

**Exploring the Intercultural Learning of
TESOL Global Educators**

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Abstract

The emergence of English as a global language has led to a huge demand for TESOL language educators around the world (Davies, 2009). This has resulted in greater intercultural encounters with the cultural Other; hence, the need to understand the experiences of these teachers to prepare teachers for their work and support them to achieve favourable outcomes of intercultural learning emerges. This is especially important in light of the failure of teacher education programs to prepare these teachers for the realities of their work and in light of inadequacy of intercultural learning theories to theorize intercultural learning based on these teachers' experiences. This thesis sought to explore TESOL teachers' experiences using a grounded approach that is based on the teachers' experiences as central to their intercultural learning.

Drawing upon the intercultural experiences of seven global TESOL teachers who are working in Saudi Arabia, this thesis sought to understand the types of intercultural experiences that they went through, the factors that affected these experiences and the intercultural learning that these experiences generated.

Interpretative qualitative study methodology was employed in my study to examine the TESOL global teachers' lived intercultural experiences in Saudi Arabia. Qualitative data were collected through conducting in-depth narrative interviews and examining personal correspondence (where available), with seven experienced global TESOL teachers.

The findings suggested that the global TESOL educators' intercultural experiences were enormously complex with many factors and four facets affecting these experiences. The global TESOL educators' experiences of interculturality were mainly found to be Othering experiences. The factors related to the global educators' social positions and the four facets were wider discourses, dispositional positions, contextual realities and situated value systems in Saudi Arabia. The findings highlighted the importance of "translocational positionalities" in understanding the TESOL global teachers' intercultural experiences and learning. Contrary to the literature, the thesis suggests that intercultural learning was not about intercultural competencies and developmental stages, but about how the participants negotiated their positionalities and developed awareness of their positionalities in relation to the

Other. The thesis also uncovered two insights that have potential to contribute to preparing and supporting global TESOL educators in global contact zones. These insights related to the educators' need to talk about their intercultural experiences and the need to interrogate these educators' understanding of culture.

The findings and the insights offer some theoretical and practical implications for understanding intercultural learning experiences in a new light. The theoretical implications suggest a new experiential model for intercultural learning in global contact zones. The practical implications highlight suggestions for a pedagogy of dialogue for teacher education programmes to promote favourable intercultural learning outcomes.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

1.1. Introduction

The English language has emerged as a strong lingua franca within the context of globalization (Crystal, 2003), a general state of interconnection and interdependence that is a feature of life in the 21st century (Tomlinson, 1999; Steger, 2009). Given this situation, Teaching English to Speaker of Other Languages (TESOL hereafter) has become a major growth area in state-run educational provisions and in the private sector. This has led to a huge demand for TESOL educators across the globe with recent estimates suggesting there are around 20,000 TESOL job vacancies listed each month in different parts of the world (Davies, 2009). Many of these vacancies are targeted at and filled by TESOL teachers who speak English as a first language or who have near-native proficiency in English, who come from other countries.

These geographically mobile TESOL teachers, who are the focus of this thesis, represent an important sub-section of the TESOL workforce. They have been referred to in the literature using an array of terms. These include, “expatriate teachers” (Neilsen, 2009; Barduhn, 2013), “ambassadors of globalization” (Schlein, 2006) and “transnational teachers” (Menard-Warwick, 2008). In this thesis, I chose to refer to these TESOL teachers as global TESOL educators/teachers not only because English is the language of globalization, but also because many of the participants have worked in different parts of the world and this reflects the human movement around the globe associated with globalization.

There is increasing recognition of the need and value to research these global TESOL educators’ experiences overseas (Barduhn, 2014) and of identifying ways to support them in managing the in situ ‘intercultural’ encounters that these

necessitate (Schlein, 2006). Yet to date, in contrast to studies which have looked at student mobility, the phenomenon of teacher mobility remains under-researched (Byram & Dervin, 2008). My study is interested to add to the limited understanding of the issues that arise during an extended work experience abroad for global TESOL educators, and how these issues can be addressed.

A defining feature of these teachers' experiences is their encounters with different norms, value systems and 'cultural' others as they traverse the globe for employment. Thus, understanding the ways they engage with and develop strategies to address the "sphere of interculturality" (Kramsch, 1993, p.205) this creates, is an important focus for research. Raising awareness of the increasingly important phenomenon of the global TESOL educators is, therefore, the intention of this thesis. This will be done through considering the intercultural learning processes and outcomes of global TESOL educators' work-abroad experiences. This is beneficial in two ways. Firstly, this can help in identifying support mechanisms to ensure these processes and outcomes help ensure the educators' experiences overseas are personally beneficial. This can have a positive knock-on effect on the learning experiences of the students they work with (Montgomery, 2001). Secondly, exploring the lived reality of interculturality in global TESOL educators' intercultural experiences accounts can potentially add to the existing knowledgebase about intercultural learning.

Globalization has fuelled a growing body of research into intercultural communication. This has been drawn upon to help educators, who are increasingly viewing the promotion of intercultural awareness (or global citizenship education) as important to prepare students for life and work in the 21st century. Global citizenship education is actively promoted by the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic

Co-operation and Development (OECD), the United Nations and many non-governmental organizations (Spring, 2009). A central pedagogical strategy of global citizenship education is finding ways to increase intercultural contact through, for example, study abroad programmes. Generally, this is informed by a body of literature that has stressed positive intercultural learning outcomes of global citizenship education, such as increased openness (Byram, 1997) tolerance and empathy for the cultural other (INCA, 2009). However, to date, there has been much less focus on the intercultural learning process and the ways and extent to which these positive outcomes are achieved. There is a growing appreciation of the importance of research into intercultural learning processes to complement the work that has been done on intercultural learning outcomes (Cf. Bennett & Bennett, 2004; Deardorff, 2009). This is because this can help generate more complex conceptualisations of intercultural learning which can lead to a better understanding of the sorts of intercultural learning outcomes that may result from intercultural contact.

My reading of the literature shows that attention to intercultural learning processes requires an acknowledgment of the centrality of interaction and experience to the outcomes that are generated (Cf. Jin and Cortazzi, 2013; the Council of Europe and European Commission, 2007). In other words, there is a need to focus on what happens in intercultural encounters and to see learning as a situated outcome of these. An examination of the TESOL global educators' intercultural learning processes in this study can provide some useful insights into this.

Global TESOL educators' perspectives can also make a valuable contribution to another important facet of intercultural experiences and learning; the growing

recognition of the need to appreciate the complexity of the intercultural encounters themselves. That is, of intercultural encounters as 'contact zones' (Pratt, 1991; Clifford, 1997). Pratt (1991) used the term to refer to the, "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today" (p.34). Citing Clifford (1997), Singh and Doherty describe these zones as "global contact zones" as "spatial, temporal locations that have already been constituted relationally and which enter new relations through historical processes of displacement" (2004, p.11). I will employ this term in this thesis to refer to the locations where the participant global TESOL educators' experiences of interculturality take place. This is because the description of these locations can be applied to Saudi Arabia as I will describe in Chapter 2. Singh and Doherty (2004) suggest:

Sites of internationalised education are the result of, and in turn contribute to, the cultural processes of globalisation. These sites have created new education contact zones that may pose moral dilemmas for teachers—in particular for the teachers employed in the cultural contact zones of ESL, English for academic purposes, and foundation preparatory programs. (p.9)

These additional complicating factors also need to be considered in an account of intercultural learning processes and outcomes.

1.2. Rationale for the Study

In light of all of the above, part of the rationale for this study is to identify ways to assist TESOL teachers who are likely to travel to work in countries other than their own and face the challenge of developing new cultural understandings. There seems to be a consensus amongst researchers and policymakers that culture plays an

important role in education. This role is especially important in TESOL (Risager, 2007) for it is generally agreed that teachers with limited experience of other cultures, no matter what their native language, will need special guidance in teacher education programs (Kramersch, 2005). However, there is a growing sense that teacher education programs have failed to prepare teachers for the realities of their work (Crandall, 2000) and this creates an urgent need to find alternative ways of knowing that can provide the teachers with an alternative source of knowledge on intercultural learning (Johnson, 2006). This is an important rationale for my study.

There is also a pressing need to acknowledge the significance of the intercultural experiences of the *experienced* global TESOL teachers in particular (Schlein, 2006; Menard-Warwick, 2008; Neilsen, 2009). This is to provide situated accounts of the teachers' intercultural learning processes and the relationship between these and their outcomes, which we still know very little about. Thus, another reason to undertake this study is to engage in theory building through grounded situated research inquiry. Examining the lived experiences of experienced TESOL global educators in global contact zones can provide policymakers, teacher educators and the teachers themselves with an alternative rich source of knowledge for it is believed that "much insight can be gained by investigating the intercultural experiences of these 'ambassadors of globalization'" (Schlein, 2006 p. 250).

The study focuses on exploring seven global TESOL teachers' intercultural learning experiences and factors affecting these in Saudi Arabia. This is linked to my interest in intercultural learning. My interest in TESOL global teachers' intercultural experiences started around fifteen years ago when I started working as a TESOL teacher in Saudi Arabia. Although I was born in Saudi Arabia, to non-Saudi parents, and grew up there, I never had the opportunity to be close to such a diverse group of

people before. This work experience has given me the opportunity to work with and befriend TESOL teachers from around the world. My relationship with my colleagues has resulted in a deep interest in their intercultural experiences that they often shared with me and in my own intercultural experience. I later was promoted to work as a supervisor of a complex of three schools. Twenty two TESOL teachers were working in there. My role involved all aspects related to the English department, including those related to the teachers, who oftentimes, shared their intercultural experiences with me not only as a friend and a colleague, but also as a supervisor. They expected me to support them in their intercultural journeys. I was not sure then how to deal with their issues. I, oftentimes, thought that the teachers needed to put more effort to adapt to life in Saudi Arabia and the “Saudi culture”. My experience has deepened my interest in the TESOL teachers’ intercultural experiences. After I got my master degree in TESOL, I moved to work in a number of higher education institutions within Saudi Arabia. In these institutions, many TESOL lecturers were from overseas. They also had stories to tell about their intercultural experiences in Saudi Arabia. My interest to explore the global TESOL teachers’ intercultural experiences was rekindled and became the topic of this thesis.

