here, but it is therefore Education is in the real industry itself. So, if we managed to bring the quality of education up. So, education itself in this region can be a real industry for us to bring students from regional countries for better education in the region. There are many countries, Britain is one of those countries in the world that education is the first industry after servicing in that country. There is no car industry, there is no shipyard industry, there is no airplane

or an accountable weapon industry is just education in the UK that provided a large portion of the GDP in that country. I think education can be a real industry for us if we care about the quality of it and creating the framework that needs make it marketable to sell it, for the second

Participant 3: We have a strategy. We have developed a strategy of internationalization to prepare for the future starting from now to prepare our students for the International Labour Market not only local.

Speaker 1: Not onl local
Speaker 2: Yeah.

Speaker 1: But as you said even a local one, they need the English language

Speaker 2: Yeah, because you know, there are many international companies now working in Kurdistan. So, if he regards them as local companies, Yeah, they are local. If they are it and I think international when we talk about international companies, all these companies work outside Kurdistan. If they work inside Kurdistan they are regarded as local.

Speaker 1: You have to interact and communicate with them in the English language with these international companies most of them speak English. That's why you have to prepare your students for even the local market and I give priority to the English language.

Participant 4: they were ignored most of the time

Participant 5: Normally we do that through promoting the English language.

Participant 6: Yes, the English language has been chosen as a medium of instruction since there are many international organizations in Kurdistan, and the conferences and workshops are held in English. And we need to consider Arabic as we are a part of Iraq. Then, we consider two other languages such as Turkish and Persian. Iran and Turkey are regional countries and their languages are effective here

Participant 7: Yes, through Bologna, first-year students begin to study by the Bologna process which is the foundation year. Then they will study other stages by the Bologna system. We want to prepare students for both local and global marketing. When a student would graduate within this system and he would go to Germany or other countries. He would not have any problems with the studied modules and credits. The MHE has encouraged the universities to apply the Bologna system from 2015. Fortunately, many universities such as Zakho and Charmo Universities apply for the Bologna system, and Komar university as a private one applies this system. Now, the bologna system is under process and a pilot test is done for its applications.

Participant 8: That was our main goal but I don't know whether we have obtained it or not because we need to know our student educational background. Some students come from private schools while others come from public schools. It was our main goal to make the English language be the second language not only at the university level but also within society.

Interviewer: You mean that members of the public [everybody/ individuals should learn English] should learn English?

Interviewee: Yes, of course. English is a Second Language for some countries like Pakistan South Africa and India. In Netherland, everybody knows English. We wanted to start at the universities to make English a second language and creating global staff. One of the means of globalization is language. Language is important for job opportunities. You cannot find jobs in your own country and globalization would challenge you within your country. We have many problems with technological and oil companies. We have to employ foreign people. We are in a global competition. We don't want our nation to be left out.

Participant 9: They do that because nowadays as, you know, with the economic crisis, not everyone is employed in public institutes. That's why the market needs those graduates. So, the university's tried to update their curriculum, to update their students to schools, to compete in the market, and to get their jobs. They prepare them to find a job for themselves, to make their own business. So, some courses were added to some departments to teach the students how to make their own business.

Participant 10: I would say, we have to prepare our student for lifelong learning flexibility skills

, soft skills these are the keys we need to focus on rather than fixing to a specific curriculum, This is my belief, what I am looking at the moment, I believe personally this is my personal view not governments view, if look at 10 years from now what are going to see ten years from now, you will see the influence of the 21-century market will change which under a huge influence of technology change, and this is not the accurate fact in academic. But we can say there is a reality and the reality is the influences of technology and the disruptive technology is going to be very huge.

Fifty percent of current jobs under a threat of automation. The false industrial revolution technologies, the fusion of technologies, artificial material, the internet of everything, and also new material, are false in industrial revolution fusion. These are the main pillars of the 21 century's market. What we see now from ten years is the now unpredictable market, so the big question is what kind of education is going to be taught or the education system or curriculum or pedagogy is going to follow within universities.

Participant 11: Yes, when I was in office we realized that for too long, we had been isolated. Our people were not exposed to the modern ways of thinking of learning of education. And also, we didn't have enough people, enough professionals at the university or education level, who could teach you to build capacity. We did not have enough professionals or professional leaders or postgraduate degree holders.

Participant 12: To a certain extent, yes, but we are still we need to do more impact. Because in terms of the language, yes, I mean, people are equipped with language skills, language proficiency skills, I can give you lots of examples. As I said, some of the programs have adopted English as the medium of instruction. Now, all the scientific departments, for instance, medicine, biology, chemistry, physics, the medium of instruction is English. And graduates of these departments can easily pursue higher studies in a Western in a European that say, environmental University. Now for the Humanities, didn't use to be like this, but it is increasingly seeing that English also is you know, is further taken into consideration. When I say as a prerequisite for admission to higher studies, all those who apply to higher studies, they have to have a certificate of English proficiency. Now, they can do an IELTS exam, they can do a TOEFL exam or they can study English in the language centers in the public language centers. For example, in my center, if somebody wanted to apply for higher studies, if he's from the humanities, at least he has to study for 300 hours so that he can get a certificate and then apply to hire studies those from the scientific departments they need to study 400 hours This is in terms of the language in terms of the subject matter, I would say we are still a little bit behind. I mean, the curriculum is up to date, I would say but the problem is with the pedagogy. The pedagogy is still suffering from, you know, classical thinking. People have not been quite able to adopt Western methods of teaching. And now part of the program we had with Cincinnati University in the past, there was a program between

Salahaddin University and Cincinnati University to develop or modify the curriculum. And part of that program was on pedagogy. And when we tried to bring this, you know, new methodology, we faced lots of, you know, challenges and struggles, you know, there was a lot of resistance to new pedagogy, not only because you know of some of the factors related to students and the university in general, but because of factors related to the educational process as a whole starting from, you know, kindergarten up to the university. If you wanted to further develop that we have to start from scratch, sorry, we have to start from you know, the earliest stages and this is why when we try to you know, I even wrote research about the portability of this Western pedagogy into our system. We faced a lot of resistance not because the students wanted to do not want that system or that you know, the method we had suddenly no logistical, administrative, scientific, academic, you know, factors that were, you know, behind the resistance. But one of the things that we concluded was that if you want your students to, you know, be acquainted with a new methodology, we have to start from, you know, from the earliest stages.

Participants 13: Well, this differs from one context to another. Let's say in some schools and some universities, either private or public. They pay very good attention to language skills because they think that one way that you can prepare your students for the global market, even the local market is to help them develop these language skills and competencies. Because wherever you go and you apply for a job here in Kurdistan, you need these language skills. English was always a requirement. So, and if you talk about the outside world, of course, if you want to teach somewhere in the world, you need to have these language skills. That's why one of the preconditions for any participant in this pedagogical training program is to have your language skills first. Because

Participant 14: I think the new curriculum and if the new approaches methods of teaching are applied, yes. Our graduates can work in the global market and they will be more of a global citizen than the local one.
Speaker 1: Going to prepare them like to have not much difficulty once, you know, going abroad or somewhere else.

Participant 15: Well, actually, this is one of the main reasons why the Ministry of higher education has been emphasizing that education should be in English and that our postgraduate students, even they studying Kurdistan, even they study humanitarian All

fields they should have a certain level of English. So certainly, this globalization and the global market is in our is a priority you know when you make this sort of policies

Participant 16: yes

Participant 17: to some extent. As for language policymaking prepare students for the global market, as many as 62% of the respondents believe that the new policy is to prepare students for the new market especially in terms of using English as a means of instruction. While 12 % believe that the students are not prepared for the new market as a result of the new language policy while the rest believe that they should integrate vocational trends with language policy to prepare the students for the new market.

● Prepare students for global market   ● Not prepared for
● the global market   Integrate vocational trends with language policy
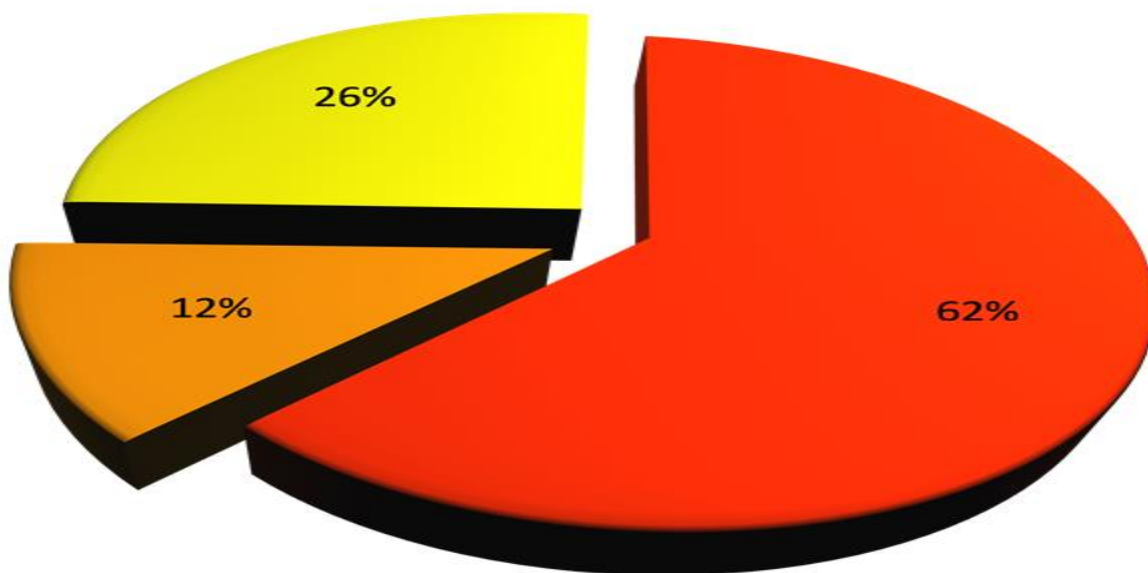
26%

12%

62%

Figure 10: Preparation for the global market

Eights question: Which language do you use in the curriculum as a medium of instruction?

Participants 1: I would say English because it's a language of science and we're talking about globalization. And then if you want to have that capitalism, you know, in place in

the country, I think globalization is one of the things that one of the components that should be there. And then having that globalization with force people to be able to communicate with other people around the world. So that the English language would be to meet, you know, the language of instruction in the classroom. And at the same time, the Kurdish language should be kept in a way that.

Speaker 2:   As a subject?

Speaker 1: It could be as a subject or could be, you know, even, you know, sometimes in a kind of a hybrid of both languages, you know my word because of the, you know, the level of understanding of a student, but I would put the textbook in, you know, in a language that, you know, globally is recognized and people can communicate with other countries.

Participants 2: Always three languages, including Kurdish, Arabic, and English, it depends on which faculty. I think the language factor is global, is not specifically for Kurdish, English language has proven that it has become the language of education globally because knowledge and

the basis for science is so dynamic is changing so fast and all the material that is used this actually for today's education is in English. So, naturally, with the globalization of the internet and the interconnection between institutes around the world, language becomes a real factor for communication rather than anything else. English is not a language of ruling and only it is many more. English is a language of communication for the scientific value of it. Because most of the products we see around the universities of the research of the publication of the book. Publication to everything is happening in English. About 78% of the material over the internet is in English. So, it has become a factor in beyond the doubt factor that we followed as any other nation that we strive to create better education in the region.

Participants 3: As I said, it depends on the sector or field or specialty. In some specialty, especially medicine and engineering and technology, we use the English language in others, especially humanities, and administration and management we use Kurdish.

Speaker 1:   I see.

Speaker 2:   Yeah.

Speaker 1:   And use only two languages English and Kurdish. What about the other languages?

Speaker 2: We don't use other languages unless some departments use Arabic but not fully. Arabic and Kurdish together?

Speaker 1: Together at the same time, yeah. What language-related behaviors are expected literacy and education? Like for example, which language you use for a bachelor, or MA or Ph.D.? What's your proposal?

Speaker 2: As I said, it depends on the field, even in Masters and Ph.D. some fields are the language of instruction is English, others are Kurdish. We use both Kurdish and English.

Participant 4: in a scientific department they use English as a medium of instruction. Sometimes they communicate in the Kurdish language because some teacher, they don't have language enough skill to teach in English. For example, in Humanitarian faculty is different, they are teaching in Arabic and Kurdish, In-Law college the curriculum has designed to study in Arabic because they follow the old Iraqi curriculum.

Speaker 2: The English language is used in the college of medicines and the College of Engineering in the whole curriculum. The way of teaching is English even in different subjects and the only department which teaches social science in English in the Department of Social Work at Salahaddin University. Because this was established in 1999 by Swedish University and with the UN, so this is why that curriculum in the social work department is in English for four years.

Even though there are some teachers, their subject is in English However, they communicate in the Kurdish language in a class, which is you know, sort of that even if the curriculum is the English language, and they should use English as a medium of instruction, but they never do that.

Participant 5: English, we have what a college of three departments, the College of computer engineering and computer science that it has got the Department of Computer Engineering, the Department of network engineering. Network, Computer network, and then we have got the Department of Information Technology. All these are taught in English, apart from my subject that they study, which is Kurdology, that all the students are compulsory, they need to know something about the Kurds. Normally, whenever a new department is open at our university, we will decide what they're going to study during the four years. So, the syllabus will be made the curriculum is there. Besides when we decide that we will also decide on the language to be used to study this. I'll give you an example. Law, they studied in Arabic, but when you go to accounting and finance, it will be all in English. Apart from a few subjects in there, which they don't have it in English they have to learn that's called governmental accounting that they have to learn in Arabic. So, I have put it in Arabic, going to other programs like diplomacy and international relations and they use the Kurdish language, English language, and Arabic language. So, some of the subjects are decided to be taught in Arabic, the other is in English, and the other is in Kurdish.

Speaker 1:   Do you see this quiet competence in the Arabic language. Bear in mind, I think Arabic is not being taught at secondary school as a subject.

Speaker 2: This is taught in secondary schools, but they don't put a lot of emphasis on it and with the situation in Iraq. I'm sure you're aware of what's happened to the course in the past decades. Now, this generation they don't like the English language, they don't want to learn. They prefer to learn the English language. So, in a lot of places, English has become the second language.

Speaker 1: As a medium of instruction.

Speaker 2:   Yeah. For Kurdish native speakers, they want the second language to be English   and the third will be Arabic.

Participant 6: Kurdish and English are the most used ones and then Arabic: the one is used a lot of English.

Participant 7: If we want to compete with other international universities, we need the English Language as English is the language of business and science. One of the key points of diagnosing the university ranking is publishing research papers in international journals. The language for writing articles in English. That's why the NUR project encouraged the teachers to learn English. The previous minister decided that teachers and master and Ph.D. candidates need to get 5 in IELTS as it is continuous now. This policy re-innovated the language development centers LDC in the universities. The LDCs are active now. We are under process to issue new regulations for the LDCs

Participant 8: In some scientific colleges English was already used. But the problem was that the curriculum was in English but the teachers used Kurdish to explain the classes because they were not trained and they didn't take any training courses and English was not an obligatory language for them. We had a course known as the pedagogy training course. We sent some experts into Finland, when they came back, they were asked to train the university teachers and one of their conditions to participate in the pedagogical training course was English proficiency exam because the training was taught in English. We changed the old teachers and brought new generations. After taking the training for 6 months, the teachers could know English and pedagogical principles in English. The courses were all taught in English. If this project would be continuous, I don't know whether it is available or not, we will have thousands of teachers who speak English well. And English is a compulsory language even for starting to teach at the university.

Interviewee: Generally, the medium of instruction in BA degrees is Kurdish. We created a project in which the first-year students were supposed to study in English, the foundation year, even if they didn't know English but when they would graduate, they could speak English. The main modules were taught in English. We couldn't implement this project. However, for the MA and Ph.D. candidates the English proficiency exam was compulsory as one of the first conditions. We decided on the English language to be learned by the higher education candidates because they may use it during the studying courses and in writing their research papers.

Interviewer: I agree with you…….

Interviewee: It is not a reform. We want a basic standard for creating skills. We need to think about what makes a good student, teacher, and researcher. The local markets are going to be decreased. In the next 5-10 years, we will have a globalization market. We don't want our students just to pass in exams.

Participant 9: Actually, there are three: the English, Arabic, and Kurdish. And this depends on the program itself. With the scientific departments, English. With some departments when you feel that the subjects, the books are not in Kurdish. They use the Arabic language and others like law need the Arabic language. It needs the Arabic language because the laws are in Arabic, the instructions are in Arabic. But with other Kurdish is used. Sometimes all the languages are used.

Participant 10: I had been talking about the influence of teaching English as a second language for making English as a Second Language in academia why because we think that the English language is a language of competent national communication language of signs language of high-impact of publication and also the language of business. It's a language of sharing knowledge among different communities and it is one of considering one of the key and soft skills required for 21 first century's market so against this backgrounds we have decided to gradually generate polces to make English as real Second Language the key point is in as I mentioned earlier if you look at medicine dentistry and biomedical science natural signs of life sciences.

Engineering and agriculture all these major departments within universities are taught in English that means we have a language of instruction in those departments which is English. Analyzed And then when we come to humanities majority of humanities are taught in Kurdish or Arabic and Arabic for law and Kurdish for humanities and we have started to make some changes of the international diplomacy department and international relations and some political science to change the language of instruction into English this is the baseline for comparing academia for taking English seriously as a Second Language then What we have done, We've been talking about creating a foundation year for undergraduate students.

Participant 11: It depends on the specialty but, people are now increasingly resulting in Kurdish, which is okay if it is enriched by other languages like in parallel, people using other languages but unfortunately, there is a vicious cycle. Most of the students who come from primary and secondary school, they're born after liberation or after Kurdistan Region became free. And this is where Arabic and English, but Arabic mainly was, in some ways, not as emphasizes before. So, we end up having generations of students who do not speak Arabic at all, no knowledge of it. And the English, English was just as weak. So, we ended up with a lot of university students who had zero background or no background of either learning or practicing Arabic. So that forced the hand of the teachers and the universities to try and accommodate that by speaking in Kurdish to them. To the extent that in some places where, you know, students of law are demonstrating against the management of their teachers because they don't speak English, whereas it should be the other way. Students, every law graduate needs to speak enough Arabic because our law is in Arabic. So, we are now victims of the evolution of events of politics and security. And if it was up to me, I would say we should allow Kurdish to evolve. And with time, only one Kurdish can replace other languages. We can rely on and tired of Kurdish. But at the moment, we are in no position because these other international languages which include Arabic, are richer in the terms of their literature, in terms of up to date science, to satisfy the academy needs of a university.

Speaker 1: Do you think if you evolve the Kurdish language, you must use the Kurdish language as a medium of instruction?

Speaker 2: No reason depends on the specialty. If we're talking about decades from now, like 50 years from now, there's no reason why we can not or shouldn't teach in Kurdish. But at the moment, it's wrong to rely on our language that we have not had the time as people as Kurdish people, we have not had the time to develop the language and publish enough in different scientific specialties to have that body of literature that supports studies. So, we now should not rely entirely on Kurdish, but unfortunately, this is what people do. As the references on the books may well be in Arabic or English, but the spoken language is Kurdish. So, when somebody is teaching your medicine, they speak in Kurdish, but terminologies in English. That doesn't allow the student to learn English. It simply makes them aware of the Latin terminologies or the English terminology, but the structure sentences all in Kurdish, just like in Baghdad, it's the same they teach your

medicine. They speak in Arabic and every now then the words are in English. So, this is a bad approach because it doesn't make the students prepared to face the world in a, linguistically better way. So, if it was up to us, we would make university students speak those languages of science.

Speaker 1: You mean English?

Speaker 2: The language of science is not just
English. Speaker 1: One of those languages is Arabic
as well?
Speaker 2: No language of science, I mean by science is this not biology. And in sciences, generally, the language of academia could be any language as long as it satisfies the needs of the university. You could be studying in French, fine, because French Literature French language is still rich enough. Nothing beats English. That's it. Because English became the language of Science and Technology. But to me, even law as science or language itself has science in it. So, depending on the need of that discipline, you can rely on a language or. So, for me, it's not nationalistic. It doesn't help in any way. If I say I must learn in Kurdish. Well, you will limit yourself immediately. We will encourage people to keep the language alive but should not be at the expense of quality.

Participant 12: Having said that, that scientific department English is a medium of instruction for all scientific departments, including, you know, College of Medicine, or other colleges, and do think the communication inside the classes English language or in the Kurdish language. I have been too one of these classes, but I know so many people, they told me that communication is in English and Kurdish as well. Generally speaking, especially medicine, for example, the language of medicine, the language of chemistry, biology, they cannot be, you know, translated into local languages. You know, most of the terminologies Latin and you know, an English. And I have seen, you know, lots of doctors when they graduate, they speak good English. And now, even in the Language Centre, we have some of these physicians that are taking English proficiency classes, and we find that they are much more fluent, and they do well, compared to the humanities. This is also an indication that most of the communication is done in English inside the class. And when they take international exams such as IELTS or TOEFL, they often score high,

you know, some of those who have come here they got six out of 10 in IELTS, which is good because usually six is a prerequisite even for some of the Western universities for admission to higher studies compared to a humanities student who scores about three and a half or four in IELTS but there is communication in Kurdish or in Arabic inside these classes as well. And after all, depends on the teacher on the instructor. Sometimes you have native speakers, and that's you know, you can't speak with him in any other language apart from English. Now, we sometimes have Turkish teachers, especially in private universities in private scientific universities. And these you now, they do not communicate in Turkish Of course, because it's not the medium of instruction. They communicate in English but it's more or less in English I would say in most of the scientific departments.

Participant 13: Well, again, this depends. For example, I can tell you some universities here in Kurdistan, the only language that's used as a medium of instruction is English. But within so many other places, the medium of instruction is either Kurdish or Arabic. Concerning our program pedagogy, the mean, let's say, means of instruction is English. Because as I said earlier, English is a pre-condition, is a prerequisite. So, the language of instruction is English. And that's because part of the reason that English is the main medium of instruction in pedagogy is, there are people from different nationalities attending this program.

Participant 14: English. It depends on their specialty but not talking about English departments. So, scientific departments, all English is used as the medium of instruction

Participant 15: Well, again, we have, you know, purely scientific, you know, fields you know, like engineering, medicine. You know sciences, you know biology, chemistry, physics, math, even Health Sciences, and they are in English. The books are in English, ok, and the teaching is also supposed to be in English, okay, or mix. You know, at least the presentations, you know, is that in English, okay? When it comes to humanity's history geography and most of those subjects low, they are that includes your Arabic or mix. Okay. We have also some departments in humanities like international relations, sociology, and political science. In some universities, they teach that one in English.

Speaker 1: Yeah, I see I believe certain faculties especially humanitarian Arabic is used as the medium of instructions?

Speaker 2:   Especially in law. Speaker 1:   I see.

Speaker 2:   You know, but they learn terminology in English as well

Speaker 1:   Yeah. Why not in Arabic, you still belong to Central Iraq and we've been surrounded by all Arab neighbors, why not in Arabic?

Speaker 2:   You mean for all

subjects? Speaker 1:   For most of

the subjects.

Speaker 2:   Well we have Kurdish, our language yeah and for us, the second language is English, not Arabic

Speaker 1:   I see how comes because you still belong to Central Iraq.

Speaker 2: Certainly, we know that you see all these problems we go through nowadays and unique our history is because that we want to establish our own you know, country so, there is no doubt about it. Now, the referendum and we had also to pay a high price for that, you know, a couple of years ago, so, no doubt about it could, you know, now we are part of Iraq, but you can That is not something which.

Speaker 1:   Are proud of being Kurd?

Speaker 2: No, not at all. But when it comes to the law and regulations, you know, we are seen as a part of Iraq especially when it comes to the law department know the Iraqi laws are written in Arabic and translating that one to Kurdish. It might not be very difficult; we can do that. But again, the language is used in courts. You know the text which is used language is Kurdish, the text is in Arabic and especially, we're all you know,

Speaker 1:   Curriculum.

Speaker 2:   No. Lawyers, you know lawyers and what is called judges.

Speaker 1:   Lawyers and

legal. Speaker 2:   Officials.

Speaker 1:   Officials.

Speaker 2: They are very good in Arabic they are still ruling and they are running our system, law system here in Kurdistan was written in Arabic. Law and legal still in the Arabic language.

Speaker 1:   I see. Yeah.

Speaker 2: But people who want to study international law I think I've heard that there is

a department for International Law which is in English. Yeah, I'm not quite sure but the law has become of five years by the way. So, in the first year, they can learn some English. Okay.

Speaker 1:   It's like the
foundation. Speaker 2:
                Foundation course.
Speaker 1:   I see. Thank you for that. Which language you use in your curriculum as a medium of instruction you said, how many?

Speaker 2:   you have three languages, depends You have English, you have Kurdish, and Arabic.

Speaker 1:   Yeah three of them depend on which
faculty. Speaker 2:   Depends on which field.
Participant 16: it's English for all scientific discipline, expect the Law and the humanitarian science

Participant 17: It's in English.

Regarding the question of which language are used in the curriculum as a medium of instruction, almost 96% believe that they adopt the English language as a means of instruction and they believe that it is a good thing to globalize the region and make us connected with the world while 4% of them believe that we should use our language instead of English since a new generation will be brought up knowing only English culture.
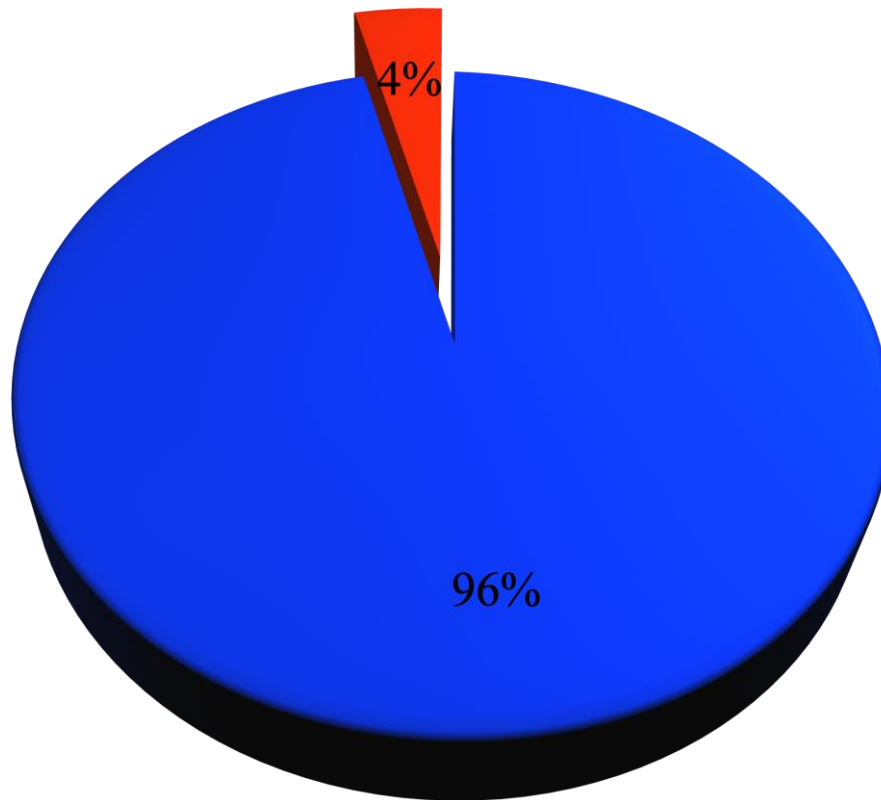
Figure 11: The language as a means of Instruction

Ninth question: Do political parties have influences in the language policy decision -making process?

Participant 1: Unfortunately, we've seen this. We've seen, you know, the leaders of higher education, are appointed by political parties, but at the same time, the trend should be to have qualified people from these political parties to be there. And even if we've not, probably partly because of the competence of these people, and partly because of the system that is not in place, it hasn't led the whole process of making policy in the right direction. So these influences are critical. Because once you don't have the right person in the right place, then he would be kind of, you know, ringing the bell for the higher education and this is what he can see right now. And you know, that higher education is the word.

Participant 2: yes of course

Participant 3: They have the influence indirectly not directly because many members of the committees and the members of the Ministerial Council even his excellency, Minister and the directors of the University are selected by these two parties and they are De-facto and an official individual whom they have power on language making the decision

Participant 4: I don't think so. Because even the political parties who, in which they are in the government and the parliament and, you know, as the decision-maker for the government, I don't think they have a united policy towards language. Even, until now the ministry of higher education, they don't have many documents about language planning and policy, they have old curriculum, now they changed to the new one which they give a priority to English language rather than other languages
, and they use three languages as medium of instruction, including Kurdish, Arabic and English

Participant 5: don't know whether they are under their influence, but the political people who are becoming, who are holding these positions. If they don't come from the sky, they are coming from the political parties, they're chosen by them.

Speaker 1:   Yes. And then they are under the influence.
Speaker 2:   They don't tell us. But I'm sure they will influence
them. Speaker 1:   They were influenced to make a decision.
Speaker 2:   Of course.

Participant 6: Yes, of course. The government is established according to the number of chairs of the political parties in the parliament. The first cabinet was established according to 50/50 between KDP and PUK. Then, the second cabinet was the same. But the third, fourth, and fifth cabinets were separated between Hawler and Sulaimany. The sixth cabinet was unified by KDP and PUK in 2006. Since the government consists of the political parties, the government's decisions are a part of the political parties.

Participant 7: No never

Participant 8: I don't think so. Our problem is that we don't have a science policy not only a language policy. We don't know what we want? Do we want science that would participate in making the economy, developing this country, or do we just want a policy to make

employees for the country institutions? We need to be clear whether we have a science policy or not. Then what are the duties of the research centers? What is the job of political and legal centers? If we would not have a clear policy, then we would just work to satisfy the public.

Participant 9: Yes, sometimes yes. Sometimes some people go and complain, then they will change a rule or issue a law or some instructions for that person, they do that.

Speaker 1: Like the political parties, for example, PUK or KDP, decide on something then they Speaker2: yes, yes

Participant 10: No influences of any political parties of this never, for example, myself belong to PUK, I can tell very confidently that I have never asked by any political parties' member to do with or against

Policy reform related to the English language, for example, there are no influences from political parties, there is a negative influence from social media and populist is the main enemy of policy reform, not only the English language is for everything. social media is one of the main barriers to policy reform in this country.

Participant 11: Political parties will inevitably try and influence policy for two reasons. One, they may have a party policy or party vision or party Manifesto, which they will try to influence the ministry and try to get the ministry to implement them. But it's also another reason why and that has to do with a power struggle, special interest. So political parties try to gain influence through influencing decisions and there are also business communities or interest groups that are affiliated to political parties, who also try to influence. And, so there are many reasons why politicians or political parties try to influence decisions. If a policy is entirely technical and entirely professional, you will not find many political entities trying to influence it. So, if it's purely professional, they don't try to influence but if it has financial implications, then influence can come from anywhere, from your brother, from your cousin, from your tribe, from your party, from business from anyone. So usually, it's just like in the UK as well or the United States.

When you have a decision- making body, wanting to decide or adopting a policy that has implications on business, on market, on people's lives. Then, many people will try to

influence that and the same thing in Kurdistan except in Kurdistan. There's no limit Because of the lack of rule of law, or poor rule of law, weakness in rule of law.

Language policy is not something that is hugely affected by political parties, but political parties might have their ideologies like nationalistic ideologies or their philosophy or their program that prefer certain direction or certain nationalistic approaches. They try to influence it by publicizing it, but that doesn't mean they will interfere with the ministry's decision purely based on that. So, this is, I don't want you to think that they interfere with that too much. And then what is the objective if they try? If there is not if there are no financial implications, they would simply, some political parties are more enthusiastic in trying to influence those decisions, but usually, that decision is, or their interference comes from their voters or their followers or their party-political members. And sometimes they these people create pressure because if because they find it a barrier for their career progress. For example, if the ministry says, I want every student in university to speak good English. There are people who, who can find it difficult to make the effort, or find it difficult to learn of who can be bothered to learn. So, they try to resist that. And they are the ones who go to the political party and say, could you make the ministry exempt us, for example.

Participant 12: as long as I am aware, no

Participant 13: Well, you know, the interference of political parties in undeniable in this country, and their influence is always there. And it was always negative, I would say. I think looking at it from a political or let's say critical perspective, we cannot separate politics from education and higher education. But the influence of politics on higher education should be positive rather than negative. You know, there is a trend in higher education that there shouldn't be any political interference. But we can see that you know, somebody to be, let's say the head of a department here in Kurdistan should have, let say, the support of a political party. The two main political parties, you know.

Speaker 1:You mean PUK and DP?

Speaker 2:   PUK and KDP.

Speaker 1:   Yeah.

leaders are appointed, you know, with all respect to all of them but I'm not criticizing persons but I'm criticizing you know, that process of a pointing higher education leaders.

If you have the right people in the right position, all these policies, or at least most of these policies will be correct. But you have unqualified people leading to higher education. Okay. And it is, you know, it is a disaster. It is a disaster. I'm very critical of this way of running higher education.

Speaker 1: You mean that political parties. They offer the sorry, the decision-makers that already belong to one of the political parties, whoever and then that decision based on their political backgrounds?

Speaker 2: Yes, but people who are appointed not necessarily politicians or they are active in the political parties. No, but it is related to the relationship connections and how supporting whom, not based on the qualification of that specific person. So, in my opinion, the political parties, they are not interfering directly in the regulations. Okay. They don't have time and they don't have you know, I don't, in my opinion, they're not doing that one in, you know, regulations, but they are bringing people who are not qualified to those positions.

Speaker 1:   And that they haven't got any experience you mean?

Speaker 2: Well, experience, background. You know, to be a leader, you have to be a visionary person. Okay. When you have people, who have no vision at all, have no plans. No further universities or for Higher Education even for not you know, next month, okay, then you have a big problem and these people make their decision-makers for education for this stuff. So, this is a major thing I think if you want to have right policies, correct policies for you know, for Kurdistan First of all, you have to have the right people in the right positions, that is number one, no one has the power to change it, you know, below will not have any effect because someone else will come and destroy everything. Yeah.