1.3. Aims of the Study

1.3.1. Research aims.

The aims of this research are:

- To describe the TESOL global educators’ stories of lived intercultural experiences in Saudi Arabia.

- To identify the sorts of intercultural learning the TESOL teachers' intercultural experiences in Saudi Arabia generate in terms of the process of learning and its outcomes.
- To examine the factors that affect the TESOL educators' intercultural experiences in Saudi Arabia, both micro and macro factors.
- To consider the theoretical and pedagogic implications of the study for understanding intercultural learning and how to support global TESOL educators with this

Many researchers suggest that there is a relationship between learning and experience. Dewey (1938/2008), Bakhtin (1981/2004) among others see that learning happens in an experience. As this thesis is interested in exploring the intercultural experiences and the intercultural learning that these generate, I will be drawing upon these theories that see learning as an experiential, dialogic and relational endeavour. These experiences are likely to be affected by many factors, including larger discourses (macro) and factors related to each individual experience (micro). I will be drawing on theories that view intercultural experiences as affected by such micro factors, (as Dewey's and Bakhtin's), and those that see that experiences are affected by larger positioning discourses such as Anthias (2002, 2006).

I chose Saudi Arabia as the study context because of my familiarity with the country and its educational system. Also, this context is very different from the countries the TESOL global teachers come from. The foreign workforce in Saudi Arabia is estimated to be around 45% of the population (Ben Rubeiaan, 2013). This huge and diverse workforce makes Saudi Arabia an excellent context that can serve

as a good example of a contact zone, which is one of the things this thesis is interested to explore.

This thesis is not interested in the ways the participant TESOL educators incorporate global education into their teaching as this has been examined in the literature. It is rather interested in examining the intercultural experiences of these teachers as people in global contact zones in a holistic manner. To achieve this, I opted to conduct narrative interviews with global TESOL teachers, who are non-Arabs to gain a different perspective than mine, as I am Arab. This is because, ““what has usually been thought about as a question of identity can be understood as relating to narratives of location and positionality” (Anthias, 2002, p.501). The interviews will allow the teachers to tell their stories of interculturality and discuss the factors that influenced the teachers’ learning trajectories.

1.4. Significance of the Study

The study can be considered significant for a number of reasons, which relate to theory, methodology and practice.

- The study sheds light on the *experienced* TESOL global educators’ intercultural experiences in global contact zones, which are largely scarce in the literature.
- By shedding light on these experiences and considering the learning the teachers themselves attach to these experiences, the study gives voice to the teachers thereby contributing to legitimizing teachers’ ways of knowing, which is much needed in the literature (Johnson, 2006).

- The conceptualization of learning as experiential and relational offers an innovative perspective on intercultural learning processes, such a perspective has received limited attention to date.
- The setting of this study, Saudi Arabia, is under-researched within the context of TESOL education and globalization (Zeiton, Elyas & Shehadeh, 2013). In addition, the examination of the TESOL teachers' intercultural experiences in Saudi Arabia provides an account of intercultural learning in a "non-Western" global contact zone. This may contribute to an alternative understanding of intercultural learning in a field of study that is largely dominated by a "Western" understanding (Holliday, 2011) and "Western" research contexts (Zeiton et. al., 2013).
- The examination of the global TESOL teachers' intercultural experiences, the intercultural learning that these experiences generate and the factors affecting these experiences can contribute to identifying ways in which these teachers can be prepared for for the realities of their work and supported in global contact zones.
- In presenting grounded, situated accounts of intercultural learning, the study provides a realistic, complex image of the process and outcomes of this sort of learning, which is under-represented in research on intercultural learning.

1.5. Outline of the Study

This thesis comprises seven chapters, including this chapter.

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 will discuss the study context, through examining the profile of Saudi Arabia, the country where the research took place.

This chapter will include overviews of the tensions and debates created by globalization, the nature of life in Saudi Arabia and its effects on the TESOL educators there.

Chapter 3 will present the conceptual framework of this study. Two central concepts will be examined, teacher learning through experience and interculturality. The chapter will introduce the experiential, relational and dialogic theoretical lenses employed in this study. It will conclude with a critical review of the theoretical and empirical literature on teacher intercultural learning and the suitable methodology to address the research questions.

Chapter 4 will present the methodology. It will explore the ontological and epistemological stances of interpretivism, the theoretical perspective used in this thesis. The methodology, the methods used and their suitability will be discussed in details. Moreover, Chapter 4 will discuss the data collection and analysis procedures, issues of ethicality and credibility, and my position as a researcher. The chapter will conclude with the study limitations.

Chapter 5 will present the findings of the study. Part one will present a cross-case overview of the findings and part two will present four of the TESOL global educators' intercultural learning narratives. This will be followed by Chapter 6 where I discuss the findings in light of the existing literature and the research questions.

Chapter 7 will conclude this thesis by discussing the thesis' contribution to knowledge, recommendations for future research and reflection on my learning.

Chapter 2: Background to the Study

2.1. Introduction

This chapter contextualises my study by describing the Saudi Arabian setting, which forms the background within which the accounts of the global TESOL educators' lived intercultural experiences take place. It focuses on describing some of the macro sociocultural, historical, political and economic conditions in Saudi Arabia. These have created and helped shape the sorts of global contact zones that the TESOL global educators take part in at a micro level. The ambivalent and contradictory ways in which global discourses are viewed in Saudi Arabia have implications for the ways in which intercultural encounters are regulated at a societal level. These are likely to be significant to the intercultural encounters the participants describe and the learning these generate.

2.2. Profile of Saudi Arabia

This section will provide an overview of Saudi Arabia as a country, its location, a brief history, its main cities and a note about the political system. This will provide a context for the discussion to follow on of how Saudi Arabia is an example of a global contact zone.

Saudi Arabia is located in the southwest of Asia. It occupies most of the land of the Arabian Peninsula. Saudi Arabia has a population of 28.9 million (The World Bank, 2012) with an estimated foreign workforce of around 45% of the population (Ben Rubeiaan, 2013). The Saudi population is 100% Muslim. The country has the 20th strongest economy in the world with a GDP of \$ 927.8 billion (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013).

In the past, Saudi Arabia needed to hire expatriates in large numbers in the different sectors to build its economy because neither the locals' number nor their skills were sufficient to build the rapidly growing economy (Al-Asmari, 2008). Expatriates comprise over half the labor force in the country (International Labour Organization, 2011). They come from the United States, Asia, Europe, the Americas and neighboring Arab countries (Al-Asmari, 2008). The expertise of this large foreign and diverse community is still needed because the Saudi youth lack the educational and technical skills required for the different sectors (Al-Asmari, 2008). This huge and diverse expatriate community makes Saudi Arabia a good example of a contact zone.

Saudi major cities include the capital Riyadh, Dammam and Dhahran (in the Eastern Province) and Jeddah (in the Western Province). These are the cities where the participants are/were living and working. The government in Saudi Arabia is a monarchy with Council of Ministers and Consultative Council. All decisions related to the country, including decisions about education, are taken by King Abdullah Al-Saud and then discussed in his advisors' council for approval.

Religion has always played an important role in Saudi Arabia and continues to exert considerable influence on all facets of daily life and policy-making. Saudi Arabia is home to the two major cities of Islam, Makkah and Madinah. These two cities are very important to Muslims around the world and undertaking a pilgrimage to Makkah, the birthplace of the prophet Muhammad, is one of the five pillars of Islam. In addition, Saudi Arabia was established as a country based on the alliance between Ibn Saud and Muhammad Abd Al- Wahhab; Abd Al-Wahhab was a very conservative Muslim cleric whose ideals resonated with the tribe leaders in Saudi Arabia (Wynbrandt, 2010). Wahabbism was established on Abd Al-Wahhab's ideals

and continues to be the prevalent view of Islam to this day in Saudi Arabia. Hence, abiding by conservative Islamic rules (or Sharia Law) of the country is expected and necessary for both citizens and residents. This interpretation of Islam has also traditionally exerted a huge influence on the ways in which the world outside Saudi Arabian is viewed and the ways in which it is regulated. Nevertheless, recently, the growing interconnection between countries brought about by globalization, has created a group of reformers, who call for a less literal interpretation of the Islamic Sharia Law promoted by conservatives and for a more positive outlook towards the wider global community; especially, with regard to education and trade.

2.3. Saudi Arabia and Globalization: Tensions and Contradictions

The tensions between reformers and conservatives, outlined above, manifest in a seemingly ambivalent way in how the wider global community, outside Saudi Arabia, is viewed in the country. Saudi Arabia is a country full of contradictions. There are a lot of American-style shopping malls with almost all the brands that can be found in most Western countries. These are crowded with shoppers. This may suggest a display of unconditional acceptance of globalization into the community. However, there are strong values of tribalism that dominate Saudi society. These tribal traditions are firmly-grounded in the Saudi interpretation of Islam. The rule of law in Saudi Arabia conforms to Islamic Sharia law and behaviours that are not perceived as compliant with Islamic law are controlled and regulated. This plays out for example in the strict gender segregation in most workplaces and in universities. It also informs the established norms for women and men in society. With regard to women, for example, they are expected to dress modestly, covering their bodies fully with black garments (Abayas) and covering their heads with headscarves. In addition, women cannot drive cars in Saudi Arabia. Women can neither travel nor

work without their male guardians' permission (Malik, 2011). The religious police are responsible for applying the rules above if needed by force, including beating and lashing the violators in public (The Guardian, 2011b).