Participant 16: no answer

Participant 16: sort of

As for the questions of what language-related behaviors are expected, literacy and education, the expert respondents were divided into two axes. As many as 54% of them believed that since English is adopted we have a

reflection of the English culture can be seen in their behavior, this will affect their education and identity affiliation while the others believed that this kind of opening up to the target language will open up a literacy issue as they will have more opportunities in many fields like science, math, philosophy so forth. which will be seen in their literacy behavior in the long run.
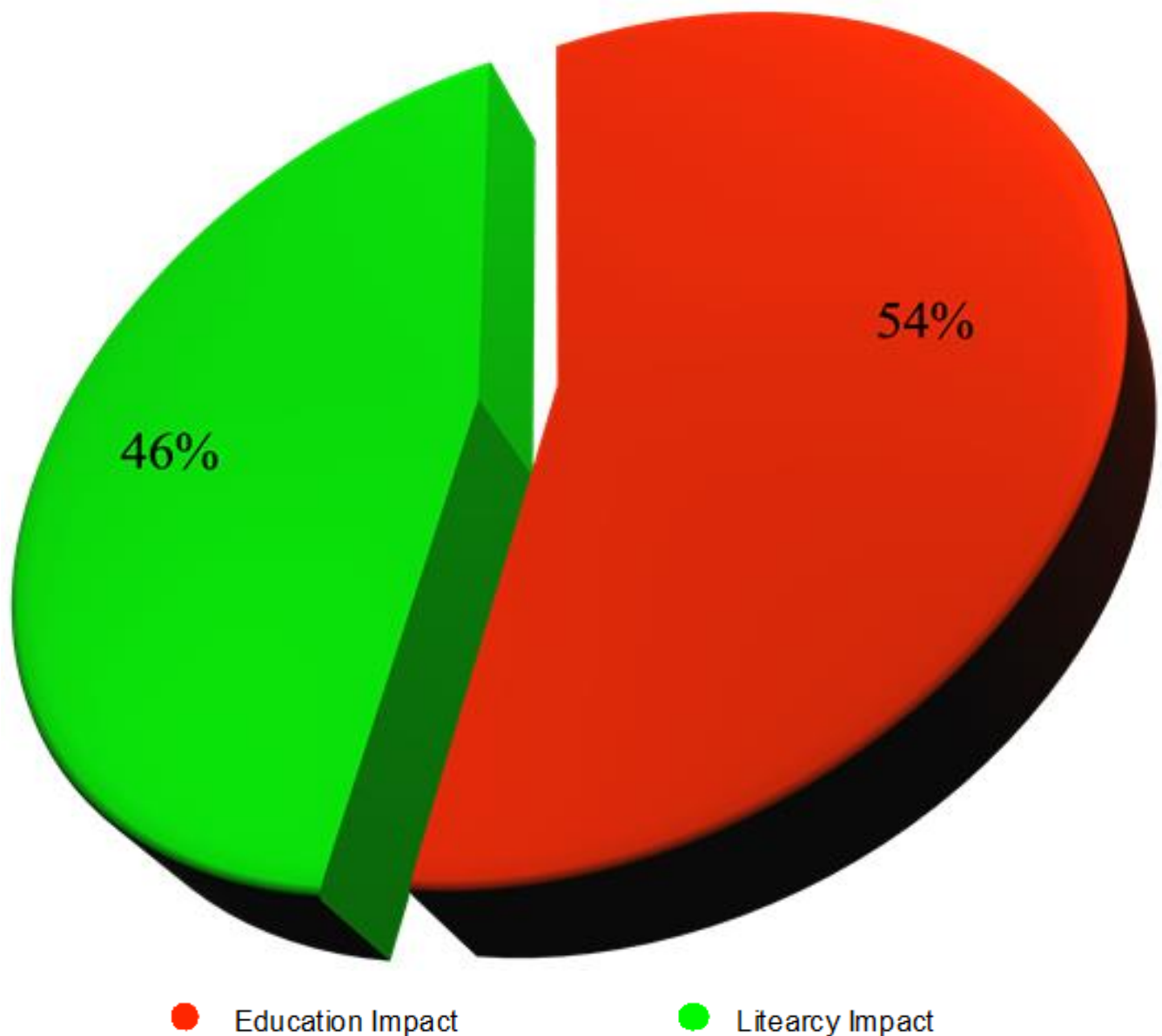

Figure 12: Language Literacy in Long Run

Tenth question: What are some of the competing goals in education policy in higher education and how are they dealt with?

Participant 1: one of the competing goals is university ranking and promoting languages are part of it.

Participant 2:: competing goals are reformation, ministry of education should reform all language polices from the roots and bring the English language to the system as a medium of instruction completely.

Participant 3: our goals special in my university, Erbil Polytechnic University, we have developed a strategy for internationalization. When you talk about internationalization, you need to use the international language of the global language. So, we try to use the language English language in many sectors of my university, because if you want to be an international university, you need an international language.

Participant 4: To be honest, in public universities, the only goal is that teach English, make students learn the English language, but I think there was a mistake or there is a problem with this issue. We should teach English for academic purposes. We don't have this sort of English. We only teach English as the English language.

Participant 5: promoting English language in higher education

Participant 6: I think promoting Arabic in higher education

Participant 7: Our main objective in our ministry is to internationalize the public universities. We went to be able to compete with other international universities. That's to say, the MHE established NUR National University Ranking project to evaluate the university rankings. The local universities have begun to compete with each other. The national universities now are in a higher ranking internationally. Some universities were in 15000 rankings but now they are in 7000 or 8000. Interviewee: one of our competing goals is, when we would change the system, we need to change the teacher's and students' behaviours. The students should know that they have more tasks within this new system while in the old system they were just required to attend the classes. The tasks include workloads such as doing presentations and different tasks to collect the credits.

Participant 8: We had many goals. We need to work in teams not alone. Before I became the minister of higher education, there were many goals such as quality assurance. The university rankings were our main goal and accreditation. Unfortunately, our public universities still do not have global accreditations while accreditation is a basic need to develop higher education in the world. That's why we had a project to create an accreditation center. We worked with some German experts.

Interviewer: How could you promote the university rankings?

Interviewee: Language was a part of it but also, we had researches, impact factors, and conferences and participating in problem-solving in our country. We had 8 main criteria and 56 other minor criteria for the university rankings.

Participant 9: Nowadays the focus is on quality, on globalizing University. They want to compete with international universities. They want the rank of the universities to increase because last year, we were in the 15,000, something like that. This year, they said it is about 6000. So, there is a big jump. This is because of the national ranking that we have nowadays at the university. All the universities compete to raise their rank and quality. So, I think the focus is on the quality of education and quality of the universities in their ranking.

Participant 10: One of our competing goals is changing most of the regulations related to postgraduate studies, English is a requirement for everything for masters, for Ph.D. and any other studies, that was policy number two

Participant 11: when you're faced with students demanding that the university teaching and speaking, the teacher should speak Kurdish when you're facing where the majority of students demanding Kurdish to be the main language yet the system is not ready. This language is weak. And the literature they provide as well as books all in other languages that are competing aims. And University, the ministry is policymakers and making decisions sometimes for populistic reasons or for or succumbing to pressure or so they may end up saying, asking the university to do something about it, I compromise. That's a competing objective. And sometimes people prefer the easier way of learning something in Arabic because they find it easier not to go for English. When Iraq was more embedded in the Arab world and ignore modern science and technology. And for us to shift that, it means we pull them out of the past and put them in the future. This is where the language becomes competing because people resist that change, even though they understand that English is the language of the day. English is what pulled them into the global market and make them more competitive and more prosperous. Yet there's this resistance that this so you sometimes find the ministry or counsel of the ministry, making decisions in favour of the students who are not correct. But just because the majority ask for that, and not in favour of science, which is harder to achieve. Yet, it's better to open when you achieve it. So, these are certainly competing agendas.

Participant 12: It's to promote university ranking through changing or reforming the whole language policy in KRG

Participant 13: Well, competing goals, I don't think we have goals in this country. Unfortunately, But I'm realistic. I see. I can't talk about goals. If there are no goals in place. We need to have goals. But we don't have them at the moment. And this is part of, let's say, the decision-making process in this country.

Participant 14: I think, I don't think they're all competing they are complementing each other. The goals usually should be set in a way that they complete each other and compete. I understand the word compete. Okay. But I believe there are more completing each other and the goals are building on each other. So, for example,

one of the goals on the committee was to reform the English departments to have fluent graduates before they graduate so that they are already prepared to go to the market, whether it is the local market or global market **Participant 15:** there no goals, I am very pessimist about that

Participants 16: the quality of education under the limited budget allocated by the government for the higher education sector

Participant17: yes

As what kind of competing goals in education policy in higher education and how they are dealt with, many of the higher education experts consulted believed that there is no clear goal of the education policy in the higher education sector since with the change of the seat of the ministry some other goals are entered into the so-called education policy and this can be seen in the decisions while the minority of them as many as 25% believed that there is a:
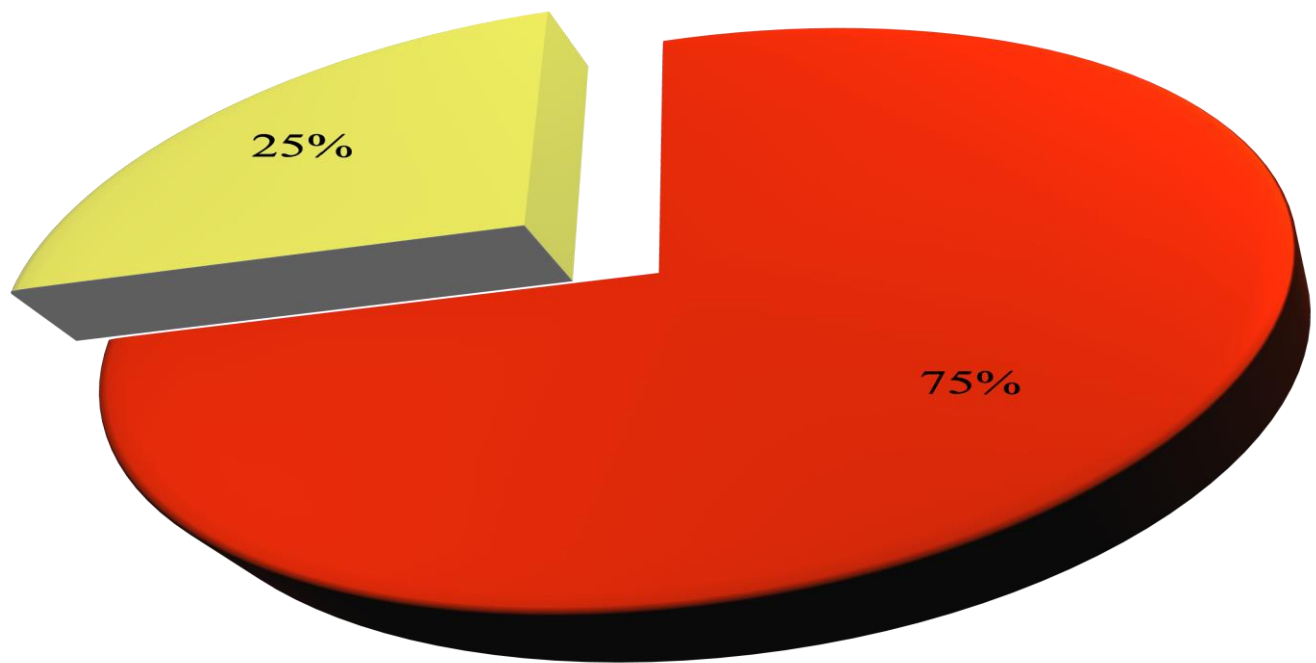
Figure 13: Higher Education Policy

clear policy regarding the higher education policy which is connecting our higher education system to the outside world.

Eleventh question: What non- linguistic goals are intended, national unity, political stability, a satisfaction of interest group, and marketing?

Participant1: Economic, and political situation. You know, if you want to make any change, actually there is a kind of three stages I would say. Before it makes a commitment or any change that you make, you will face denial, you will face resistance, and eventually, before it commits you becomes a culture so for any decision that you make, particularly for the language, you will get a lot of deniers in the first place. But when you insist on that it would be a resistance and the resistance is coming from those people who think they can't fit with the climate before they before he turned out to be a culture. And of course, while making some policy with that, you know, saying, probably these people will be a train or you know, you would be given a chance, you know, to adopt the situation, or you know, any other supporting meaning that you can use for these people to

be convinced, it would be helpful. Otherwise, it would take time because you're coming from your training environment that you want the eventual it to be a culture. It's not easy to get a denial in the first place, resistance in second, and then after that, it becomes a commitment. Before you know you feel that the culture is in place.

Participant 2: national unity: as we are Kurds, we must have one united language which is Kurdish .and we should maintain our language

the satisfaction of interest groups, recently, the ministry of higher education opened a Chinees language department on a request of Chinees ambassador

participant 3: For example, when we talk about the Kurdish language, Kurdish language belongs to all of us not only one, one city or one university or one group of people or when the ideological group or political party, so when the Kurdish language is for all of us, not only one group.

Speaker 1: I see.
Speaker 2: Yeah. So
Speaker 1: What about the interest of certain groups? For example, certain groups they have an interest in that particular language, can you just explain more of that helps your policy regarding that, for example, somebody will come to you, they are from China or they are from Russia. And they're interest group, you know, you just may be trying to promote that language because of the sake of certain groups.

Speaker 2: No, we don't do that especially my university is technically a university. In some academic universities, mostly are the Chinese in the German language, many other languages. But I don't think this is for the sake of the interest of these groups.
 This is for Kurdistan again. Because we need people in the Kurdistan region to speak different languages. At this good for Kurdistan, for the job market, for the labour market, for the job opportunity, for the graduates, we need some people to speak in German and Chinese, other languages, so that later on when they graduate, they speak these languages.

Speaker 1:   Do you think Chinese and German, all the international as well for communication?

Speaker 2:   International languages. Yeah, in some studies, recently I have seen that maybe in the future the Chinese language will replace the English language, and here is the business world Kurdistan has started to have very strong relationships with China. Now Kurdistan does trade with China, many people in Kurdistan now work with Chinese people, many international companies so that they need the Chinese language.

Participant 4: I think all of them, especially political stability, Kurdistan should be secure and stable. Kurds must protect mother tongue language which is Kurdish.

Participant 5: I don't know about the linguistic policy, how it is made at the Ministry level. But for us, we purely do it on the market and the market needs. For example, the reason we are teaching law in Arabic because all the lawyers need to be competent in the Arabic language. And all the laws of this country is written in Arabic. And that's why they have to be competent in that.

Speaker 1: And bear in mind that we also still belong to central Iraq and we've been surrounded by all Arabic countries then Arabic should be one of the languages.

Speaker 2:   for marketing, we are dealing with it in this region, we have to prepare lawyers here

to go to the market and to become lawyers and they have to speak Arabic or they have to read and write Arabic. You have to be able to do their job. But if you are going to other subjects, they do not need to know Arabic. As I mentioned, in accounting and most of the accountants as they go and work for the private sector, and most of the private sector accounts are done in English. But there are others that they use the Arabic language. So, they also learn Arabic or they have very few subjects in Arabic. But most of the thinking. When you are going to IT, for example, information technology, Computer Engineering, whatever, everything is in English, so there is no need for them to learn Arabic. It's not that important. That's why we teach everything in English.

Speaker 1:   What about national unity?

Speaker 2: we maintain the Kurdish language, some of the subjects that we have, for example, I mentioned diplomacy and international relations. There is the Kurdish language is a department as a separate program. We have the Arabic language as a separate program. We have the French language. We have the Russian language. English language, all of these departments that means separate programs that they can study that. In this one, if they go to English, the only other language that they learn will be French. They go to Russian, the only other language they will learn will be English. Yeah, they go to Kurdish. They have to study Arabic with it. One class for Arabic and one class of English. When you go to Arabic, it is the same thing they have to study Kurdish, they have to study English too.

Speaker 1:   You mean that three languages were used at the same time in certain faculties?

Speaker 2: Yes. Yes in some faculties that were going to happen. So, whether this faculty is a language faculty or a language program, or it is a program on its own like diplomacy and international relations. You have subjects taught in Kurdish, subject taught in Arabic, and subjects in English.

Speaker 1: I see. But you are concentrating more on the English language that most of the faculties in this private University using English as a medium of instruction.

Speaker 2:   Yes,

Speaker 1:   What about the satisfaction of interest groups

Speaker 2: I don't know that I would say all of them, to be honest. A lot of students would like to learn English as I mentioned. I don't know why. But nowadays people are getting

to English as a second language. And then the market also sometimes decides, if you don't speak English if you haven't learned the English language, it's very difficult to work, for example, on computers whether it is software or hardware. If you don't speak Arabic, you cannot be a lawyer. If you only speak Kurdish, it is very difficult to be an accountant. That's why you have to learn English with it,

Speaker 1: Just for globalization.

Speaker 2: Yeah. At least for your work to do here, the local

work. Speaker 1: Even in the local market?

Speaker 2: In the local market. It's very difficult to find a job. If you don't speak the English language, it is very difficult to work in the computer sector, wherever you go. And if you don't speak Arabic, you're not going to be a good lawyer,

Speaker 1: You mean for further studies, for example, Masters and Ph.D. as well. And bear in mind, we don't have so many resources in the Kurdish language. And we don't have access to the library or a Kurdish library. We don't have a rich library and maybe that's one of the reasons that people are interested to learn a second language.

Speaker 2: No. You try to this interview, we talked about private schools, a lot of private schools, they found the market here to teach in English. You hardly find a private school here in Kurdish. Isn't it? So, people find it if their children learn the English language that's a plus for them. Whatever subjects that they learn if they do it in English, it is very good. I have a daughter who is only eight years old and she speaks good English now. Why because she's going to a private school and she prefers to speak English at home. I used to ban my children - when we were in England - to speak in English at home. I didn't let them I told them you have to speak in Kurdish at home. But here I encourage them to speak in English because they grow up everywhere is in Kurdish. So, they need to learn that. For us, the English language has become parallel to the Kurdish language.

Participant 6: According to my experiences, I can say that the decisions are made according to adaptability. The employees of MHE should know more than one language. We can get the science and knowledge by opening with other nations. So, what is used to get such knowledge is language. We had students' scholarship programs to help our students be familiar with other cultures. Now, we have a good relationship with France and Russia. And, we have been working on the Chines language. I visited Chine universities. And we have been working on opening the Chines department at Salahuddin University.

Why do you open the Chines language department? Just because of the interest group?

Chine is a great country and it is a member of the UN. It has its own decisions in the

international community. It has a great economy as it struggles with the USA.

Interviewer: So, you work with Chine for what?

We want to work with them politically and economically. We have a good relation with China. If you go to Chine, you can find many Kurdish businessmen. Some of them got married there [laughing].

Since you have a financial interest with Chine, you want to open the Chines language department?

Yes, that is correct, not only the Chines language department. Now, we have the German language, Turkish Language, and Russian departments. We work in the countries since they are members of the UN. For example, Japan is a candidate for the UN. Now, we have a good relationship with Japan **Participant 7:** Despite the instability of political circumstances, other countries have initiated to open their language departments. For example, the general consulate of Turkey was initiated to open a Turkish language department at the universities. And for the new academic year, there is the Chines language department at one of the universities

Participant 8: It is clear that the Chines language is powerful because it is the language of business. The Chines authority [consulate in Erbil] preferred to open the Chines language department and they would like to know us, too. They asked our experts to open a Kurdish language department at the Chines universities.

Interviewer: Is it because of economic factors?

Interviewee: For us, yes, it is economic. But for them, it is not the only economy. They want to know our nation and country including political problems and/or history and geography. Now, they would need to open the Kurdish language in their country

Participant 9: I think nowadays they focus on marketing. They focus on how to prepare their graduates for the market. What skills are needed in the market? They try to incorporate it into the curriculum. And also, the interest is

Speaker 1:   The interest of the groups.

Speaker 2: This is also found. And I remember a few years all the teachers complain that they open one department for one person. They say there is a doctor who came from France. They open the French department for that person, this is an example, the Chinese Consulate asked to open a department for them. They said we will support them, we will spend on that, we will fund them, sponsor them. But experience tells us that they will work with that department for one or two years. Then after that the

teachers go back. And if they did not prepare enough teachers because they have to wait for four years, these graduates have to study masters to be teachers. And experience tells us that it is wrong to open a department for a person, for a group, for a party. But we saw this. The social working department, they open it and it was with the credit with the not with the units. It was a semester, not any annual system. Everything in it was different. And they made many problems for our department and the teachers who came from abroad. They left and they were without teachers, sometimes. The specialist does not teach them.

Speaker 1:   I see.

Speaker   2:   There   is   another   pharmacy
department. Speaker 1: I see.
Speaker 2: They open it 10 or 15 years ago. The first group graduated without being taught by one specialized. All the teachers were not specialized, were near a specialization and not the specific specialization. So we have described it.

Speaker 1:   It does not last for longer.

Speaker 2:   This affected quality of graduates. Yeah

Participant 10: We have to maintain our mother tongue as national unity. By all means, Turkey and Iran are culturally under the influences of those countries, culturally and the maintenance of those countries controlling we listening to Arabic song Turkish song, and Persian song. we have been looking at their drama their movies and their arts as well as their music. we can't deny this again this not a barrier for promoting teaching English as a second language we can still go on the same policy, we don't want to replace anything with English, we want to add English to in what is currently going .political stability is also

crucial gaols, we need security, we need safety.

participant 11: Satisfaction of interest group, yet there's this resistance that this so you sometimes find the ministry or counsel of the ministry, making decisions in favor of the students who are not correct. But just because the majority ask for that, and not in favor of science, which is harder to achieve. Yet, it's better to open when you achieve it.

Regarding national unity, no reason depends on the specialty. If we're talking about decades from now, like 50 years from now, there's no reason why we can not or shouldn't teach in Kurdish. But at the moment, it's wrong to rely on our language that we have not had the time as people as Kurdish people, we have not had the time to develop the language and publish enough in different scientific development.

Specialties to have that body of literature that supports studies. So, we now should not rely entirely on Kurdish, but unfortunately, this is what people do. As the references on the books may well be in Arabic or English, but the spoken language is Kurdish. So, when somebody is teaching your medicine, they speak in Kurdish, but terminologies in English. That doesn't allow the student to learn English. It simply makes them aware of the Latin terminologies or the English terminology, but the structure sentences all in Kurdish, just like in Baghdad, it's the same they teach your medicine. They speak in Arabic and every now then the words are in English. So, this is a bad approach because it doesn't make the students prepared to face the world in a, linguistically better way. So, if it was up to us, we would make university students speak those languages of science.

Participant 12: I would say these might also be part of the curriculum, curriculum development, or policymaking in general. Now, when they make policies or make this decision about a specific program. They take some of these factors into consideration as well. If I could have a look at the

Speaker 1: Of course. Yeah, I mean, they're not linguistic, you
know? Speaker 2 That's right.
Speaker 1 There are certain things that nothing to do with their, you know, language or anything. There are other factors.

Speaker 2 Yes. Like when we talk about political stability, we're talking about national unity. These are part of the some of the programs, you know, that we have. The Kurdistan region since 1991, was split from the rest of Iraq as a de -facto and there was,

you know, a lot of interest towards opening towards the international community. The programs about gender, for instance, the programs about human rights programs about international humanitarian law, the law of international law of human rights, these have all been added to some of the curricula that we have. So, I would say yes, these are sort of cultural issues like political interest, and they are part of the program development that we have in the region.

Participant 13: Well, of course, there are non-linguistic factors. Nationalism is one of the strong factors I would say. You know, especially if you are someone that's not quite familiar with English, and you don't have this language skills yourself, then you may take some decisions based on your personal, let's say, understand

Speaker 1: Personal opinion.

Speaker 2:   Personal opinion. Yes. For example, if a minister, let's say specialize in Kurdish,   he has got more passion towards, sympathy towards, let's say, Kurdish graduates, let's say, graduates that have finished, let's say Kurdish studies. So sometimes decisions are made based on this fact. But if you are someone that is, let's say a very good English speaker, then you may try to put regulations that elevate the level of English language learning and discrimination. So, see, this is the situation we have.

Speaker 1: That's a very good point that you made that all depends on your, you know, self- opinion.

Speaker 2:   Yes.

Speaker 1:   How do you think about those? Speaker 2:   About languages?
Speaker 1:   Yes.

Speaker 2: That's why I said there are new strategies in this country, we need to have strategies. If we have, let's say, strategies, long term strategies, then when a new person comes to the office, he cannot change those strategies. He can modify and add things to it. But you know, the long-term strategy is always there. And you try as a minister or somebody that's in power to try to achieve those strategies.

Participant 14: I think should be taken into consideration. But the one that you added at the end marketing is also very important because when you work on a plan, when you work on a policy or something, as I said, we have to talk about marketing and then how to prepare the generations for the current and future market. Political stability is a very supportive factor to gain and achieve these goals. So, without this stability without security, you cannot do anything. So yes, they should be taken into consideration also.

Participant 15: Speaker 2: Let say the market is important. People think about how to get a job and carries outside or inside Kurdistan

Speaker 1:   Yes.

Speaker 2: And a lot of companies, you know, phone companies to establish here and

if you look at even engineer, engineers you know, of which is why to show field even our

engineers when they graduated they don't speak English with English okay then they have problems getting the job.

Speaker 1:   In Iraq?

Speaker 2:   In Iraq, in Kurdistan

Speaker 1:   I see.

Speaker 2: You know, you have hundreds of phone companies establishing in Kurdistan okay and who get jobs number one those who speak English Okay. And then you have all the other types of skills they are supposed to have. So, the language is certainly people when they think about any language isn't get the job, you know, because in a new market, labour market needs that people with English, with these soft skills, IT, you know computer skills. So that is considered certain. I think that comes number one, especially for undergraduate students, you know.

Speaker 1:   I see.

Speaker 2: For postgraduate students, it is your access to resources, it is you know, making it easy to contribute or participate in international conferences

Speaker 1:   To get that job outside Kurdistan.

Speaker 2: No, you know, not many people thinking that direction certainly for us in higher education it's important that we graduate global citizens. Citizens who really can be working anywhere. And we have now introduced you know, the bologna process in

all universities in Kurdistan I put this down. The main reason is, I will put it in two points, and one of them is to raise our education system then you have a system you can follow and the second, you know, cease to make, you know, our graduates' international people they can move, you know, they can take a course here or any course in Britain or Sweden or Germany, you know. So, you can transfer your credit from one place to another place. Yeah.

Speaker 1:   That's a benefit of the Bologna system. Yeah.

Speaker 2:   It's nice.

Speaker 1:   I see.

Speaker 2:   There are many other issues concerning language policy that I will put that into two main points.
Participant16: political stability, marketing, and national unity.
Participant 17: to a certain extent.

Regarding of having any non-linguistic goals are intended, national unity, political stability, the satisfaction of interest groups, there is a clear stance among the higher education experts as many as 81% believed that due to party affiliation or interest groups in the government, those who are having the power try to seek a group of people due to the political instability in the region. So there is no national unity of having a clear policy in the higher education sector while the others believed that the policy is the reflection of political division in the government as a result the higher education sector has no education policy but as little as 5% believed that there is national unity, stability in the region and the higher education policy is on the right track.
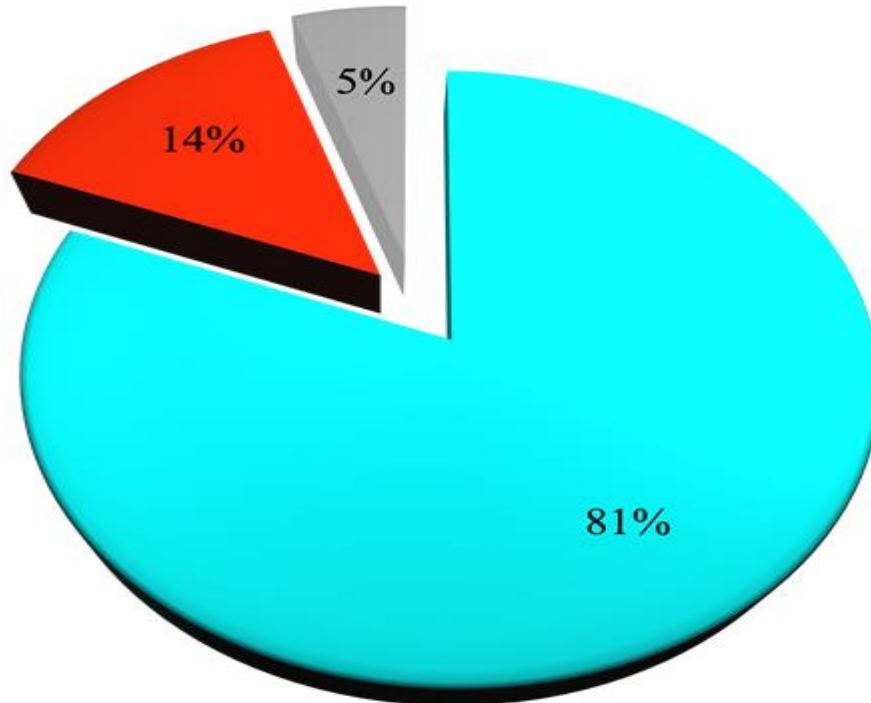
Figure 14: Non-linguistic goals in the policy

No linguistic goals are achieved perfectly division in KRG Linguistics goals are achieved

● Policy is a reflection of

Twelfth question: Do you apply a melting-pot policy in higher education in KRG?

Participant 1: no, I don't think so, sorry I am not aware of any policy like that

Participant 2: Every university should be able to specify which specialty is today in which language and what other languages are there for the students to learn. For example, if you go to law, you still need to learn Arabic because most of the resources are written in Arabic .and if you are a doctor , even you studied in English, you must speak Kurdish because of your patience But the science language remains an international one like English or Arabic. Okay? So, when you are standardized, you have English, Arabic, Kurdish, and Turkish, everything in one university. That, to me is still Universities will be decided on a melting -pot. They are three languages, including Arabic, Kurdish and English is the most significant one.

Participant 3: Yeah. In the Minister of Higher Education or at some University, so

recently they open the Turkish language on the Asryani culture and language department. So, we can see that they are Yeah, they exist in Kurdistan Region and they have the right to study their languages. It's okay for us. Yeah,

Speaker 1:   You apply this.

Speaker 2: Yeah but you cannot make the language of instruction in the university because they are a minority. But now we have the Turkish language and we have a Syrian language department.

Speaker 1:   But do you think that people are interested in or just? Speaker 2:   Yeah, but not a lot. Some people are interested in applying. Speaker 1:   But you apply melting pot policy here.

Speaker 2:   Yeah.

Participant 4: No. I think because I know in Erbil, there is a college for Turkman people and in Aiankawa there is a school for the Christian to teaching and a Syrian and kidney and there is a school in Erbil for the Arabs who immigrated from Baghdad or left you to the problems over there and there is a faculty to study in Arabic language and they do examine Arabic. Therefore, this Arabic college is in Erbil, but we don't apply this at university because there a language for minority groups.

Participant 5: it's a national right, they opened the Sriyani department at the University of Salahuddin

Participant 6: Yes. All languages are used. All rights are reserved for the minorities in KRG.

Interviewer: What about the Turkman language? All rights of the ethnic groups and minorities are reserved according to a law issued in KRG Parliament, the law of minorities. The Turkomans have schools and there is a Turkish language department at the university level.

Interviewer: What about in higher education? We have a Turkish language department and Sryani language department in higher education. I was one of the cofounders of the Syrian language department as I have contacts with the Ankawa church priest. I can speak Turkumani and the place where I live include many Christians. I have a good relationship with them.

Participant 7: Of course, the MHE has considered the diversities in the public universities. There are offers for foreign students if they would want to study MA degrees in our universities. And there are many Syrian and Iranian students in the universities. And the local students can study without any discrimination.

Participant 8: Interviewee: When I was a minister, the Sryani language was opened at the Salahdin University. I supported the project. We considered as a national right as it is written in the constitution. We may not support a multilingual language system outside the existed system. We support that the Turkoman or the Siryans would have the right to study in their native language.

Interviewer: You don't have this policy?

Interviewee: Our policy was clear; the Kurdish language is given the priority and then the second language (English). Because Kurdish is the national language and the second language is the language of country development. We don't want English to help the English people, but we can get benefit from know a second language. This is a national goal because the bilingual nations would be able to develop their countries easily. Being a local nation may not be good for us. We need to learn other languages and using such languages to serve our national policy. Germany, Britain, and Chine asked us to send Kurdish language experts to their countries but unfortunately, our experts didn't know English. If we had known English, we would have been able to send our experts to other countries to introduce our nation.

Participant 9: It is in the Ministry of Education. They have multi-ethnic multi-languages, multi- minority. There are many minorities there. So, every one of them asks for his rights in education, in language, language to be the second language in Kurdistan, all these things. Having seats in the parliament, having a quota here and there. Two days ago, I was in a conference about freedom of religion and thoughts and beliefs. Everyone asks for his right here and there. This affects because citizenship is important. I am a citizen, whether I am Muslim or Christian, whether I am Kurd or Arab, whether I am PUK or KDP, whether I have anything, this is not important. What is important? Do I have the qualification to go to that position or not, to get that position or not?

Speaker 1:   You mean, you don't include minorities in language?

Speaker 2: No, No. If we say that we are minorities, so they will stay minorities. But if we depend on citizenship, everyone has the right to be the president. Everyone has the right to be the director. Everyone has the right to be the chair of that committee. So, if it is like that, no one will lose the chance. Everyone has his chance to be someone based on his qualities. But if we say that we have to get five seats for the Christian, five seats for the Turkman. You will divide the community. You will divide them. So, for me, I don't think that.

Speaker 1:   You don't think you are applying this method.

Speaker 2: But freedom of religion, freedom of language is okay. Everyone has the right to read in his language, however, we give priority to the English language, it's their right to study their mother tongue.

Speaker 1:   In their mother tongue. Speaker 2:   Yes.

Participant 10: One of the beauties of this country. Cultural Society in this is the strength of

society and also people from different backgrounds, from different cultures, and different

languages. We are living together for so many years peacefully and that's why we proud of, we strongly encourage the policy of inclusion that means we need to include every single member of the society regardless of their background and we believe that every single child in this country has right to read and to study from the primary school to the university level in his or her mother language. So That is different from the scenario what we are planning to do we are talking about the second language everyone has his first language, for example, my first language is Kurdish that doesn't mean that doesn't prevent me from learning the second language which is English , English why English people may ask why English because as I said English is the language of international Communication language of publication is a medium of instruction and a language of academia.

for example, Look at China hundreds or sometimes even people thinking about thousands of dialects in a different language are available still the countries they have their language and there was no barrier to promoting this language for communication between English over any other language and literature because our kids can learn multiple languages. Question: Are you prepared to add any of those minority groups' languages, for example, Turkman or Assyrians in your curriculum?