The impact of these norms and values also plays out in the censoring of electronic information to ensure that websites that are deemed to contain immoral, un-Islamic or anti-government content are kept away from the public. Recently, the government has decreed that citizens or residents who re-tweet messages that are deemed offensive should be sentenced to five years in prison and/or be fined five million Riyals, the equivalent of £ 812.625 (Al-Mukhtar, 2013).

However, at the same time Saudi Arabia wants to be an integral member of the global economy. This is why Saudi Arabia joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2005 after 12 years of negotiations (WTO, 2012). Saudi Arabia has done this despite an awareness of the conservatives' expressed concerns (BBC, 2005). In addition, Saudi Arabia has also been put under considerable pressure to reform by the wider global community and recent political events in the Middle East. The pressure from the United States, human rights organizations (Ghattas, 2011) and the current political situation in the region, created by the Arab Spring, has caused the government of Saudi Arabia to speed up the pace of reform and adopt a more open view with regards to globalization and the women's role in the country that is inspired by the wider global community. For example, in 2011, King Abdullah, the king of Saudi Arabia, sacked an "ultraconservative advisor" for publicly criticizing the government for "Westernizing and secularizing" laws through easing the restrictions on women and allowing them to vote in 2015 municipal elections (Stanglin, 2012). Many of these changes reflect "shifts in society as much as in policy" (The Economist, 2010).

Thus, Saudi Arabia needs, wants, and is even pressured to accept many of the issues that being part of a global community implies. However, it also wants to preserve the societal practices and value systems enshrined in its historical and cultural origins. To help contextualize the global TESOL educators' intercultural experiences, I will consider how these tensions play out in their role. I will also discuss the status of English in Saudi Arabia, in the education system and in the higher education sector in particular where the participants work.

2.4. The status of the English Language in Saudi Arabia

The rise of the status of English as a world language has resulted in a popularization of learning English as a second language around the world (Crystal, 1997) including Saudi Arabia. While Arabic is the official first language in Saudi Arabia, English is the second as it is the main means of communication between the different ethnic and linguistic groups, who comprise the workforce in Saudi Arabia (Al-Seghayer, 2012). Article fifty of the Educational Policy in Saudi Arabia states that students must learn at least one foreign language. Given its global spread, English is seen to be the foreign language of choice in Saudi Arabia as it can contribute to the advancement of the country on the academic and international levels (Al-Seghayer, 2012). For these reasons, the government requires English to be taught as a compulsory second language in public schools (de Lotbinière, 2011). English is also the language of instruction for most of the subjects at public and private colleges and universities in Saudi Arabia (Khan, 2009). English is a valued commodity for academic and professional purposes and required for communication with the large community of expatriates (Ali, 2009). Proficiency in English is a marker of status among many Saudis. Saudis who can communicate in English are viewed as trendy, professional and modern. This is why many Saudi youths,

nowadays, communicate in English amongst themselves despite the criticism this generates by some members of the society (Alarabyia, 2011). Such criticism is a clear illustration of the tensions that relate to globalizations in Saudi Arabia.

2.5. The Impact of Globalization on the Educational System

Globalization and economic prosperity have brought both benefits and challenges to the educational sector in Saudi Arabia. Many see that the challenges stem from the government officials' conflicting plans for the educational sector in Saudi Arabia, which manifest themselves in a tension between conservatives who favour retaining the status quo and internal and external pressures to reform the educational system (Krieger, 2007).

One important feature of the current educational system that is a focus of debate is the segregation of men and women at all stages of their education. The conservatives see this segregation as compliance with Islamic teachings and an effective way to keep women from getting affected by the wider global community advocating more rights for women. A complete overview of the history and status of women's education in Saudi Arabia is beyond the scope of this thesis but these issues were discussed in the literature extensively (Cf. Doumato, 2003; Hamdan, 2005). However, steps are being taken to change the current women's situation. King Abdullah University of Science and Technology (KAUST), which opened in 2009, based on King Abdullah's initiative, offers graduate degrees in science, IT and engineering for both women and men. KAUST allows women to mingle freely with their male counterparts to drive on campus. This is seen as the beginning of taking a more open and global approach to education in Saudi Arabia (Slackman, 2009).

The push to reform the sector has also been fuelled by global events and external pressures. In September 11, 2001, Saudi Arabia was brought to global public attention because of the attacks carried out by Al-Qaeda members, who included many Saudi nationals amongst them. This incident has had an impact around the world but a specific impact on Saudi Arabia and its educational system, which came under a global scrutiny. Many counterterrorism measurements were taken after September 11 (Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia in Washington, 2013). These resulted in a great attention to reforming the educational sector and the curricula, which were seen as inciting hatred and encouraging terrorism. In 2004, Saudi Arabia launched a plan to reform the educational sector. The main goal of the higher educational reform for example, as mentioned on the Saudi Ministry of Higher Education website, is the development of knowledge economy to meet global challenges (2010b), a vision that reflects OECD's mission of creating a world knowledge economy (OECD, 2013) though Saudi Arabia is not currently a member of OECD.

2.6. Globalization and Higher Education in Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia has 21 public universities and 24 private universities (Saudi Ministry of Higher Education, 2010a). This number of universities is a recent phenomenon that illustrates how Saudi Arabia is undergoing a revolution in its higher education sector to respond to globalization (Romani, 2009). The Saudi higher educational system is, "to a certain degree" modeled after the American educational system (Saudi Ministry of Higher Education, 2010a). However, the books that are taught in these universities are censored by the conservatives who control education (Lord & Lord, 2010).

The establishment of new universities in Saudi Arabia and the internationalization efforts of these universities have resulted in a high demand for TESOL teachers. This has resulted in recruitment of English teachers from around the world (Romani, 2009). Academic staff comes from the United States, Asia, the Middle East and Europe (Khan, 2009). There is a preference on the administrators' part to recruit "Western native-speaker" teachers of English that are mainly white (Ali, 2009). TESOL teachers mainly come to work in Saudi Arabia for economic and/or religious reasons (see 2.4). The tax-free salaries and the benefits the ESOL educators receive in Saudi Arabia and other countries in the Gulf Countries are amongst the best in the world (Ali, 2009). This has made these countries an important work destination to TESOL educators from around the world.

The presence and growing number of global TESOL educators in higher education is a manifestation of the growing impact of globalization on Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia's engagement with the wider global community has fuelled the debates and tensions between those advocating modernity versus those advocating tradition. This continuous debate about conservatism versus reform underpins policy and practice in the higher educational institutions where the global TESOL educators work. The efforts to address the conservatives and reformers agendas, in higher education, influence the TESOL global educators' work in two ways. First, these teachers are required to be observant of cultural values that are quickly changing because of the current debate. Second, the subject the global TESOL educators teach, English, is itself a topic of debate in Saudi Arabia. This is why TESOL educators are viewed by the conservatives as promoters of "Western" values that are thought of as contradicting to the Saudi students' Islamic values. Other issues that affect the global TESOL educators' work include the students'

underachievement, curriculum problems and incompetent teachers, which continue to affect education in Saudi Arabia (Khashoggi, 2014). For example, one of the main problems to be faced is the students' weakness in the English language, which they are expected to use at university after so many years of using Arabic as the main language at school. Many universities run preparation programs, which aim at improving the students' English language, but the duration of these programs is insufficient for them to achieve their goals. This means that the TESOL educators are faced by huge challenges to meet in their efforts to improve the students' English proficiency. The efforts of Saudi Arabia to regulate the interface between external values and practices brought into the country by expatriates and local values and practices are likely to affect the ways people engage with and are positioned within the global contact zones that form in Saudi Arabia.

2.6.1. The management and regulation of expatriates' life within Saudi Arabia.

To manage the large flow of expatriates, who were conceived both as an invaluable source of help and a likely threat to the conservative Saudi cultural values, the government set stringent rules that govern their residence in Saudi Arabia. Each expatriate individual is issued with a residence visa requested by a company or an individual in Saudi Arabia. The company/individual then sponsors the expatriate to come to Saudi Arabia. Then a sponsorship card, (Iqama), which allows the expatriate to stay in Saudi Arabia, is issued. No expatriate can receive healthcare, open a bank account, travel, work for a different sponsor, get married, get birth certificate for his children or even a death certificate without the permission of his/her sponsor. This gives immense power, which is oftentimes abused, to sponsors. Such conditions immensely affect expatriates' social life in Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia also seeks to manage the expatriates through building housing-compounds to minimize possible effects of the expatriates on the Saudi citizens' way of life. The huge community of expatriates leads a different lifestyle in Saudi Arabia from the citizens. "Western" and some Arab expatriates opt and sometimes are required to live in "Western" housing-compounds. The residents of these compounds can enjoy a "Western-style" social life inside the walls of these compounds to a certain extent. The difference between lifestyle inside the compounds and that outside the compounds creates another example of how Saudi Arabia regulates globalization. This separation is likely to affect the expatriates' intercultural experiences and subsequently for intercultural learning. The walls of the compounds are not only material, they are also social. These walls symbolize borders that separate the expatriates from the locals in Saudi Arabia and are likely to minimize the opportunities for intercultural contact and experiences that are necessary for intercultural learning. As a result, expatriates can spend years in Saudi Arabia without needing to build relationships with the locals.