We are promoting Assyrians by the way; we have a department of Syrians language at Salahuddin universities. Promoting those languages but you know this is a constitutional issue, Iraqi constitution considers Arabic and Kurdish language as the official language of the nation, but the medium of instruction you need to think about it, we think about it look at, look at Turkish universities themselves, are they all studying in Turkish, no, you will see thousands of English language course are available in Turkey, you will hundred courses are available in Sweden in the English language, go and do your Ph.D. in Scandinavian countries, you have to write your thesis in English language, so, this not an issue of replacements, it's no issue of preference, it's an issue of reality, it's an issue of considering English as the language of academia and language of communication, we don't mind student studying in their mother tongue language at school. In Kurdistan children are studying Kurdish into two different dialects for example kids in Duhok are studying in Bahdini, however in Sulaymaniyah, they are studying in the Sorani accent We don't have anything against this, we don't want to change the official status of the language in this circumstance, we want to add English to academia

Participant 11: We are nowhere near that type of application. That melting pot comes with time with evolution, with society itself be more tolerant and more secular, and the law support that. And then when everybody who is given the same opportunity could find a good ton of is expressed through that and then achieve the goal of being competitive in the labour market in becoming rich through the education. So, if you, the current system cannot accommodate everybody and give them everything the same. And if you're an Arab or Turkmen or Christian, you find it all. Women and a man, you don't find the opportunities are equal. Now they are not equal. And the system is not ready to make it seamless at the moment if you go to the University of London, you don't even think whether you should because you've occurred or English or Welsh or Christian or Muslim, because this is the melting pot that allows

everybody to enjoy, to express their talent to learn and then get a good qualification. We're nowhere near that. This can be achieved through two things, one achieving quality. That's why we introduced quality assurance. The other one needs the rule of law. And that is not there yet. Because the rule of law is weak. It needs work. We're doing better than before, but it's a long way to go. So, we have to have a secular society or not necessarily secular society, a society that itself as like a melting pot and a labor market that itself is a melting pot. Because at the moment, the labour market is not driven by job opportunities and are driven by the pure economy side of it. So,

people are not necessarily appointed based on talent or merit or on who they are. Usually is whom they know or many other considerations. So, at the moment, neither the job market nor the university nor the opportunities is equally based on talent. So, the melting pot you're describing is the ultimate. I find it to understand your question.

Speaker 1: Actually, melting – pot is a multicultural, multi-nation and is a diverse region. And you have other languages.

Speaker 2: Sure. This is. I think I yeah, I've partially understood your question. Speaker 1: Sorry about that.
Speaker 2: No, it's okay. It's okay. But even then, my view remains that if you do not standardize the language if you did not say for example of medicine was taught in English, irrespective of where they are, that it becomes a melting pot, everybody would have to learn this language to get there and nobody complains. Whereas, if you start introducing Kurdish, and then most of the lectures are spoken in Kurdish. Because the students are mostly Kurdish, well, that cannot be a melting pot. So, if you're an Arab or Christian going to study law, and you've been to an Arabic school all your life, then suddenly your teacher starts speaking Kurdish because most of the students are Kurdish. This cannot satisfy the needs of everyone. So, that's how I understood.

Speaker 1: Melting pot policy.

Speaker 2: Now, melting pot policy, I understood it. You may be right about education. Melting -Pot policy I understood in the political term like America is a melting pot.

Speaker 1:   Exactly. But in linguistic terms is called like that, I mean all the languages involved

Speaker 2:   We have difficulty in understanding for one reason. Every university should be able to specify which specialty is today in which language and what other languages are there for the students to learn. For example, if you go to law, you still need to learn a little bit of Kurdish otherwise your customers would not understand you.

Speaker 1:   True.

Speaker 2: If you're an Arab, studied law in Arabic in Al-Arabiya and then practice law in Kurdistan. Or if you're a doctor, if you don't speak and Kurdish you cannot treat a patient.

Speaker 1:   True.

Speaker 2: So that means you standardized it. You forced students to speak a level of Kurdish enough to deal with customers. But the science language remains an international one like English or Arabic. Okay? So, when you are standardized, you have English, Arabic, Kurdish, and Turkish, everything in one university. That, to me is still University that's not a melting -pot.

Speaker 1:   Okay.

Speaker 2: And every student who wants to go to this discipline has to do the same as everybody else. So, it doesn't matter if you're an Arab, or a Turkmen or Kurd. If you go to that university, to that specialty, you still have to do what everybody else does. But at the moment, we are not like that we have the science language as Arabic in law, yet we are speaking in Kurdish. This is not what we are examining Kurdish. This is not to deal with the customer side. This is just because nobody speaks Arabic. And that's not a melting - pot. This is anarchy. This is chaos.

Speaker 1:   Exactly.

Speaker 2: This is not a melting- pot. The melting pot is when you have integrated, all of these in a standardized fashion that students would know the pathway.

Speaker 1:   You mean, you have not applied this melting pot in your university.
Speaker 2:   No, now we have not applied.
Speaker 1:   I see. Thank you very much.

Participant 12: Yes, you know, the Kurdistan Region of Iraq has always boasted itself of the concepts of pluralism and you know, multi-national, multi-ethnic, different political, that's a background, different components. This is not a digression of the topic after ISIS came to this region, you know, the Christians, the Shias, the Sunnis, you

know, all the different, you know, ethnic backgrounds were treated the same. The Yazidi, the Shabak, you know, the Turkmens? So, I think I would say personally, and this is my point of view. I'm not trying to be political but actually, they could come, you know, Iraq has been able to embrace all of these different cultures. This is reflected in the system of higher education and its policies as well. Now, I remember when I was in the College of languages, we had English, Kurdish, Arabic, only. Now we have eight or nine languages. We have Turkish, and we have Persian. We have German, French. This year, we have opened a Chinese department as well. In terms of the minorities as well, a Syrian department has been opened. It's focused on Syrian culture and language. Although some people decide, you know, believe that some of these languages are dead languages, but still Because the Syrians, you know, are parts of the, you know, they are an ancient or an original, you know, component of this community of the society. So, the government is paying attention to them, and there's the Syrian language department. So, people have the chance to I mean, they have the freedom of studying these different languages

Speaker 1: On the demand of the market or maybe for the political situation or what's you know about that?

Speaker 2: No. It depends actually like Turkish, Chinese. It's a demand in the market. Now there are thousands of Turkish companies by the way in this region, and thousands of you know, merchants are dealing you know doing trade with China there you know thousands of people are going and coming from China. So, it is in demand as far as these languages are concerned and in terms of other languages and of course, you know Persian as well because we have a long you know, we have such a long relationship with Iran and economic exchange, etc. But for other languages such as the European languages such as German and French it's more or less related to the I would say to the political interest and the fact that could be sad wants to you know, show that it is opening you know, more to the, to the European countries I mean, English has always been you know, in the different universities but we opened German department, we open

French departments and of course these languages are also I mean, we have French schools by the way, there, you know, just a few, but there is a possibility that this might increase as well. Because French along with English is one of the. Exactly. And, and German as well, you know. Now there's the French Institute in Rebel, there is the German, the GOAT Institute. There is DAAD, which is the German, you know, the

exchange office in Erbil. So, it's, as I said, part of the demands of the market and to a certain extent, some of them are political.

Participant 13: Speaker 2: Oh, yeah, I think we have this what's called melting -pot policy. And that's because we don't have a clear policy for languages. So, everybody, let's say, decides on something according to his personal, let's say a view.

Speaker 1:   You mean, president of universities decides on whatever they think.

Speaker 2: Yes, because if you don't have, let's say, clear policy to tell people that this is the language we need to use within your university, within your faculty, within your department, with even within your class, then people decide,

Speaker 1:   The teachers,

Speaker 2:   The teachers, the heads of departments, the deans,

Speaker 1: That means until now, high education hasn't got any planning, or any policy just be abstracting,

Speaker 2: No. I don't think so. So that's why maybe the best answer is this melting pot policy. Speaker 1: They apply the melting pot.
Speaker 2: Yes, I think so. Because maybe in one department at Salahuddin University, somebody decides that the language of instruction should be, let's say, English, in the same department elsewhere in a different university. Another head of the department may decide that the medium of instruction is something else. So you see, we don't have, let's say, a fixed, clear decision policy for them.

Participant 14: Now the Kurdistan region has become a kind of home for different minorities, different nationalities, and different ethnic groups. And this has been, to some extent reflected in the education system, but maybe not at the university level, at the pre-university level. Because we know, Turkmen now, they are studying in their language Syria is they are studying in their own mother tongue language Assyrian

Speaker 1: Do take into consideration. For example, one day, your committee brings Turkamni into a curriculum? Do you think?

Speaker 2: I think will work in education, at the university level or higher education level because it should be unified. If you take any country, for example, the USA or the UK to help different nationalities, but they use one language, For it is official and one program. No matter, what is your ethnic background? No matter, what is your nationality or cultural background? You still go through the same system. So I don't think it is necessary at the higher education level to take all these I mean, into consideration.

Speaker 1:   That means you are not apply melting pot policy. Speaker 2: No,   I don't think.

Participant 15: Not at the university level, you know, schools, Turkmani, you can study Turkmani as a mother tongue at schools, not at the university level.

Speaker 1:   as mother language?

Speaker 2: The mother language but at the university level you have only English, Kurdish, and Arabic for humanitarian departments. Okay and yeah. As the language of instruction. And teachers they use maybe all three languages sometimes in one lesson is just to explain.

Speaker 1:   As a medium of instruction. Speaker 2:   Yes, yes, exactly.

Participant 16: Yes, we apply because there is a diversity in the Kurdistan Region composed of different religions (Kurds, Arabs, Turkman, Kildo-Assyrians , Armenians)and different religion ethnics (Muslim, Christen, Yazidi, shapkas)

Participant17: no.

As for applying the melting-pot policy in higher education in KRG, almost all of them believed that there is no such policy in the region except for special cases of some Aramaic schools in certain Christian areas to please the international community and certain lobbying groups working abroad. They believed that higher education

policymakers even didn't aware of such policies exist since most of them were appointed by certain political groups. As little as 10% believed that there is a melting pot policy in the higher education system like including the Northern Kirmanji dialect in the curriculum in the higher
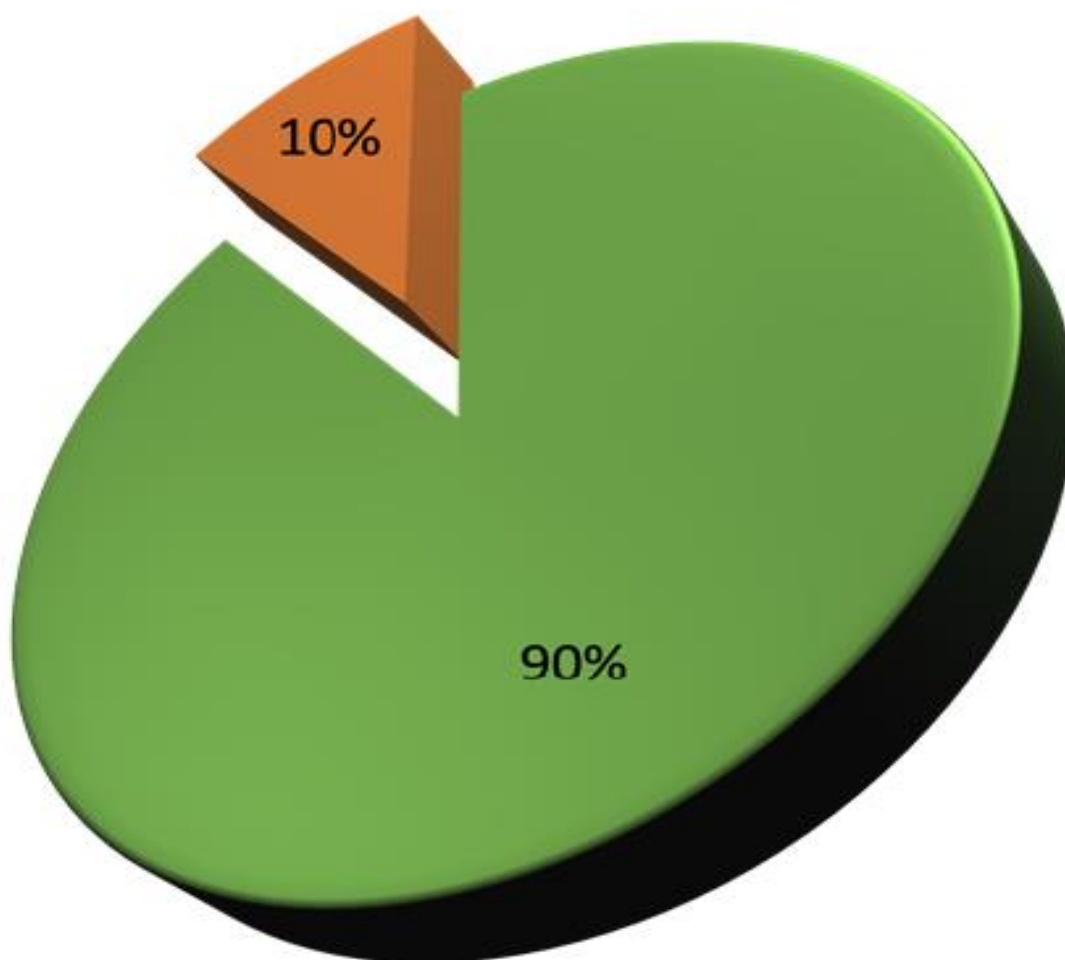

Figure 15: Melting pot policy in KRG

the education sector in some of the areas speaking Kurmanji dialect, and Aramaic language in some schools as well as the tendency of including Gorani in the coming future.

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Thirteenth question: How are policy instruments decided?

Participant 1: all instruments decided by the minister himself and committee members

Participant 2: think the language expertise has to decide

Participant 3: universities have to propose the ministry of higher education

Participant 4: If the president of universities needs to change or reform or issue any decision, they leave a chance for the ministry of higher education to decide

Participant 5: Yes, we decide on our curriculum for all the departments. I mean, all the programs that we have at all the colleges. Having said that, the ministry three years ago has started to intervene in the curriculum of, you know, the Department of law. And now they have decided that they're choosing two subjects, every year, annually, that these subjects are decided by the Ministry, and they run their ministerial exams for it. So that like the central examination for those subjects. But the other subjects are decided by us. What do they study and also how exams are made, or whatever you decide on that policy, you have to go back to the Minister, to be approved by the committee of Council.

Participant 6: the policy instrument decided through Making any decision in the ministry of higher education MHE is collective. First, the council of departments decides. Then, the council of the college decision. After that, the council of the university decided. Finally, the council of ministry decides. None of the decisions is made by an individual. Also, MHE depends on conferences, workshops, and panels.

Participant 7: the decisions are made after discussions by the minister and the council of the ministry including the university presidents

Participant 8: University president send a proposal to the ministry of higher education for them to decide

Participant 9: the language expertise has to decide and send it to the ministry of higher education for implementation

Participant 10: We as an advisor, we have already issued so many rules regarding language planning, in the last 10 years we have done it. With a new government, all policies have changed.

Question: You mean with a new cabinet, how?

They have decided to remove English as a prerequisite requirement for postgraduate studies.

Question: Do you think this is a good decision? I am not talking about a good or bad decision; I am talking about this has been replaced by another policy. When it comes to

postgraduate studies, instead you have an English language score, you have to go to a certain local English language course, I believe this is not going to serve overall which reinforce the English language among academic community why because those courses are local, they are not standard, as the Kurdish nation

we don't have experience and standardization of for example English language test score, even we don't have experience of English language courses. That is a problem, there are some changes in this policy which are inconsistent with the aim objective that we are going to think about it for the last ten years.

Participant 11: universities have to propose and submitted to the minister

Participant 12: I think, I am not sure; the minister makes a proposal and submitted to the house of parliament for implementation.

Participant 13: Yes, I think so. Because maybe in one department at Salahuddin University, somebody decides that the language of instruction should be, let's say, English, in the same department elsewhere in a different university. Another head of the department may decide that the medium of instruction is something else. So, you see, we don't have, let's say, a fixed, clear decision policy for them

Participant 14:, as you said in the process of decision making, it depends that if the instruments also, depends, for example, some policy instruments are decided upon by the Ministry for the Ministry of higher education and sometimes by the Minister himself or most probably by the ministry council as I said. When it calls the presidents of universities gathering. And just maybe little chance left for universities themselves to decide. So, all come from the Ministry level. All the instruments.

Participant 15: all policies decided by the minister himself as long as I know

Participant 16: the suggestion is forwarded to the ministry of higher education and scientific research to decide about them, if laws and regulation needs to be issued, the suggestion will be forwarded to the council of minister then to the parliament for the Legislation purpose

Participant 17: I think the minister himself must decide on a policy.

As for the mechanism of the policy instruments decided, they believed that they try to please certain people in power and they seem not to have any clear guideline through which to decide on the higher education policy and the higher education authorities arrive at decisions utilizing a consensus amongst themselves due to the lack of right

man for the right job policy in this vital sector in KRG.

The overall factor that determines the policy is party affiliation according to the experts consulted for this dissertation. Therefore, the only thing that determines the policies is those who take the seat of the ministry and those who are close to them to set the agenda of the policies according to personal whim not a clear agenda of education policy. But some of them considered foreign language teaching and learning as a major educational area but without having any effective plan. Together with content specification and features of other educational areas such as Kurdish language and literature, Arts, and Sciences,

The document focuses on foreign language learning and teaching to develop 'the skills of a foreign language' and of 'strengthening the English language then changed into Kurdish identity'.