Chapter 3: Conceptualizing Teacher Intercultural Learning

3.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to build a conceptual framework for the study by establishing the importance of experience to teacher learning and the implications of this for an articulation of intercultural learning. In the first part of this chapter, I will discuss my conceptualization of learning as a social and experiential process. Then, I will link this conceptualization to the shift in teacher learning theories, including TESOL teacher learning, towards social and experiential understandings. Drawing on Dewey's, Bakhtin's and Harre's theories, I will make the case for the contribution of an experiential understanding to learning to build a realistic, meaningful and complex account of teachers' intercultural learning. In the second part of the chapter, I will draw upon this account to critically review the literature on interculturality and intercultural learning with reference to empirical studies on the experienced TESOL teacher learning and interculturality in global contact zones. I will end the chapter with a summary that will present my conceptual understanding of teacher learning from and through intercultural experiences and the methodological implications this understanding has for my study.

3.2. The Shift towards a Sociocultural Conceptualization of Teacher Learning

In this section, I will explain why a social and an experiential conceptualization of teacher learning affords the most comprehensive and realistic approach to studying learning that global TESOL educators undergo as a result of their experiences. I will also provide an understanding of the sorts of learning outcomes that result from this.

Lave and Wenger argue that, “learning, transformation and change are always implicated in one another” (1991, p.57). It follows from this that the outcome of learning is always change (Brockbank & McGill, 2007). However, different learning theories conceptualize this change in different ways (Schiering, Bogner & Buli-Holmberg, 2011). There are different traditions, which attach different significance to the individual versus the social world in accounting for learning. These have informed the way learning, and, hence, teacher learning is perceived (Johnson, 2006). These traditions include behaviorism, cognitivism, cognitive constructivism, sociocultural/historicism and situated theory (Schuh & Barab, 2008). Poststructuralist and critical theorists like, Freire (1970), Bourdieu (1991), Giroux (2001) and Harre and associates (2009), offer different frameworks to describe learning, as well.

3.2.1. An overview of key theories of teacher learning.

Understanding of teacher learning and development has evolved considerably over the years. First, there has been a gradual shift away from a behaviorist understanding with emphasis on the outcome of learning as change in teachers’ behaviors to the study of *teacher cognition* (Johnson, 2006). Research, which examined teacher cognition, was a reaction to the behaviorist research that kept the human mind unexamined in the learning process, a “black-box” (Spector, Merrill, van Merriënboer & Driscoll, 2008). The move toward a cognitive understanding formed a revolution, which aimed to give the mind its role back in human and social sciences (Bruner, 1990). The focus of cognitive theories is on how people acquire, process and store information in the mind. The outcome of learning in these theories is “change in [the] mental state” of the learner (Larsen–Freeman, 2007, p.780). Cognitive constructivists’ theories concentrate on how individuals construct their

knowledge and develop in the process. They look “for change *in* the learner as evidence that learning has taken place” [italics in original] as opposed to change in the learner’s behaviours (Brockbank & McGill, 2007, p.38). Research on second language teacher cognition (Borg, 2006) and teachers’ mental lives (Freeman, 2002), which depicted the complexities of teachers’ experiences, their interpretations of their activities and the context where teachers work, was instrumental in conceptualizing TESOL educators as reflective professionals (Johnson, 2006).

Recently, there has been a shift towards appreciating the importance of context in describing teacher cognition, specifically, an appreciation of situated, social and distributed views of human cognition (Johnson, 2006). This shift in conceptualizing learning has been described in the literature as a “sociocultural turn” (Kirschner & Martin, 2010). Sociocultural theories of learning emphasize social and cultural contexts of learning (Johnson, 2006). These theories allow for the examination of the learning opportunities afforded to the TESOL educators by the learning setting itself, such as, in the case of this study, the Saudi Arabian context. The term “sociocultural” was first employed by Wertsch (1985) to refer to Vygotsky’s cultural-historical theory to capture “the notion that human mental functioning results from participation in, and appropriation of, the forms of cultural mediation integrated into social activities” (Lantolf & Beckett, 2009, p.459). However, the term was later used to refer to theories other than Vygotsky’s. Zuengler and Miller (2006) use the term “sociocultural” to refer to a number of theories, which emphasise the social nature of learning, including, Lave and Wenger’s situated learning theory, Bakhtin’s dialogic perspective and critical theory.

In situated learning theories, change in participation in the sociocultural world is both the process (Zuengler & Miller, 2006) and the outcome (Larsen–Freeman,

2007) of learning. These theories promote the enhancement and change of teachers' beliefs, values, practices through inquiry, reflection on experiences and forging relationships in the social world (Johnson, 2009). Finally, critical theories of learning have extended an understanding of the impact of the social world on learning by emphasizing the significance of power relations between individuals. Such significance is informed by the individuals' relative positioning in historical and economic conditions of immediate and broader social worlds in which they operate. For critical theorists, an understanding of these things can help transform learning conditions so that "more equitable social relations can be effected, particularly in the interests of disenfranchised groups and individuals" (Zuengler & Miller, 2006, p.43). Below, I consider the most prominent sociocultural theories that view learning as a social phenomenon. These include Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, Lave and Wenger's situated learning theory, Dewey's theory of transaction, Bakhtin's theory of dialogism and Harre and associates' positioning theory.

3.2.2. Vygotsky's sociocultural/historicism theory.

Vygotsky's work, perceives learning in light of its social context. Learners and more knowledgeable others are viewed within this perspective as being involved in developmental processes that are realized in interaction. Vygotsky's (1978) theory entails that:

Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological) and then inside the child (intrapsychological). This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relationships between individuals. (p.57)

To Vygotsky, learning entails acquiring the skills, cultural and historical values of the surrounding "culture" or enculturation with the help of other more

knowledgeable others. Knowledgeable others and other tools, including language are artifacts, which the individual learner uses to try to gain independent control over the social world. The significance of Vygotsky's theory is that it has given learning a social dimension that emphasizes the importance of the sociocultural world. His theory, however, does not elaborate on how people participate in the world, which is seen as important to a description of intercultural learning in this thesis.

3.2.3. Situated learning theory.

This theory mainly draws on Lave and Wenger's work (1991). Learning, for Lave and Wenger, is not only cognitive, but also embodied and involves the person's role as s/he becomes a full-participant in a community of practice (Schuh & Barab, 2008). The communities are groups of people who share practices and their focus is primarily on the learning that takes place through a process of apprenticeship. Newcomers learn from old-timers through participating in practices with the old-timers, a process they describe as Legitimate Peripheral Participation (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Like Vygotsky's theory, situated learning theory sees that people learn with other people in the sociocultural world, so the concept of an "expert" helping a "novice" is still evident in Lave and Wenger's theory. However, to Lave and Wenger, the nature and process of learning is different from Vygotsky's theory. Wenger (1998) associates learning with identity, which he sees as "a way of talking about how learning changes who we are and creates personal histories of becoming in the context of our communities" (p.9). Learning results in the (re)production of the communities of practice. By rejecting the supposed separation of learning from context, situated learning theory sees "learning and performance as being significantly shaped by social, organizational, cultural and other contextual factors"

(Hager, Lee & Reich, 2012, p.6). Learning exists in the system's dynamic relationships not in the individual learner's mind. People, both old-timers and novices learn how to become participants in the social world.

3.2.4. The contributions and limitations of situated learning theory.

Lave and Wenger's (1991) theory contributed to a new understanding of learning. This understanding shifted the focus from an understanding of learning as acquisition of cognitive knowledge and skills, as in Vygotsky, to an understanding of learning primarily as an embodied process that is situated in a sociocultural context. To them, learning happens through participation in shared practices between people, who change through forming relationships with each other. In addition, the theory provides an understanding of learning and identity formation as "inseparable: They are aspects of the same phenomenon" (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p.115). This inseparability treats the person as a whole being. To learn is to change (Wegner, 1998). I see this inseparability as allowing for an explanation of changes in identity, cognition, emotions and practices the TESOL teachers may undergo in this study.

However, employing Lave and Wenger's (1991) theory is insufficient to describe the processes by which these individual TESOL educators change for two reasons. Firstly, Lave and Wenger's articulation of "community" fails to account for power relations between participants and fails to describe other weaknesses in the community, which may affect newcomers' participation and access (Tennant, 2006). Secondly, in their theory, there is no mention of the processes that individuals undergo to innovate or change their practice within a specific social milieu (or a community of practice) (Fox cited in Roberts, 2006). Moreover, Lave and Wenger (1991) do not take into account the individuals' skills and knowledge or histories and

subjectivities prior to entering the community of practice (Valsiner & van der veer cited in Cairns et al, 2011). There is a lot of emphasis in the communities of practice theory on how novices are socialized into the new community, but there is very little on what individuals do with the resources provided by this community, and how these resources relate to other communities that the learners belong to. This is important as it affects the identity construction of these learners. Though Wenger (1998) attempted to address some of the criticisms directed at his and Lave's (1991) theory, his ideas were seen as "taken over by simplicity and oversimplifications" (Barton & Tusting, 2005, p.6). See Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2004) for a full account of why Wenger (1998) is thought to have failed to address the criticism directed at his previous work with Lave.

In light of these limitations, I will employ additional theoretical lenses that conceptualize learning as a socially situated and participatory phenomenon. These emphasize an account of individual learning in and through social settings in accounting for learning as a social process. They also provide alternative ways of understanding the individual in relation to his/her social worlds, which are significant to the understanding of learning as a social and experiential process provided in this thesis. These theories are Dewey's theory of transaction (1938/2008), Bakhtin's theory of dialogism (1981/2004) and Harre's theory of positioning.

3.3. A "Transaction" Metaphor of Learning

Sfard's (1998) differentiates between two metaphors of learning, the acquisition metaphor where learning is viewed as "gaining possession over some commodity" (p. 6) and the participation metaphor through which learning is viewed as "changing roles and identities within communities of shared practice"

(Koschmann, 1999). Although both subscribe to a sociocultural understanding of learning, there are differences in their conceptualizations of the process of learning and its outcomes and their conceptualization of the individual learner's relationship with the social world. Sfard (1998) argues that Vygotsky (1978) conceptualizes learning as acquisition of cognitive skills and knowledge that are transportable from a more significant other to a learner with the outcome of enculturation. Lave and Wenger (1991), on the other hand, view learning as participation, which includes the learning of cognitive skills and knowledge, but goes beyond the cognitive to include learning new ways of feeling, being and participating. The learning outcome is the socialization of the individual learner into the new community. In this sense, the conceptualization of the learning outcome is similar to Vygotsky's conceptualization but the difference is in what is being learned and how it is being learned. However, Koschmann (1999) argues that Dewey's theory of transaction and Bakhtin's theory of dialogism suggest a third metaphor of learning; learning as transaction. According to this perspective, learning is an outcome of the transaction that happens *between* the "learner and the envioning situation" (Koschmann, 1999, p. 310). Unlike Vygotsky's and Lave and Wenger's theories, which emphasize convergence (enculturation and socialisation), the outcomes in Dewey's theory are open-ended and emergent.

3.3.1. Dewey's theory of transactional learning.

John Dewey was an American pragmatist and an educational reformer. Dewey saw that philosophy should be "practically useful in people's life" (Illeris, 2009). Like Lave and Wenger, Dewey (1938/2008) posits that all learning happens in experiences in the sociocultural world.

Dewey's theory forms an important contribution to an experiential and relational conceptualization of learning as it stresses the importance of experience and details the processes and conditions by which people develop and change. Dewey's theory accounts for individuals' experiences, histories and subjectivities in the ways they engage with new experiences.

According to Dewey, experience is living. Living entails a process of ongoing adjustments on the part of a subject to changes in the environment to which a subject has to change to keep his balance and the continuous consequences of the actions taken by the subject in his/her world (Illeris, 2009). Dewey (1938/1997) warns us, however, that not all experiences are "genuinely or equally educative" and that some are "mis-educative" (p. 25). He describes "mis-educative" experiences as those that arrest or distort the "growth" of additional experiences.

According to Dewey (1938/1997), educative experiences comprise two conditions, interaction and continuity. For Dewey, learning occurs through interaction in which the learner and the environment are viewed as one entity. The purpose of interaction is to generate knowledge from experience. This is the situated aspect of Dewey's theory. Continuity, on the other hand, is reflected in his view that experiences build on previous experiences and result in subsequent experiences. This is the temporal aspect of Dewey's theory. To Dewey, experience is not knowledge; knowledge is a subset of experience (Illeris, 2009). Experience is a matter of using the past and the present to anticipate the future (Elkjaer, 2007). An experience results in knowledge if the experience causes growth of future experiences. Growth is reliant on "shared experiences" that necessitate "genuine-open communication" (Selznick, 1994). Communication changes "the dispositions of both the parties who partake in it" (Dewey, 1916/2004, p.9). Meaning is made when

things are used in “a shared experience or joint action” (ibid., 1916/2004, p.16). In order for people to communicate, they need tools. Dewey sees language as “the tool of tools” as it allows people to express themselves to themselves, “internally”, and to others, “externally” (Dewey, 1925/1997, pp.140). Therefore, Dewey views language as a tool for meaning construction, which he sees as a form of action.

Knowledge is derived through reflection, which is defined by Dewey (2007/1910) as the close examination of any knowledge or belief that “challenges the mind” (p.9). Inquiry starts in emotion and can be transferred into cognition if verbal language is used to “define and resolve” the challenging situation “*in light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends*” (Dewey, 2007/1910, p.6). The inquiry process is the process where the different ideas, concepts and hypotheses are used as thinking tools. The consequences of defining and resolving the situation in different ways are examined through inquiry to arrive at knowledge (Illeris, 2009). This knowledge then is tested in light of a new experience.

Dewey (2004/1916) draws two conclusions about the learning process: “[It] has no end beyond itself; it is its own end...and that... [it] is one of continual reorganizing, reconstructing, transforming” (p.48). Hence, to Dewey, the outcome of learning is more learning or change and the learning process is a process of change. Therefore, to Dewey, knowledge is arrived at through an ongoing cycle of experiences comprising action, reflection and consequence.

Dewey rejected the dualistic epistemology of modern philosophy of body/mind, individual/environment, subject/object; Dewey posited that learning happens through transaction between a learner and his/her environment

(Vanderstraeten, 2002). It is through experiences that people learn to overcome the difficulties encountered through “experimental” and forward critical thinking (Elkjaer, 2007) as they experiment with new situations and reflect on the outcome to make future possible decisions. This learning concerns the self as much as it concerns the worlds in which people live (Illeris, 2009). The actions individuals choose to take whether verbal or physical are connected to thinking. In other words, thinking and action are one entity, an “organic circle” (Dewey, 1896/1933). Dewey’s unit of analysis is “subject-in-world” because knowing about the self and world entails “action and thinking, being and knowing” (Illeris, 2009).

Dewey’s work has been instrumental in developing a better understanding of how adults learn. His theory has contributed to the shift into the understanding of teacher learning as a reflective process (see 3.2). Many researchers in adult learning theories and teacher learning theories have taken his work forward. For example, Mezirow’s *Transformative Learning Theory* of adult learning is derived from Dewey’s inquiry theory (Taylor & Cranton, 2012). Prominent researchers have also acknowledged Dewey’s role in helping them shape their theories, such as Donald Schon, who viewed Dewey as “the greatest American philosopher of education” (1992, p.121). Schon posits, “[I]n the midst of writing *The Reflective Practitioner*, I realized... I was attempting, in effect, to make my own version of Dewey’s theory of inquiry, taking ‘reflective practice’ as my version of Dewey’s ‘reflective thought.’” (1992, p.123). This is why Dewey’s theory is a suitable lens to examine adult learning, such as the intercultural learning of the global TESOL educators presented in this thesis.

This thesis views learning in light of its relational and experiential aspects. This learning happens in everyday experience with people in the sociocultural world.

Such learning takes place in the challenging situation of moving to a new place, and encountering people who draw on different values and understandings as the case with TESOL educators participating in this study. Such a move challenges the usual thinking and habits of the TESOL educators and calls for inquiry, which can result in education or mis-education (Dewey, 1938/1997). Hence, Dewey's theory resonates well with the understanding of learning presented in this thesis.

Dewey's theory affords a better conceptualization of the individual's learning process. The direction of learning is not unidirectional, as in situated theory, it is rather emergent and embedded in transaction between a learner and her/his world. Finally, Dewey's theory also resonates well with the interpretivist theoretical perspective underpinning my study (see Chapter 4) in the sense that people are seen as individual beings who try to make meaning in light of their experiences in the world.

3.3.2. Bakhtin's theory of dialogism.

Bakhtin's theory of dialogism resonates well with and extends Dewey's theory of transaction and the conceptualization of learning as experiential and relational. Dewey acknowledges the role of dialogue in learning and development, but Bakhtin develops this role further.

M. M. Bakhtin was a Soviet philosopher and literary critic whose works are used in education; (Koschmann, 1999). Like Dewey, Bakhtin saw that experience is important in learning yet his main concern was with language and the ways in which language use reflects the dialogic nature of experiences and learning. Bakhtin's theory provides a deeper understanding of how we learn from others through incorporating their words into our words and reproducing their talk as part of our talk.

Bakhtin (1981/2004) understood language as a social construct. He uses the term “dialogism” to refer to two things in his theory. This thesis is concerned with his use of “dialogism” as general characteristics of all languages, which are the mixing of speakers’ and listeners’ intentions, the endless need for utterances to position themselves in relation to each other, and meaning creation from past utterances (Vice, 1997). According to Bakhtin (2004), each discourse that happens between people is a unique experience. This is because each individual and each situation bring meaning to this discourse. However, this is done through utterances loaded with historic and sociocultural associations of the past and which will acquire new associations in the future. In this sense, conversation is endless. No one owns utterances, because utterances are always at least half ours and half someone else’s (Bakhtin, 1981/2004).

At an individual level, Bakhtin sees self and knowledge as a shared experience (Vitanova, 2010) and posits that as humans, we are always in dialogue not only with others but also with ourselves. It is through revealing ourselves to others in dialogue and the other revealing themselves to us that we learn and create shared meanings. It is through this internal dialogue that we come to distinguish ourselves from others. It is through assimilating the discourse of others that we evolve socially. Bakhtin (2004) differentiates between two categories that affect this internal dialogue, “externally authoritative discourse” and “internally persuasive discourse” (p. 345). “Externally authoritative discourse” is the authority discourse, which has been “acknowledged” in the past, like the words of parents, political figures, teachers and adults. “Internally persuasive discourse”, on the other hand, is the discourse that is “tightly interwoven with one’s own word”. As children, we are born into a world of different “alien” externally authoritative discourses that are given

to us. As our thinking matures, we develop our own opinions, through experience, and we learn to differentiate ourselves from others as unique social beings by rejecting or accepting authoritative discourses; however, it is only through assimilating others' words that we evolve and learn. We position ourselves in relation to these words, which allow us to separate external authoritative discourse from internal persuasive discourse and develop our own opinions (Bakhtin, 2004, p.345).