The lack of political will and support for a clear higher education language policy and planning implementation was found to be insufficient in KRG due to seeking of requisite political will and support for a clear language policy and planning implementation should be one of the rudimentary tasks of language policy and planning processes and

the party that executes these processes with a clear agenda.Concerning political will and support for having a good language policy and planning implementation, the study concludes there is a mess in setting the tone for decisive language policy in the volatile region.

Fifteenth question: What is the conditions which influence or determine policy (factor under what condition)?

Participant 1: the political situation

Participant 2: political stability and social stability

Participant 3: Speaker 1:   Labour market.

Speaker 2:   Yeah.

Speaker 1:   This is one of the factors. Speaker 2:   Yeah.

Speaker 1:   Labour market.

Speaker 2:   Labour market I talked about all the other things. For example, national

unity. For example,

Speaker 1:   Political situation.

Speaker 2:   Yeah, political-economic situation, internationalization strategy, everything. Plus labour market, job opportunities for our graduates.

Speaker 1:   Are you preparing your students for the labor market? Speaker 2:   Yeah, especially because we are a Technical University. Speaker 1:   You're a technical university.

Speaker 2:   Yeah, Technical University. We have a good relationship with the labor market for the companies with the private sector not only the public sector, not only the government in the private sector.

Participant 4: political and social stability.

Participant 5: I think political stability have huge influences on the language policy

Participant 6: Political, economic, social, and national security affect the policy. How can you protect your national security? You need to respect their needs. The KRG has a good relationship with the Vatican

Participant 7: political condition, which one the most significant factors

Participant 8: social stability I believe

Participant 9: what determines their decisions, sometimes they need quality. So, they issue different instructions asking for that. Sometimes No, as we heard, because of the ministers relative, because of the general director relative, yeah, they have a problem. So, they make decisions about that case, and some people will get benefit from that.

Speaker 1: Actually, they reject this requirement, prerequisite requirement for languages. They rejected it now. They have changed now to something else. Because bear in mind you're supposed to have five out of nine for undergraduate and six out of nine for postgraduate but now they dismissed that decision.

Speaker 2: No, they change it and what they did this right. When you go to any international university, you have IELTS or TOEFL. Let's say you get 4.5, still, you have point five to add to your marks. You go to university. You attend a course in the language center. You pay for that. You will continue that, let's say 72 hours, 80 hours

depends on the Language Centre to fulfill this point five. This is natural and what they did now is that. Because we asked about what they did know five years ago, they didn't listen to us. But now they implemented it.

Speaker 1:   What they call it, is it called a local English language course?

Speaker 2: It is local, but it is a course in the university. And either they asked them to get another TOEFL exam or this will be enough. Because you will give money to the university. You will take a course 72 hours, 80 hours, 90 hours, 120 hours, they have every course has its number of hours

Speaker 1:   in a language center?

Speaker 2: Yeah, in this case, you give value to your centers in the university and you give a chance to this student to continue his MA and at the same time to attend the English course.

Speaker 1:   And economically come back to the language center?

Speaker 2:   Do you know what, some students got five, in the ITP, or some of the universities?
Believe me, they do not know how to speak.

Speaker 1:   Oh my god.

Speaker 2: They don't understand anything.

Speaker 1: So, what's the point?

Speaker 2: So, what's the point? Yeah, so (Wasta)is there. Maybe they change. I don't know maybe they change the notebooks or the test papers. I don't know. Everything can be done, but if you give them the chance to go to the Language Centre, they will take the course, you can put a very good and serious committed director to that language.

Speaker 1:   Do you have to do an exam after you can finish the course?
 Speaker 2:   Yes, they have. Yes, in that.

Speaker 1: All right. Thank you for that. And what structural factors political, economic, and social demographic and ecological in decision making?

Speaker 2:   They all affect different percentages. They all affect. Yeah.

Participant 10: Social stability and country security have significant influences on language policy and planning

participant 11: Geopolitical factors are the one, inadvertently when Kurdistan is divided, each part is influenced by the country that is ruled by. So, we did not become so Arabic orientated out of choice. If we had been after the first war, if you had been part of Turkey, the second culture would have been Turkish, or the dominant language would have been turkey today. At the moment people in Diyar Baker their intuition or their way of thinking is very much influenced by Turkish culture, language, and everything else. The same thing, Iran. So, whether we like it or not, the neighboring nations have a huge influence on us. But they are not influencing the ministry's decisions if that's what you're asking. It has no direct influence on that.

Speaker 1:   On education or.

Speaker 2: They don't. They try to come with their products. They try to come and ask for the exchange of students, exchange of degrees, they try to promote their system, not language, but language comes with the system. So, they tried to promote that in Kurdistan. But in the same way that the British or the French promote their language and culture here, and that has not reached a level to influence the ministry, to change things to give favour to Iran or turkey.

We have not reached that because it cannot happen. Our system does not allow that because you cannot change the curriculum of a particular University overnight because Iran wants it or Turkey wants it. No, They would bring their language schools, which is welcome because we living in the middle of that we have a lot of Turkmans here, a lot of people in places like Xanaqin they have a better understanding of the Persian and they have in Turkish.

Speaker 2: The other factors which have influences on the policy conditions, depends on relationships with Arab and west countries we made, the decision on that base.

When we made some decisions on language, we realized that both the Arabid teaching in our universities were too weak to learn, including in those specialties, that language was key. So, we quadrupled the teaching of both Arabic and English. But Arabic, we imposed it only on the Arabic only specialties that were primarily taught in Arabic like law, history, and literature, and some of these, we made sure that Arabic is the main language and the teaching in Arabic is boosted by further lessons per week. And in the ones like biology, engineering, chemistry, medicine, we impose that more English speaking, teaching would go into it. Essentially, we tried gradually, but we didn't succeed because we didn't stay long enough. We tried to make the first year of university as a foundation year where the greater emphasis goes to language and IT skills as well as learning how to be critical, critical analysis because our students are usually dictated to. So, we wanted to make the first year, a different type of year, where less specialization, more skills learning, and language learning. And we managed to achieve a great deal of that, but this would have needed continuity by successes.

Participant 12: political and economic stability

Participant 13: I think social conditions

Participant 14: As you said, first, political stability. This is very important and social stability, not only political, the community. These two factors are very important, and they go hand in hand. By political stability, look at Baghdad and other government is in this situation, in this chaotic situation, even if you have a good policy, even if you had good language planning program, you cannot implement it. Because there is no political stability yet. And when you have political stability, there should be also social justice and social stability with it. Otherwise, even politically, if there is no war, if there is nothing wrong with it, but the society and the members of the society are not in good harmony, and you cannot do it because the implementation of any plan, the implementation of any policy needs to hard work on the collaboration of all factors the collaboration of teachers, collaboration of administrative staff, collaboration with the students and with their family. So, there is no social stability also, we cannot. So, these two factors are very important.

Participant 15: political stability

Participant 16: all of them

Participant 17: political and social stability.

As for monitoring the implementation of language policy, the respondents thought that there is no watchdog on the language policy of higher education in KRI.

For this, there is a mess regarding language policy as each academic institution doing what they believe that they are right but as many as 90% believe that there is no monitoring policy and mechanism of what kind of policy being utilized to have checks and balances in the language policy process. Some academic institutions use English as a medium of academic tutoring in their university and this is reflected in the admission process in which they have notable students since most students pursue quality over quantity.

For this reason, we can see that some universities have better language policy than the ministry of higher education as it is plagued by favoritism. While the rest of the respondents believe that the ministry has a monitoring policy but it should be strengthened to bolster better language policy.
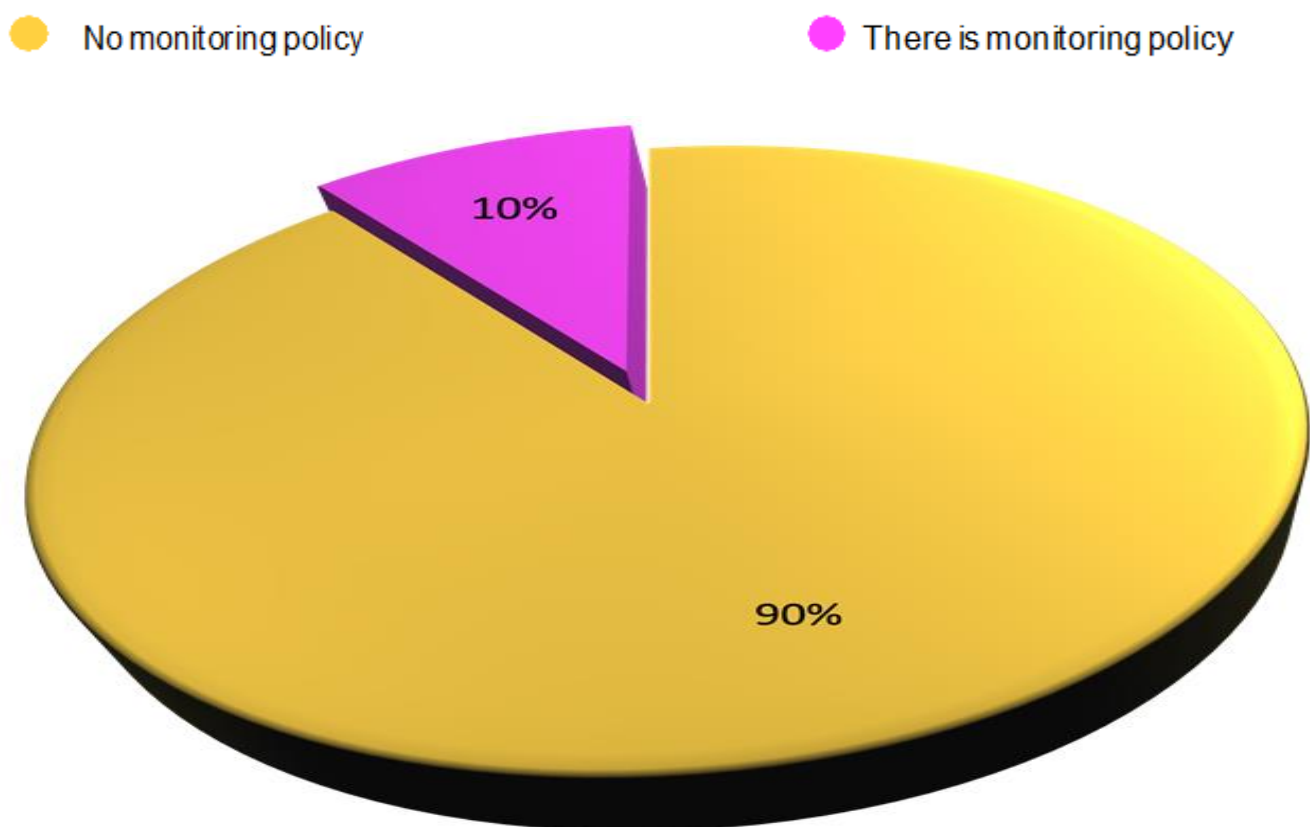

Figure 16: Monitoring policy of language policy

As far as adopting the language model 86% of the language policy experts believed that they don't adopt any bilingual language policy since they believe that English replaced the de facto Arabic second language as people are affected by globalization and people want to rear their children using English instead of Arabic in their education

process. While the rest believed they adopt a policy that is mentioned by Kachru's expanded circle which is adopted in China and Japan.

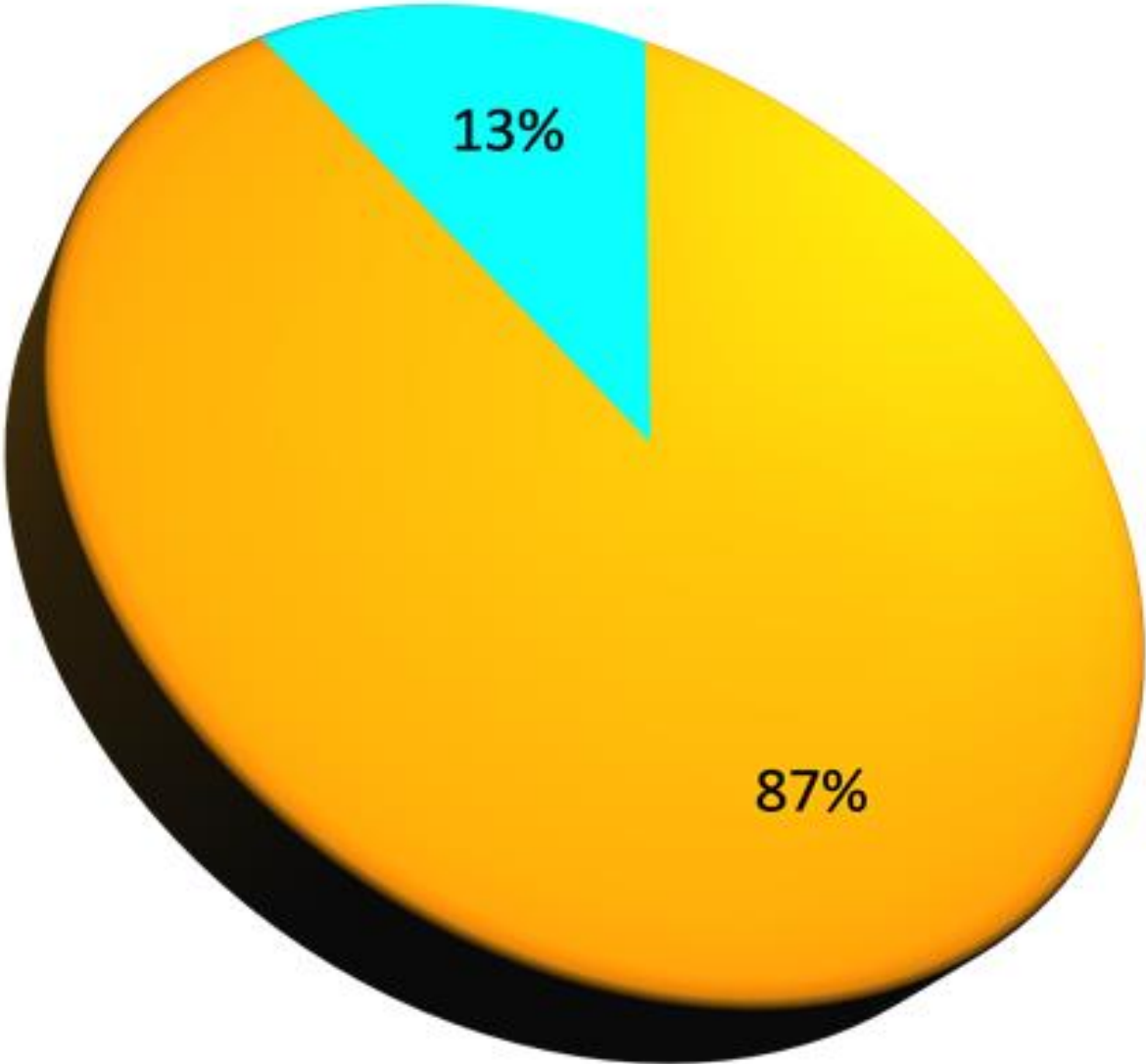🟠 No bilingual policy　　　　　　　🔵 Adopt Kachru's expanded circle

Figure 17: Adopting the bilingual policy

Regarding what kind of factors influence the selection of the curriculum and resources, almost 83% of language policy experts believe that due to the leverage of English speaking countries like the USA, the UK, Canada, and Australia as well as the revolution of technology, our curriculum is Anglicized as a wish to pursue the global market and taking into consideration demand of English as a medium of language instruction and this has been reflected in the universities especially private ones, while the rest believe that we should adopt a bilingual or preferably multilingual policy in the region to be connected to both eastern and western blocks to have a balance in the language policy and prepare cadres for both middle eastern and western markets.

Sixteen questions: How are implementations monitored and guaranteed?

Participant 1: Regarding monitoring, it comes back to the way that you make policy and the way that you implement it. And if you have policies towards having a language of instruction as an English then you to make sure there's a pilot project for that to do the assessment and evaluation to see to what extent this language, you know, using the languages, as the language of instruction had the impact and effect in the process of education. And once you come up with some results, then you can start making an informed decision and consequently coming up with the sound and concrete policies. So, you can't change things right away because it would turn into chaos unless you make sure that you would be a success story for a small or tiny part of the higher education before you just assign it to the rest of the higher education sector. But my personal opinion is just to get the language that is globally recognized and it's widely spoken and then globally recognized.

Participant 2: The minister permits the council committees to follow up all language policies implementation

Participant 3:

Speaker 1:   Nobody?
Speaker 2:   Nobody.

Speaker 1: You are not under any; I mean following up Nobody following the language

training and policy of Higher Education.

Speaker 2: I've talked about all of them. But one thing when we design any curricula or when we modify or change or reform any curricula in any department or sector, we take into consideration the that ministry of higher education will follow up.

Participant4: Nobody monitoring them, it is chaotic I don't think that they get monitored. However, the Ministry of higher education gives the right to the president of universities to make their own decisions within the council of the universities. The council of universities has got the right to decide on some subjects, likely curriculum. For instance, now in the last 10 years, there's a subject called Kurdology. Kurdology subject in which students study Kurdish history and Kurdish language and politics and geography and literature. But it is in the Kurdish language, and at the same time in every single department in whole Kurdistan universities, there is a course in the first year for the English language and English, in all departments, they don't know what to do.

Participant 5: Of course.

Speaker 1: You
are? Speaker 2: Yes.