Employing Bakhtin's conceptualization of dialogism as a lens to examine the TESOL teachers' intercultural experiences will allow me to identify the different discourses that contribute to the participants' identity construction and how they orientate themselves towards these discourses. It will also allow me to examine how their internal dialogue and external dialogue contribute to their learning process in intercultural encounters. Thus, Bakhtin's theory can be useful in accounting for the significance of dialogue to people's transactions and the ways in which dialogue and discourses can constrain or foster meaning and learning.

3.3.3. The location of power in sociocultural learning theories.

The weight sociocultural learning theories give to power varies according to the theoretical perspectives they are underpinned by. Though the above-discussed sociocultural learning theories do not explicitly consider power relations in their accounts, they all imply or acknowledge this role in learning in sociocultural encounters.

Vygotsky's conceptualization of a more knowledgeable other and a novice, suggests an implicit recognition of the imbalance of power in learning situations between people. Lave and Wenger acknowledge that learning is "implicated in social structures involving relations of power" (1991, p.36) but power is not expanded

on in their work (Tennant, 2006). Similarly, while Bakhtin discusses authoritative voices, his analysis of, “self-other interactions failed to acknowledge how power dynamics inevitably influence those interactions or the ways in which they are ideological” (Haynes, 2013, p.62). Finally, Dewey discusses democracy in education but he fails to, explicitly, “offer a sustained discussion of power in any of his major works (Hildreth, 2009, p. 786).

Recently, power relations, however, have been foregrounded in the literature on language and teacher learning and in intercultural studies (Block, 2013; Atkinson & Sohn, 2013). Critical social theorists that derive from critical and post-structuralists’ theories of Freire, Bourdieu, Giroux and Harre see articulating the impact of inequities on learning as a central research agenda. They argue that learning cannot be comprehended without looking at the broader social, economic, cultural and political circumstances in which inequities exist in social structures (Giroux, 2001). It is important for this thesis to account for power relations and how these play a role in people’s ways of positioning themselves and being positioned by others in their daily transactions as this thesis seeks to present a grounded approach that includes both macro and micro factors that may affect the global TESOL educators (see Chapter 1).

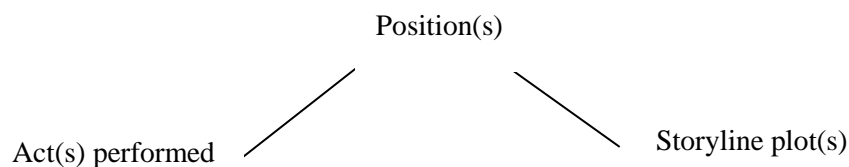
My account of power relations is informed by Harre’s Positioning Theory as it discusses the role of power and accounts for how people innovate, reproduce and challenge others and institutions. In addition, Harre’s theory resonates with Dewey’s and Bakhtin’s theories. It expands the scope of these theories by accounting for power relations within a transactional and dialogic articulation of the learning process.

3.3.3.1. *Harre's Positioning Theory.*

Although Wendy Hollway's (1984) work on the role of gender in producing subjective positions is generally seen as the first illustration of the use of Positioning Theory, Harre and his associates are the most associated with the use and development of this theory (Kroløkke, 2009). Harre, van Langenhove and other associates (Cf. Davies and Harre 1990; Harre and van Langenhove 1999, Harre & Moghaddam, 2012) have been working on the development of Positioning Theory since 1990s.

For Harre and his associates, a *position* is a metaphoric term in which "a person's moral and personal attributes are collected" (Harre & Van Langenhove, 1999, p.17). It is "a cluster of rights and duties as expressed by the discourses of a certain community relevant to the actions of a person or a group of people from that community" (Harre & Moghaddam, 2012). Hence, a *position* involves a person's attributes as an individual as well as a social being; it is co-constructed in a context-bound and "culture-specific order of speaking" (Duszak & Okulska, 2011). The act of positioning, therefore, refers to assigning "fluid 'roles' to speakers in the discursive constructions of personal stories that make a person's actions intelligible and relatively determinate as social acts" (Harre & Van Langenhove, 1999, p.17). People position themselves and are positioned by others in the community as powerful or powerless, active or passive or otherwise; these positions can be contested and negotiated (Harre & Moghaddam, 2012). A person's power is derived from her/his "specific locations in social orders and networks", which create power differentials between people within a community (Harre & Van Langenhove, 1999, p.30).

People negotiate their “relative power and parity” when they interact and agree where each of them stands (Boxer, 2003, p.256). People do this “within evolving story-lines, and on the basis of claims about relevant personal attributes” (Harre & associates, 2009, p.5). Drawing on John L. Austin’s speech act theory (1962), Harre and his collaborators posit that utterances can be understood as acts because of the utterances’ performative nature. The meaning of these acts is located between the speaker’s intention of the meaning of the utterance and the hearer’s reception of the meaning. Utterances have the social force to position others and oneself in different ways (van Langenhove & Harre, 2007). Positions are associated with speech act types and storylines, which mutually affect each other (Harre & Moghaddam, 2012) as Figure 1 illustrates:



*Figure 1.*The positioning triangle. Adapted from Harre & Moghaddam (2012, p.34)

The “social meaning” of peoples’ discourse is decided by the positions of the speaker and the listener in the current moment and context of the discourse and the storyline unfolding then and there (Moghaddam, Hanely & Harre, 2003, p.145). Positioning theory applications range from the analysis of the positioning used in simple interpersonal encounters to that in large-scale social entities (Harre & associates, 2009). Positioning theory also describes the processes by which people come to reproduce or challenge certain social discourses through the way they position themselves with regards to these discourses. People take first positions. If

these positions were to be challenged, people would take up second positions; by repositioning themselves, people reconstruct their identities (Davies & Harre 1990).

Harre's theory's contribution to a relational and experiential understanding of learning is that "it affords people the opportunity to address the particularity of localized experiences without losing touch with the powerful social discourses within which subjective experience is built" (Winslade & Monk, 2008, p.43). Harre's Positioning Theory is aligned with the work of Dewey as it focuses on interpersonal interaction and the use of language as a tool for action. However, positioning theory expands the work of Dewey for it "opens up a new dimension in the psychology of interpersonal encounters, through explicit attention to the role of rights and duties in the management of action" (Harre & associates, 2009, p.5). In addition, Harre's Positioning Theory is aligned with the work of Bakhtin on the dialogic self; however, Harre's Positioning Theory takes the work of Bakhtin further as it foregrounds the role of power in the process of shaping the dialogic self (Raggatt, 2007, p.366). It is important for this thesis to address how power plays a role in the TESOL global teachers' learning in interactional encounters. Harre's positioning theory will help me examine how the TESOL teachers position themselves and others and are positioned by others in Saudi Arabia, how larger social discourses affect these and how they renegotiate their identities to achieve better positions.

3.4. Towards a Conceptualization of Teacher Learning as Experiential and Relational Process

The conceptualisation of learning that is presented in the study is one that views learning as an experiential, dialogical and relational meaning-making *process* with emerging but unpredictable outcomes. It draws upon the sociocultural theories

discussed above, in particular, Dewey's transaction Theory, Bakhtin's Theory of Dialogism and Harre's positioning theory.

The above theories have helped me evolve an understanding of learning as a continuous process that manifests itself in practical actions and conversations. They have also helped me appreciate that learning is situated and takes place with others in particular sociocultural worlds. In addition the notions of trajectory, context and social relationships, highlighted in these theories, are all important to consider in exploring the global TESOL educators' intercultural experiences. Trajectory connects present actions to past actions and future actions and constitutes the temporal aspect of learning. Context is where learning happens, whether it is a physical context, like the institutions where the TESOL educators work, the buildings where they live, the streets where they walk or abstract contexts like the spaces that emerge between people in relationships or in virtual worlds, like the Internet. Finally, learning happens in the sociocultural world through forging relationships with other people in the world.

Connelly & Clandinin (2000) contend that teacher experiential knowledge, including intercultural knowledge, refers to the knowledge teachers gain through a learning experience, including taught knowledge. Teacher knowledge is also knowledge of the self as well as of work situations. This knowledge "references the totality of a person's personal practical knowledge gained from formal and informal educational experience" (Xu & Connelly, 2009, p.221). Formal educational experience can include teacher orientation/ education programmes while informal educational experiences can include the teacher lived experiences in general, whether or not they are related to their work. Based on this, this thesis rejects any dualisms in teachers' intercultural learning experiences, including the distinction

between formal and informal learning experiences and professional and personal life. This rejection is based on the difficulty to delineate clear boundaries between formal and informal learning (Colley et. al., 2003). It is through reflections on everyday events and the telling of their lived stories that the teachers construct their knowledge (Olson, 2000). Based on this, all the TESOL educators' experiences during their stay in Saudi Arabia, which the teachers consciously reflect upon, will be examined, whether they are related to their profession as TESOL educators or not. This examination will look at the TESOL teachers holistically as people and will not separate their professional learning from their other types of learning thereby treating the experience of learning and interculturality as one whole. It is hoped that the TESOL educators' reflections on their everyday lived intercultural experiences in Saudi Arabia will reveal the learning these educators undergo in their experiences both in terms of intercultural learning process and outcomes.

3.5. Learning and Interculturality

In the first part of this chapter, I presented my conceptualization of learning as a social and experiential process that is embodied and dialogical with emergent outcomes. In this second part, I will discuss the relationship between learning and an experience of interculturality provided by engagement in global contact zones (See Chapter 1). Culture is a contested term and what counts for an experience of interculturality is contingent on the way culture is employed and will affect the understanding of the nature and outcomes of intercultural learning. Here, I will explain some understandings of culture, interculturality and intercultural learning and the connection between these and the conceptualisation of intercultural learning I will employ.

All of the sociocultural learning theories, discussed in the first part of the chapter, highlight the importance of culture to learning although in different ways. For Wenger (1998), learners' actions and interactions embed "in culture and history" (p.13). van Langenhove and Harre (2007) also acknowledge the significant role of culture and history in learning as they see that people tend to reproduce or challenge larger discursive practices through their dialogue with others by referring to a socially maintained system of rules and customs (see 3.3.3.1). Moreover, Dewey and Bakhtin offer perspectives, which highlight the valuable learning opportunities that intercultural encounters can provide. Dewey saw that problematic situations that challenge the habits of people as providing the ideal atmosphere for learning, which creates emotional responses that he terms "disequilibrium", and Mezirow and associates (2000) refer to as creating "a disorienting dilemma". Finally, Bakhtin (1981) highlights the way we get to know ourselves and our "culture" through knowing the others and their "cultures".

While these perspectives point to the way intercultural experiences, afforded by moving to a different country, will result in new learning, it is not necessarily the case that this will lead to positive transformation as I will discuss in more detail in 3.5.1 below. As Taylor (2008) argues such intercultural experiences will generate "a series of cumulative transformed meaning schemes" but also may engender an "an acute personal or social crisis that causes a transformation in perspective" (p.6). In other words, intercultural experiences, afforded by moving to a different country, can generate important benefits for learning but they can also pose a number of challenges. Moving to a different country is a life-changing experience that can be very stressful (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). This stress can result in challenging the existing assumptions, habits and understandings. That is why such a

move has often been referred to in the literature as a “cultural shock” (Oberg, 1954). However, many researchers, nowadays, prefer to avoid using the term “cultural shock” in favour of the term “intercultural learning” (Korhonen, 2010) for the term “shock” has a negative connotation as it emphasizes the threatening aspect of intercultural encounters without mentioning the benefits for the participants of these encounters (Bochner, 2003). Moreover, research on “cultural shock” refers to the emotion of the traveller rather than to his/her conceptualization of cultural difference (Shaule, 2007). The preference of using “intercultural learning” rather than “cultural shock” also reflects a shift in research agendas towards an increased emphasis on the potential of overseas experiences to build “global competence” as I will discuss below.

Thus, preference will be given to the term “intercultural learning” in this thesis. Nevertheless, despite losing its prominence in academia, “cultural shock” is still a widely used term in everyday life (Shaule, 2007) because moving to a new country does involve being in a state characterized by strong emotions (Ward et. al., 2001). Moreover, since as Dewey and Mezirow observe, emotions are important to learning, I will use the term “cultural shock” as and when it emerges in the participants’ accounts to remain faithful to these accounts.

3.5.1. Towards a definition of interculturality.

The discussions above have highlighted some of the diverse understandings of what intercultural learning comprises. In what follows, I will consider the different assumptions of what interculturality is which underpin these different notions of intercultural learning.

In order to examine “interculturality”, one needs to look into its root word, “culture” as well as the “inter” part of the word. Culture is an elusive concept. This is because culture is usually understood in accordance with the view a researcher holds about reality. Drawing on Geertz’s (1973) differentiation between the “essentialist” (derived from specific nationalist forms like race) and the “epochalist” (derived from the general history of our time) views of “culture”, researchers examine these views using different terms. In his writings, Holliday (2011) discusses an essentialist and a non-essentialist view of “culture”. Piller (2011) sees that culture can have many meanings. She, convincingly, differentiates between “culture” used as a noun, which denotes presupposed real “entity” that persons belong to or have, and “culture” used as a verb (Street cited in Piller, 2011), which denotes that “culture” is a process or something that persons perform. Piller (2011) sees the first meaning of culture is “essentialist”, while the latter is “constructionist”. In a similar vein, Atkinson (1999) discusses two views of culture that have dominated TESOL, the “received” view of culture and the non-standard, post-modernist view of culture. Though Piller, Holliday and Atkinson use different terminology, they agree that two different understandings of “culture” can usefully be distinguished in the literature. In this thesis, I opt to employ Holliday’s distinction between essentialism and non-essentialism to discuss the different schools of thought because my reading suggests that they are the terms widely used in the literature.

3.5.1.1. *The essentialist view.*

The origin of this view of culture dates back to the sociology of structural-functionalism of Comte and Durkheim, which posit that the world is comprised of predefined facts that exist independently from the researcher (Jackson, 2012). The essentialist view defines culture as a product, a static presupposed entity. One

major proponent of this view is Hofstede, whose work on cross-cultural communication has been very influential (Piller, 2011). Hofstede describes culture as “the collective programming of the mind distinguishing the members of one group or category of people from another” (1984, p. 51). This definition “categorizes” people and places them in static, predefined cultural groups. Consequently, grouping people according to their national origins, for example, an American culture, a Chinese culture and an Italian culture, is at the heart of this view (Piller, 2011). However, this perspective also lends itself to cultural stereotyping, so to talk about Middle Eastern students as uncritical and Chinese students as shy, for example, is perfectly acceptable according to the essentialist view (Holliday, 2011). Thus, the essentialist view presents as cultural overgeneralization, which leads to an emphasis on reified differences between cultures. This overgeneralization implies that an individual’s cultural values and behaviors are presupposed rather than autonomous, so any behavior can be judged against the predetermined characteristics of a specific culture as “functional” or “dysfunctional” (Holliday, 2011).

3.5.1.1.1. Essentialism and Othering.

Essentializing people and cultures means conceptualizing them as fixed static entities that have certain characteristics that do not change over time. In this sense, cultural differences become real objects (Dervin Gajardo & Lavanchy, 2011). This essentialization creates a static “self” and a static “other” with static fixed identities. The term Othering denotes “the ways in which the discourse of a particular group defines other groups in opposition to itself: an Us and Them view” (Palfreyman, 2005, p.213). Discourses that create difference between “Us” and “Them” are power discourses that perpetuate “the sense of fixed identities battling across a permanent divide” (Said, 1978/1995, p.336). By discursively constructing an imagined Other

with a fixed identity, people implicitly get to understand themselves and make generalized judgments about the Other and their group (Palfreyman, 2005) based on their own standards. This leads to stereotyping (Holliday, 2011). Edward Said (1978) introduces the term orientalism to describe how the “West” views of the “East/Orient” are largely affected by such stereotypical discourses that reduce the Orient to less than what it really is and result in an amplification of difference, division and misunderstandings. Such discourses often describe “an idealized Self and a demonized Other” (Holliday, 2011, p.3). Holliday (2011, p.11) posits that there is a large amount of literature that is based on “methodological nationalism” that has dominated social sciences. The utmost objective of this tradition of research is not only to describe the human behaviour, but also to predict it. In this sense, culture becomes a predefined “variable” of group membership and the related cultural patterns of this group (Martin & Nakayama, 1999).

3.5.1.2. *The non-essentialist view.*

Holliday (2011) traces the non-essentialist view back to Max Weber’s social action theory; Weber stated that the exact nature of the human behaviour can never be predicted. However, despite this, Weber still did not regard the notion of nation as a problematic historical and social construction (Schudson cited in Holliday, 2011). The non-essentialist view defines culture as a process. This process is constructed, fluid and cannot be predetermined (Piller, 2011). Culture is not predefined by national origin, but rather is socially-constructed and emergent (Martin & Nakayama, 1999). The non-essentialist view of culture recognizes the complexity of the term “culture” and does not use it to ascribe certain characteristics to a certain group of people who happen to live in certain geographical areas (Holliday, 2011). Based on this, culture becomes related to a value rather than a country and to a

discourse rather than to a language (Holliday, Hyde, & Kullman, 2010). Thus, people can have membership in many cultures both within and across their societies (Holliday et. al., 2010).

If, as in this thesis “culture” is to be understood as a socially-constructed phenomenon (Martin & Nakayama, 1999), then “interculturality” can refer to all socially-constructed encounters that occur between people. As a socially-constructed and contextually-bound phenomenon, “interculturality” can take many forms. As the context of the study is a global contact zone (Singh & Doherty, 2004), “interculturality” in this thesis is viewed as a socially-constructed encounter that takes place between people who draw on different sociocultural and sociolinguistic backgrounds in transnational arenas.

3.5.1.3. ***Non-essentialism, interculturality and hybridity.***

A non-essentialist understanding of culture is also one that recognises that hybridity is a condition of cultures. Some researchers argue that as a result of the connectedness experienced in our globalized world today, pure national cultures do not exist anymore (Piller, 2011). Cultures are thought to be hybrid as a result of immigration, IT revolution and globalization. Hybridity “is the mixing of different cultural forms and styles facilitated by the global economic and cultural exchanges” (Steger, 2009, p. 6).

Hybridity is not only a condition of culture today but is also used to describe what happens in intercultural encounters. Bhabha (1994) for example uses this to develop his concept of a “Third Space”, the space that results from the meeting of the Self and the Other that leads to new understandings and knowledge. This Thirdness was also conceptualized in dialogue by Bakhtin (see 3.3.2). Thirdness is

communicated in a “contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 55). The Third Space is affected by the position and power people hold in social structures. Bhabha (1994) describes this space as follows: “[It] constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew” (p.55).