Speaker 1: how can they monitor that?
Speaker 2: Normally they have committees they come around and check on them to see, for example, they have one person who checks on health and safety policy. And others, have come to see if the curriculum is being implemented. They wanted to see if you have good enough staff, qualified staff to teach. You have got the teaching processes going on well, and whatever comes up, they normally try to intervene.

Speaker 1: I see. they intervene and they monitor.
Speaker 2: Most of the time is for the good of the people that they intervene.
Participant 6: Regarding the language policy and planning, we have reports from international organizations and the USA ministry of foreign affairs. And the Amnesty International organization monitors us. They observe our works. and always ask us to give them a report.

Participant 7: The MHE design the plans and policies and the universities and

institutions are applying such policies. The MHE monitors the implementations through the directorates

Participant 8: The parliament monitored us but there were many problems regarding the parliament's issues. They used to visit us and asked us questions but they didn't make any problems for us.

Interviewer: Was there anyone else to monitor you?

Interviewee: Yes, the media monitored us. They talked about the bad and good points about us. And some organizations. I can't remember the organizations. We had some problems. For example, higher education is not significant for our society.

Interviewer: because higher education is not developed in our country, why is it like?

Interviewee: I talked to the journalists or others sometimes. I used to encourage them to talk about higher education. Higher education is a matter for society when students are accepted at the universities. But no one talks about the quality of higher education, what is the role of higher education? Who are our researchers? To what extent the government has got benefit from higher education. This should become the main point of the discussions.

Interviewer: did you like to be criticized to progress your ministry?

Interviewee: yes, I wish I have been criticized by some other ministries if our graduate students may not be skillful but unfortunately, I haven't heard this.

Participant 9: they ministry of higher education have a team they follow up all decisions

Participant 10: Yes, we as council committee are going to monitor implementation, this not just a proposal, now become a regulation of policy, it has been done

Participant 11: There is monitoring in higher education regarding language policy There are, but what I'm saying is that in places like democracies, there are checks and balances that prevent too much corruption or illegal intervention But in Kurdistan, the checks and balances are weak. The rule of law is weak. So, the people interest groups can influence monitoring more than anybody more than elsewhere, more than in other countries.

Speaker 1:   Oh, I see. Interest group or populist that is behind all these monitoring

Participant 12: There is a team in the ministry of higher education consist of the

minster himself and member of the council committee, they monitor all universities

Participant 13: This is a very good question. In Kurdistan, we have this issue. That's sometimes we have some very good policy decisions, but the problem is with implementation. So, very often there is no one follow up. We make those decisions, but there is no guarantee that these decisions are implemented. Put into practice a very chaotic situation. Yes, absolutely. You know, so we have taken a lot of good decisions in the past. But no follow up, no implementation. And sometimes when someone new comes to power then he decides to change everything

Speaker 1:   From scratch?

Speaker 2:   Yeah. A new start in with new policies

Speaker 1: Without taking advice from advice from those who they are
Speaker 2: No. So, populism is there. Sometimes the minister takes decisions and policies based on what he reads in social media on Facebook. And this I think creates a disaster in the future. You cannot build your higher education policies based on what people say on social media, Facebook. You should be very careful.

Participant 14: This is difficult actually; this is very difficult when you.

Speaker 1: Do you have, you said, you have a member of the committee. Do you think a member of the committee in higher education are they going to monitor this from time to time?
Speaker 2:   I think when we talked about that committee, the committee of reformation, when we said about one of our goals is to reform the English language departments. We were thinking of how to implement that and how to monitor that. So, monitoring and following up on the works of that committee is very important but at the same time, it is difficult as well. So, it's not an easy task to monitor. But I don't think only the committee members are responsible for monitoring and for following up on the implementation of these programs. It should be the ministry and it should be the universities that monitor not only their members. Because what is the authority given to the members of the community in case there is a violation, in case there is no good implementation. So, the ministry itself by the Council of Ministers, Ministry of higher education, and the

universities themselves, they should be monitoring the implementation of these plans.

Speaker 1: I think now they have done some reformation regarding the old system, which was the minimum requirement for IELTS five, now they have changed to something else, which is a local English course.

Speaker 2: English course, yeah.

Speaker 1: What do you think?

Speaker 2:   I think this is this should have been done before, but there are conditions to be met. I have suggested that three, four years ago and I said there should be a national English language test. In this case, the country will win because all the money that is given to IELTS will not go out. The money will circulate inside and there will be trust back to our local stuff. Because we have in every university, we have language centers and these language centres have their staff and if they are re-arranged, re-organized structurally and then from the curriculum, all the programs they study and there are some regulations given to the instructors who are teaching that this would be very good. So, I think this is a good decision. It should have been sooner than today. Not after the pressure of the students of the candidates. They should have done it. IELTS is not bad, but it is not everything. So IELTS is not a good measurement for the English language level. It is more of a technique than over language. So, I think I agree with this decision.

I don't know, what was the exact decision, but if they have removed IELTS and instead they came to the language centers or national language test, this is I think a good decision

Speaker 1: Do you think is not undermine the position of those who could speak very good English?

Speaker 2:   I don't think it is undermining if they speak good English then its good. It's good for them. But what about those who don't speak it? What about those who don't know or what about those who don't need it very urgently. Let's say imagine that if you are in the Kurdish department, I don't mean that Kurdish specialists do not know English or do not need it. What about Islamic studies? What about history? What about the human sciences? What is the problem if they don't Good English, that's okay because they are teaching here for now? But if you are talking about raising the English level, then it is

good, but it shouldn't be throughout. It should be through training courses, continuous courses, and so on.

Speaker 1: How a certain model of bilingual education decided on, there are certain models, they have bilingual education.

Speaker 2: I don't, I'm not with bilingual education. Either one or the other. But I understand that usually in the sciences and in English departments, it's 100% in English, it should be in English. And in social sciences, it could be the problem of having books and resources in the mother tongue in Kurdish. For some years, it is okay to be bilingual but by the end, or at the end, in the long run, we have to focus on one language, whether it is Kurdish, Arabic, or English. So I think that if the ministry is interested in implementing a language planning or language policy to establish the Kurdish language as the official language, he should work from now on the translation of textbooks into Kurdish, on writing the resources and books, scientific books in the Kurdish language, and then they can do it. Otherwise, even if they have decided that Kurdish is the official language and we don't have sources, we don't have books, then it is useless. So, I think in the end, we have to come to one system, one language education system.

Speaker 1: Do you think soon the English language will be used as a medium of instruction inside the class? Do you think that?

Speaker 2: Not soon human if you're talking about social and human sciences, not soon. But we have to keep in mind also that the new generations are better in English than the old ones. You know, because of the private schools that come and because of the internet and technology that's in every home and every corner now. So, the language of the new generation and the English level of the new generation is better than the old generation. So, I but I don't think to be soon. If it goes on in this way. Maybe it needs around 20 to 25 days to make the total change into the English language.

Participant 15: Monitoring whom? Unfortunately, nobody bothered

Speaker 2: Okay, people who make decisions whether they are wrong or right, nobody told them why you have done this. And this is very dangerous for society and the future of higher education. So, there is no accountability in this country. You do good you do

bad, you know, it's the same and that's why it doesn't motivate people who are good to do more okay because and the people who are not doing good are doing bad okay. They are not accountable for the, nobody tells them why has done this. So, accountability, transparency is very important in this process which you, unfortunately, cannot see it in higher education.

Participant 16: There are some units they follow up the implementation progresses such as the unity of Quality Assurance in the ministry in addition to a special committee and bodies that follow up the implementation procedures

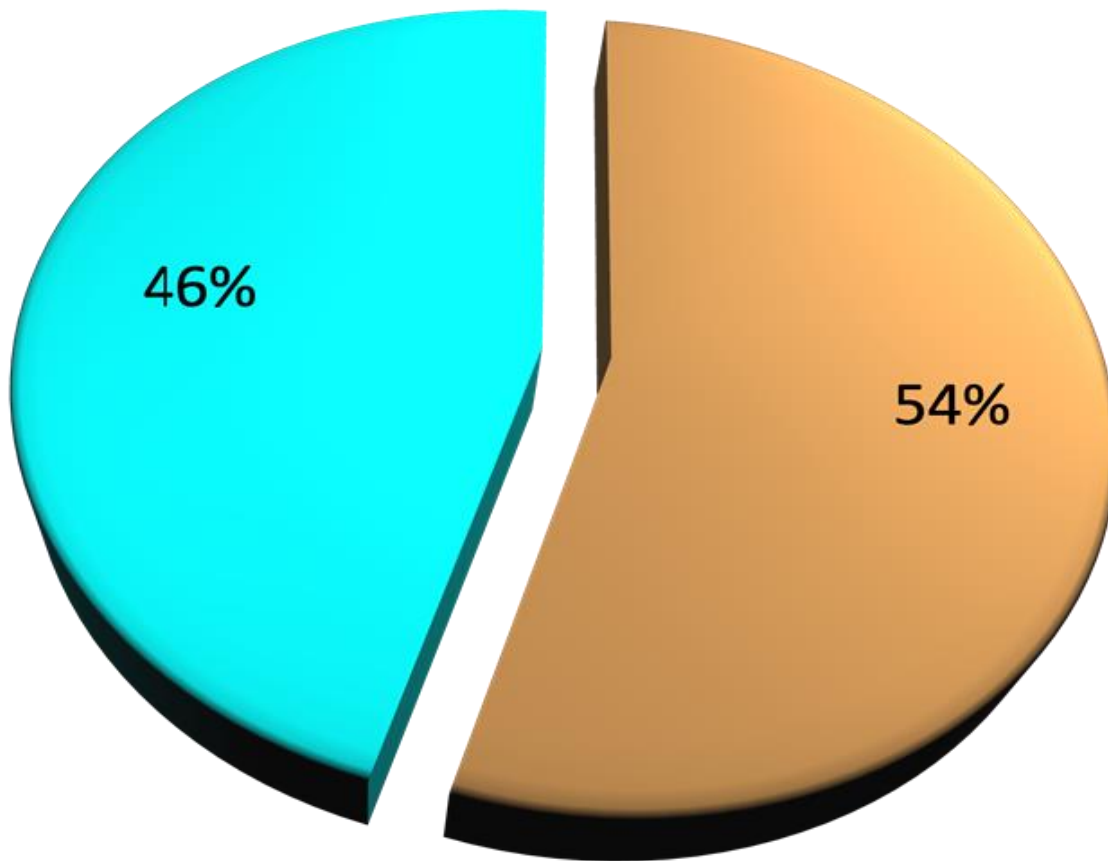**Participants 17:** No there is not.

Figure 18: Influence of language on curriculum

As for how universities adopt policies from above for implementation, 95% of the respondents believe that due to the occupation of the world by English speaking superpowers and the mode of knowing English as a high-class language medium, the universities adapted their policies based on the new trends that are having an impact on the global education arena. Therefore, the universities constantly adapt their policies to fit in what is in vogue in the education sector. The others believed that universities tend towards having to gain money rather than adapting it to the global market.

Fourteen questions: How are education authorities arrive at decisions, by what means (policy-making process: overt, covert activities)?

Participant 1: everything is clear and the education should have a clear agenda, I think they have nothing to hide.

Participant 2: Its explicit, they have nothing to hide, when they issue any decision, they announce it through media

Participant 3: Yeah, this with this explicit because, you know, as I said when we see that there's a problem. Usually, in the Ministry of Higher Education, we form a committee of special people to discuss the issue to the research, to the workshops, seminars, conferences on the issue especially. Regarding the languages and when they finish their work. For example, I have worked on the English language for one year, after doing several workshops, seminars, teachers with their, head of the departments, we had a kind of conference to announce the results of our work and then the recommendations of the conference will be accepted, approved by the Ministerial Council. These are the procedures to do any change in language policy.

Speaker 1: Have you done any other reformation and the policy of language?

Speaker 2: Yeah.

Speaker 1:   How?

Speaker 2: The reform of, as I said, I was the head of general committee.

Speaker 1:   Yes.

Speaker 2:   For the reform of English language departments. Speaker 1:   Yes.

Speaker 2:   Yeah. I work for one year, international and national bodies, institutions with seminars, workshops, conferences. we change many things in the language even the curricula.

Speaker 1:   How you change the curriculum?

Speaker 2:   Yeah, we changed the curricula. Speaker 1:   You had the old one

Speaker 2:   Yeah

Speaker 1:   Change it to the new one. Speaker 2:   Yeah, exactly.

Speaker 1:   Can you elaborate a little bit more about the curriculum.

Speaker 2: We, our strategy was to improve the quality of teaching English departments and if we want to do this reform, we need to change the curricula to be students centric more, not teacher centers. And we have been trying to implement the Bologna Process and ECTS. ECTS is an international curricula system specially adapted by European Union universities. So, know from now on, from this year, I can say that 50% of the departments try to implement the ECTS and Bologna process which is different from the previous ones.

Speaker 1:   I see.

Speaker 2:   Yeah.

Speaker 1:   The previous one because of the curriculum as I had belonged to the Iraqi government

Speaker 2:   Some of them. Yeah.

Speaker 1:   Some of them. When you started your new policy?

Speaker 2:   Two years ago.

Speaker 1:   I see.

Speaker 2: To study and discuss, but we decided to implement this year starting from the fresh students the first year.

Speaker 1:   Yeah, the first year of the academy year.

Speaker 2:   Yeah

Participant 4: Its covert, they have nothing to hide

Participant 5: I don't think the public will understand that policy unless when it touched them, they'll understand it. Recently, they, the Ministry of higher education have decided to give a discount for student's fees for the private sector, which is absolutely nothing to do with them. But they have made it.

Speaker 1:   You are not happy about it?

Speaker 2:   No. We should be making these decisions and we have made this decision. Speaker 1: That means you are under the control of those people whom they are you know; they're affiliated to the governments.

Speaker 2: Of course. I mentioned it before higher education is centrally administered and then the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. The Minister of higher education has got full authority over all the universities either public or private.

Participants 6: They have nothing to hide, everything will be announced through media

Participant 7: It's very explicit

Participants 8: We don't have a hidden something. There exist some laws that in the policy-making process are deepened on. Everything is clear. Our main problem is changing the policy. I think it is not the minister of higher education problem, however it is the governments' problems. They need to know what to do in higher education learning. The higher education place should be clear on the government's agenda. We don't have a long-term strategy or agenda. We didn't know what to do? If we had had clear strategies by the government, we would have a better policy.

Participant 9: Not all of them. Some of them, yes. Some of them there are committees. They search for something, they studied something, investigated, ask the university about that and ask some experts, although not always they asked experts. They make big mistakes by not consulting the experts. But in general, they do it and then after that, this means that some of their decisions are explicit. Some of them are implicit. They say, tomorrow you have to follow this and that without giving any chance to the university to say 'no' for this or to say 'yes' for that. Sometimes.

Participant 10: Most of it is explicit

Participant 11: to some extent is explicit

Participant 12: Yeah, this with this explicit because, you know, as I said when we see that there's a problem. Usually, in the Ministry of Higher Education, we form a committee of special people to discuss the issue to the research, to the workshops, seminars, conferences on the issue especially. Regarding the languages and when they finish their work. For example, I have worked on the English language for one year, after doing several workshops, seminars, teachers with their, head of the departments, we had a kind of conference to announce the results of our work and then the recommendations of the conference will be accepted, approved by the Ministerial Council. These are the procedures to do any change in language policy.

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    Speaker 1:   Yes.

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    Speaker 1:   How you change the curriculum? Speaker 2:   Yeah, we changed the curricula. Speaker 1:   You had the old one

    Speaker 2:   Yeah

    Speaker 1:   Change it to the new one.

    Participants 13: Nowadays? Yes, I think whenever a new decision is taken, then a few hours later, the public knows all about that decision. Apart from let's say, some very critical sensitive issues that are, let's say, they remain as a secret.

Otherwise most decisions, yes. I would say See; they are open to the public. And regarding the mechanism for making those decisions, I said earlier that sometimes is taken by one person. Sometimes committees are made to form those decisions. And sometimes decisions are taken by

Speaker 1:   President of universities?

Speaker 2:   Yes, of course, because there are decisions that are not supposed to be taken by the Ministry because there are more relevant to the university.

Speaker 1:   I see. Do you think the president of universities, they're a part of the Council Committee? The Council Committee consists of all president of universities,

Speaker 2:   Yes.

Speaker 1:   And they're in charge as well.

Speaker 2:   No.

Speaker 1:   You think so.

Speaker 2:   But, again, there are big exclamation marks with regards to this. Let's say council of ministers because very often I hear from my colleagues, that they don't have a very important role within the council. When the minister says something, then everybody follows, which shouldn't be the case. I mean, these councils are there for people to express their views about very important, critical issues in this country, especially within higher education. And you are there to have a say, you need to try and do your best. And take those decisions forward that you think are in the interest of the public. But if you are there just sitting passively without having any interference then what's the point of being there?

Speaker 1:   Exactly. Just like

Speaker 2:   A robot there.

Speaker 1:Robot and Sitting and

Speaker 2:   Silently

Participant 14: I mean, usually when we say policy when we say the plan, it should be very explicit and very clear. Maybe there are some implicit ones for example when they talked about English language level requirements, IELTS five. There was maybe something behind that, but when they, I mean, explained it when they said it explicitly, it was clear but maybe one of the implicit intentions of any planning or policymaking is to make the English language as their second official language, I mean, in a way to be a step away from the Arabic language when it comes to that and so they wanted English as a replacement of Arabic

Participants 15: Well, yes, I will say in this country you don't see especially you know in higher education you don't see many implicit things you know, everything is you know people they know after they issue any decision.

Speaker 1: They don't have anything to hide.

Speaker 2: not when it counts too, well. Don't take it you know, it's a relative when   I'm saying this, okay. Most of our policies are very open to the public and people they know about it. Because it comes from people, most of, it comes committees and these committees are everywhere and they talk about.

Speaker 1: You mean it comes all the decisions come from the local Sorry, from the Council Committee.

Speaker 2: Yeah.

Speaker 1:   Of high education.

Speaker 2:   For the regulations, to put regulations. You know, again, we have committees, which studies make studies on different subjects. It is not very comprehensive to me. I'm critical to the way we reach our decisions, especially strategic decisions. I'm very critical of the process.

Speaker 1:   Why critical?

Speaker 2: Because many strategic decisions are made without any good study, research, without a good analysis of data.

Participant 16: through the council of the ministry of higher education and

                  sometimes by the minister of higher education himself

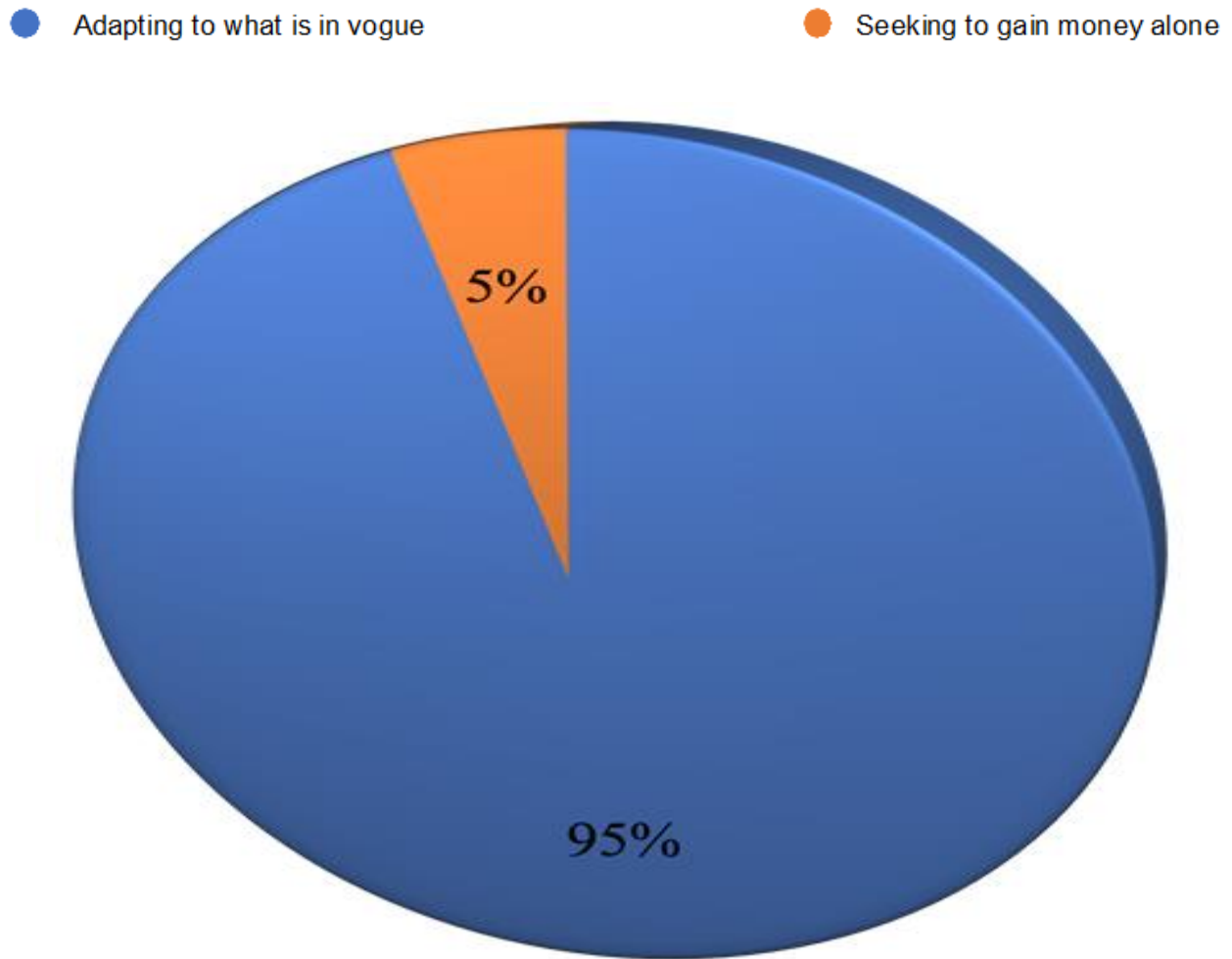**Participant 17:** there are some implicit but most of it explicit

Figure 19: Adapting policies to fit in the language policy

The economic push of using English as the language of superpower and its market forces, especially in the Kurdistan region and Iraq language policy and planning implementation scenario were also found to be insufficient and implausible especially since these superpowers will vanish one day and we have to rearrange our language policy differently. Aside from the language policy on teaching and learning practices, private language teaching institutes appear to have financial gains and profits as one of their most important over-arching aims and concerns banking on the English language as the language of technology and market power. Investing in the English language seems to be a major financial policy setting force in their Anglicizing process in many academic institutions both public and private. Apart from the broad purpose of being able to speak English, a vast majority of Kurdish adult learners start learning English with the motive of

either applying to universities abroad or qualifying in the public university entrance examinations for postgraduate studies, both requiring a language proficiency certificate. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to see institutes advertising their teaching quality by promising learners high scores on international English language tests like the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) and Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) which are regarded as the yardstick of measuring learners' language proficiency and are in high demand on the part of learners in language centres.

As far as we know the main aim of language policymakers is just IELTS and TOEFL. They have been propagating to use these standardized tests in the Higher Education system for about 9 years mainly to capitalize and invest in teaching English and have economic gains in that regard. Therefore Anglicizing the syllabi is the ultimate aim that most experts propagate to connect the region to the world and recently another move that bolsters this process is the Bologna process to use credits in learning and teaching as a consolidating move on that regards by the ministry of higher education and scientific research.

Findings

The overall factor that determines the language policy is party affiliation according to the experts consulted for this dissertation. Therefore, the only thing that determines the policies is those who take the seat of the ministry and those who are close to them to set the agenda of the policies according to personal whim not a clear agenda of education policy. But some of them considered foreign language teaching and learning as a major educational area but without having any effective plan. Together with content specification and features of other educational areas such as Kurdish language and literature, arts, and sciences, the document focuses on foreign language learning and teaching to develop 'the skills of a foreign language' and of 'strengthening the English language then changed into Kurdish identity'.

As for the language policy in KRG, this study comes up with the conclusion that there is a chaotic situation regarding a definitive policy that shapes up the policy of language situation due to the following points:

They do not consult the experts in the decision-making board regarding how to have an academic plan in the region to regulate the hectic situation of language policy. The

polarization of the region on two political parties made language policy a mess and appointing non-academics due to favoritism made the situation even worse. For these, there is a mess regarding language policy as each academic institution doing what they believe that they are right but as many as 90% believe that there is no monitoring policy and mechanism of what kind of policy being utilized to have checks and balances in the language policy process. Some academic institutions use English as a medium of academic tutoring in their university and this is reflected in the admission process in which they have notable students since most students pursue quality over quantity.

For this reason, we can see that some universities have better language policy than the ministry of higher education as it is plagued by favoritism. While the rest of the respondents believe that the ministry has a monitoring policy but it should be strengthened to bolster better language policy.

Our curriculum is Anglicized as a wish to pursue the global market and taking into consideration the demand of English as a medium of language instruction and this has been reflected in the universities especially private ones, while the rest believe that we should adopt a bilingual or preferably multilingual policy in the region to be connected to both eastern and western blocks to have a balance in the language policy and prepare cadres for both middle eastern and western markets. There is no national unity of having a clear policy in the higher education sector while the others believed that the policy is the reflection of political division in the government as a result the higher education sector has no education policy but a marginal minority believed that there is national unity, stability in the region and the higher education policy is on the right track which is not real at all due to the hectic language policy seen in our academic institutions.

Conclusions

This dissertation has come up with the following concluding points:

1. There is an on-going argument for either Anglicization or Kurdification of the language of the instruction at KRI universities. This dissertation has confirmed a compromise solution adopted by university authorities alongside the ministry decision-makers to espouse the Kurdish language for the humanities and English language for the scientific disciplines.

2. KRI University decision-makers generally agree that language policy in the region should distance itself from narrow nationalistic tendencies and develop their curricula in such a manner that is consistent and compatible with the spirit of globalization.

3. One key reason why a solid and concrete language policy in KRI is missing is the fact that politics has overshadowed linguistic decision-making policies.

4. With any incoming minister of Higher Education comes a new policy that partially or totally eliminates the former minister's language policies legislated for the universities.

5. The findings of the study demonstrated that the former cabinet Ministry of Higher Education focused disproportionately on private universities and institutes disregarding the public universities.

6. The study has concluded that there has never been, and it seems there will not be any clear language policy in the Iraqi Kurdistan region.

7. There is an on-going conflict in the decision-making board between the pro-nationalistic language policy camp and pro-globalization language policy camp which seems to be settled in favour of the pro-globalization camp till now.

Suggestions for further studies

Kurdish researchers are suggested to research the following:

1-Language Planning and Reform in Education Process.

2-Planning and conducting language in the education system.

3-language planning and policy in governmental institutions.

4-Kurdish Identity and Culture in Language Planning.

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Appendix

The following questions are used for the interview on the language policy in higher education in Iraqi Kurdistan:

1. Who makes policy decisions in higher education and who participates in the decision-making process?
2. At which level are policy decisions made?
3. Who are the official and/or de facto policy makers?
4. What is to be accomplished? (aim)
5. Do policy makers take into consideration nationalism?
6. Do you involve new generation in the policy making process?
7. Does your language policy-making prepare students for the global market?
8. Which language do you use in the curriculum as a medium of instruction?
9. What language related behaviors are expected, literacy and education?
10. What are some of the competing goals in education policy in higher education and how are they dealt with?
11. What non-linguistic goals are intended, national unity, political stability, and satisfaction of interest groups?
12. Do you apply melting-pot policy in higher education in KRG? If yes, how? If not, why not?
13. How are policy instruments decided?
14. How do higher education authorities arrive at decisions, by what means? (Policy making process: overt/covert activities)
15. What are the conditions which influence or determine policy? (Factors, under what conditions)
16. What structural factors: political, economic, social, demographic and ecological in decision-making?
17. How are implementations monitored and guaranteed?
18. How are certain models of bilingual education decided on?
19. What factors influence the selection of the curriculum and resources?
20. How universities adapt policies from above for implementation?

The following topics will also serve as a basis for analyzing interview data at this level:

- Language preference

- Attitudes towards standardization

- Think children will lose their mother tongue

- University official's reaction to the implemented bilingual program

المستخلص

خلال العقدين الماضيين ، تلقى تعليم وتعلم اللغة الإنجليزية في إقليم كردستان العراق زخماً متجددًا ، ويتم دمج أساليب وتقنيات واستراتيجيات جديدة في الجزء الأساسي من الخطط الحالية في كردستان. إلى جانب هذا الاتجاه المطبق ، تم غرس أنفاس جديدة في البحث النظري في طريقة عمل اللغة الكردية وطبيعتها في ضوء النظريات الحديثة في اللغويات. خلال العقدين الأخيرين ، على سبيل المثال ، شهد عددًا من الأبحاث النظرية والتطبيقية الممتازة في اللغويات الكردية والتخطيط اللغوي والسياسة التي اعتمدتها حكومة إقليم كردستان في أعقاب انتفاضة عام 1991. لذلك ، تهدف الدراسة الحالية إلى متابعة هذا الخط من التفكير في دراسة الواقع اللغوي الحالي في إقليم كردستان والتحديات التي تواجه تخطيط اللغة. تنقسم هذه الرسالة إلى ستة فصول.

يناقش الفصل الأول العنوان ونطاق الدراسة وأسئلة البحث والافتراضات والإجراءات وقيمة الدراسة. أما الفصل الثاني فيناقش المعلومات الأساسية حول سياسة اللغة والتخطيط التي تم اتخاذها نحو جعل اللغة الإنجليزية منهج في مؤسسات التعليم العالي منذ الانتفاضة عام 1991. الفصل الثالث يدور حول إدارة اللغة في كردستان العراق. الفصل الرابع هو التحديات التي تطرح بعض القضايا ذات الأهمية المركزية لتخطيط اللغة خاصة التخطيط اللغوي على مستوى التعليم العالي.

الفصل الخامس عبارة عن مجموعة من بيانات التخطيط اللغوي والسياسة عن طريق إجراء المقابلات بين طلاب الجامعة ابتداءً من المديرين العامين ومن ثم الأكاديميين لمعرفة ما إذا كان ينبغي لنا ترجمة المقاطع في مؤسسة التعليم العالي للحاق بالنعناع المتقدم التكنولوجي والعلمي في البلدان المتقدمة .

الفصل السادس هو مناقشة حول تحليل نتائج البيانات التي تم جمعها من حيث النوعية ويقترح التوصية والاقتراح والحل للموضوع المذكور أعلاه.

أخيراً ، تم تحديد الاستنتاجات والاقتراحات. و تنتهى البحث بالمستخلص بلغتين الكوردية و العربية و قائمة الفهرست.

پوخته

له ماوهی دوو دهیهی رابووردوودا،خوێندن و فێرکردنی ئینگلیزی له ههرێمی کوردستان جۆرێک له شێواز ، تهکنیک و ستراتێژه نوێ باوهکانی وهرگرتووه و به نێو جهستهی سهرهکی بهرنامه و پلانهکانی ئێستای کوردستاندا تێکهڵکێش بووه. هاوکات لهگهڵ بهجێهێنانی ئهم تهوهرهدا،ژیانێکیتر هاتۆتهوه بهر توێژینهوهی تیۆری و لهوێشهوه بۆ کارهکی و سروشتی زمانی کوردی ئهویش له ژێر رۆشنایی تیۆره زمانهوانیهکان دا. له دوو دهیهی رابووردوودا،به نموونه، زمانی کوردی وپلان و سیاسهتی زمان که له لایهن حکومهتی ههرێمی کوردستانهوه خراوهته بهرنامهی کارهوه به تایبهتی دوای راپهرینی ١٩٩١، کۆمهڵێک توێژینهوهی نایابی تیۆری و کارهکی به خۆیهوه بینیوه.

ههر بۆیهش، مهبهست لهم توێژینهوهیه بهدواداچوونی هێڵی ئهو بیرۆکهیه یه ئهویش له رێگهی لێکۆڵینهوه له واقعی ههنووکهیی زمانهوانی و ئهو گرفتانهی رووبهرووی پلانهدانانی زمان، دهینهوه.

ئهم نامهیه بهسهر شهش بهش دابهش دهبێت.بهشی یهکهم باس له ناونیشان، سنوری توێژینهوه، پرسیارهکانی توێژینهوه و گریمانهکان، دهکات. بهشی دووهم گفتوگۆکردنه دهربارهی زانیاری پاشخانی تیۆری سهبارهت به پلاندانان و سیاسهتی زمان که ههر له راپهرینی 1991 هوه وهرگیراوه به ئاراستهی به ئینگلیزی کردنی بهرنامهی خوێندن له داو و دهزگاکانی خوێندنی باڵا.بهشی سێ یهم باس له بهرێوهبردنی زمان دهکات له کوردستانی عێراق دا. بهشی چوارهم بهرنگاربوونویه بۆ ناساندنی ههندێک کێشهی گرنگ دهربارهی پلاندانانی زمان به تایبهتی پلاندانانی زمان لهسهر ئاستی خوێندنی باڵا.پێنجهم بهش کۆکردنهوهی زانیاری یه لهسهر پلاندانان و سیاسهتی زمان له رێگهی چاوپێکهوتن لهگهڵ ستافی زانکۆ له نێویاندا بهرێوهبهره گشتی یهکان و ئهکادیمیهکان بۆ زانینی ئهو ئهنجامهی داخۆ ئهبێت بهرنامهی خوێندن به ئینگلیزی بکرێت له دام و دهزگانی خوێندنی باڵادا بۆ گهیشتن به تهکنهلۆجیا و زانسته پێشکهوتووهکانی وڵاته گهشهسهندووهکان.بهشی شهشهم گفتوگۆکردنه لهسهر شیکردنهوهی ئهنجامی زانیاریه کۆکراوهکان و خستنهرووی دهرهنجام و پێشنازهکان سهبارهت به بابهته ئاماژهپێکراوهکان. دوا بابهت سهرهنجام و پێشنیار لهبارهی نامهکه خراونهتهڕوو.

ئهم نامهیهدا   به خستنهڕووی پوخته به ههردوو زمانی کوردی و عهرهبی و لیستی سهرچاوهکان، کۆت

سیاسەت و نەخشە دانانی زمان لە نێو سیستمی خوێندنی باڵای کوردستانی عێراقدا لە نەتەوایەتیەوە بۆ جیهانگیری

تێزی دکتۆرای خوێندکار

میهرە بان ساڵح سەعید دەلۆی

ماستەر لە

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