Bhabha’s theory has been invoked to describe, “cultural fusions” and “exploration of crossings”, which are perceived as threats to uniform cultures (Piller, 2011). However, the discussion of culture in these studies and in the everyday life tends to fall into the trap of essentialism, as the point of emphasis is the national element (Holliday, 2011). Moreover, it has been argued that rather than viewing this space as a dynamic “in-between space” that reveals the meaning of culture (Bhabha, 1994, p.56) that this is, in fact, built upon the existence of extant first and second spaces (Kumaravadivelu, 2008), i.e. a first national “culture” and a second national “culture” that meet in a third space. This may result in an essentialist understanding of “interculturality”. However, if we engage with the spirit of the term as a meeting space of dynamic, fluid and emergent “cultural” understandings, then the “Third Space” could become a useful tool to help us understand interculturality and intercultural learning as dynamic processes with emergent outcomes. These outcomes are in stark contrast to the acculturation outcomes, which are linked to essentialism that I will discuss further below.

The conceptualization of hybridity/Third Space captures the constant process of mixing of people, which helps in the emergence of new beliefs and practices (Kumaravadivelu, 2008). However, one should be mindful of how the term might be compromised to refer to an essentialist understanding of “culture”, which leads to

stereotyping of the Other based on his/her nationality (Pieterse, 2009). While the literal meaning of “interculturality”, considering its components, “inter” and “culture, -ity”, points to a process that occurs between cultures, a meaning that can be related to the essentialist approach (section 3.5.1.1), the term can also be used to point to a more complex phenomenon, one that assumes a non-essentialist understanding of culture. This complexity is related to the paradigmatic understanding of the root word, “culture” discussed above (see 3.5.1.2).

3.5.1.4. Towards a conceptualization of interculturality in global contact zones as a third space.

The two different understandings of interculturality discussed above bring to the fore the question of how researchers could look into interculturality in their research, as “acculturation” or as a Third Space. This question is important as it informs the learning process and outcomes of interculturality that a researcher could draw upon in understanding intercultural encounters.

Acculturation is informed by an essentialist understanding of “culture.” Acculturation is frequently defined as “a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiment, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in common cultural life.” (Park & Burgess cited in Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p.67). This definition interestingly uses the word “acquire” which largely denotes other persons’ memories, sentiment, attitudes, experiences and history are seen as objects out there to be acquired by other persons. This particular approach assumes that learning about the Other can be explained in terms of acquisition of discrete knowledge or skills that can be passed from one person to another (Bennett, 2013). The ultimate expected outcome of the process of “acculturation” is adopting a new

culture by the newcomers (Kumaravadivelu, 2008). This reflects the implicit socialization concept of learning in Vygotsky's and Lave and Wenger's works discussed in 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 respectively. However, recent researchers have contested the idea of acquisition of culture as a list of behaviours and patterns and replaced it with an individualized private understanding of culture "that individuals create based on their own personal experiences" (Vitanova, 2010, p.106).

Bhabha's (1994) hybridity theory sees "culture" in a constant state of flux as symbols and discourses are regenerated through meeting with the Other in a Third Space, so it emphasizes the contact of people in spaces rather than the crossing of borders. The view of interculturality as a Third Space resonates with the topic of this thesis, which is concerned with intercultural encounters in global contact zones. Global contact zones are effectively third spaces. Just like the global contact zones, the Third Space is characterized by conflict and contradictions. It is through recognizing their differences that people learn about the Self and the Other. Just like global contact zones, the Third Space encourages research in the aftermath of colonization, which can be seen mostly in "non-Western" contexts (Holliday, 2011), like Saudi Arabia (see Chapter 1 for the need to research this). This view of interculturality resonates with this thesis view of learning as experiential and relational (see section 3.4).

Sociocultural theories view learning as a process whereby people learn from the Other through dialogue and relationships in experiences. The outcomes of learning in these theories are new ways of knowing and being but since these are emergent, they cannot be predicted and remain open-ended. Such a conceptualization can be applied to learning in intercultural encounters only if "culture" is viewed in a non-essentialist way, which is the case in this thesis. Culture

and interculturality are not perceived in this thesis as materialistic fixed entities, and hence, cultural differences amongst people are not perceived as tangible and real objects, but rather as intersubjective processes that are negotiated, fluid and context-based (Appiah, 2006). This implies that these processes are affected and, sometimes, shaped by power structures (Holliday, Hyde & Kullman, 2010).

3.5.1.5. Accommodating power into the theory of interculturality.

One criticism of non-essentialist theorisation of interculturality has been its neglect of the way power relationships play out in third spaces, such as global contact zones (Kumaravadivelu, 2008; Pieterse, 2009). As Holliday has argued, it is important to include power relationships into any theory of interculturality (2011). To address this, in what follows, I will describe Anthias's (2006) work on "translocational positionality" theory, which has informed my understanding of power in relation to intercultural relationships in global contact zones.

Anthias (2006) suggests that unequal power relations between and within cultures must be incorporated into the conceptualization of hybridity theory, especially, Bhabha's Third Space theory. She suggests that people are social actors who occupy social locations in the sociocultural world. These social locations can be conceptualized as "social spaces defined by boundaries on the one hand and hierarchies on the other hand" (2006, p.27), so when people think of their locations they are bound to think of them in relation to other people. According to her, some social actors occupy more powerful locations than other actors because political and ideological strategies and larger discourses influence the relationships between these actors. Thus, "locations are multiple and span a number of terrains, such as

those of gender and class as well as ethnicity and nation, political and value systems” (Anthias, 2006, p.27-28).

For Anthias, positionalities “are socially produced through the interplay of processes [such as identification or belonging] and outcomes of social relations” (2008, p.17). In other words, “positionalities” refers to the intersection of both social positions (as outcomes) and social positioning (derived from the practices, actions and meaning in the process of interaction); it is the space created at the intersection between structure (positions) and agency (positioning); “translocational” is employed to refer to the particular kinds of positionalities of people, who are at the intersection of many locations and dislocations related to national belonging, gender, ethnicity and class and racialization (Anthias, 2006). Hence, the theory is also interested in examining positioning at the intersection of social locations.

Anthias’s work can be related to Harre’s work (discussed in 3.3.3.1). Both Harre and Anthias see social positions and positioning as important for people’s identity formation. While Harre looks into positions from a narrative and relational perspective of identity formation, which draws upon social psychology, Anthias looks into identity formation from a critical (feminist) perspective (Scuzzarello, 2010). Anthias, specifically, discusses spatial and social locations in her theory of “translocational positionalities”, which may affect the sojourners’ identities, in the case of this thesis the TESOL educators. Anthias (2008) argues that “translocational positionalities” theory “addresses issues of identity in terms of locations which are not fixed but are context, meaning and time related and which therefore involve shifts and contradictions” (p.9). This framework suggests that inequalities and differences should not be viewed as something individuals possess, but rather as socially-

meaningful processes that are performed and affected by spatial and contextual dimensions, including ideological dimensions.

Anthias (2008) sees that as a result of globalization, social and cultural ties are increasingly becoming transnational thereby contributing to the creation of translocations. This relates to the discussion of global contact zones above (see 3.5.1.4) in the sense that global contact zones are not only Third Spaces but are also translocational spaces. This is why Anthias' ideas can help in the analysis of these global contact zones. As immigrants and sojourners move around the globe, they maintain their ties with their homelands through networking with people in their homelands, in destination countries and in-between these (Anthias, 2008). They are on-the-move people with shifting positionalities that contribute to shifting their locales and destinations. This conceptualization shifts the emphasis from categorization of people based on gender, class and ethnicity among other types of social categories to the ways these are performed by people in certain contexts. Such a shift foregrounds the experiential aspects of social life (Anthias, 1998), which resonate with the view of intercultural learning that informs this thesis (see 3.4). Anthias's conceptualization of difference as social processes that are shifting and affected by social and power discourses, adds an important contribution to the understanding of interculturality presented in this thesis as it will allow me to examine the shifting translocational positionalities of the participants in intercultural encounters. It will also allow me to examine social and power relations that contribute to the participants' shifting translocational positionalities. Drawing on the ideas of Bhabha and Anthias, allows for an understanding of "interculturality" that matches the experiential and dialogical theoretical lenses for this thesis (see the first part of this chapter), yet takes into account power relationships. This understanding makes it

possible to connect the local intercultural experiences with larger discourses like those related to race, gender and nationality, which inform these experiences and to consider how these are part of the learning that occurs in global contact zones, like Saudi Arabia. In what follows, the conceptualisations of interculturality, discussed in this second part of the chapter, will be employed to critically interrogate the existing knowledgebase on learning and intercultural experiences.

3.6. Reviewing Research on Learning and Intercultural Experiences

In this section, I will critically review the theoretical and the empirical research that considers the core topic of this thesis, learning in intercultural encounters in global contact zones. This is because my reading and experience suggest that the intercultural models and frameworks to be discussed below are usually taken for granted and seldom interrogated in the literature (Rich, 2011) despite their shortcomings, which I will discuss below. I will review this research through examining the studies' conceptualizations of the notions of learning and interculturality, the designs these studies adopt and the findings of these studies. Globalization and the attention given to the notion of "culture" have resulted in a vast body of literature across the different disciplines that examine intercultural encounters in global contact zones. Among these disciplines are language education, health education, business studies and multicultural education (Dervin & Kuoppala, in print). This body of literature has examined the phenomenon of learning and interculturality though using different terms and drawing on different methods. Some of the terms that are used to describe the outcome of intercultural encounters include, transnational identities (Menard-Warwick, 2008) intercultural competence (Dervin, 2010b), intercultural awareness (Baker, 2011), and intercultural communicative competence (Byram, 1997).

Although the meaning of “intercultural” depends on the discipline it is used in and is used to refer to sometimes conflicting concepts and practices (Dervin et. al., 2011), broadly speaking, two main schools of thought are discernible in the literature though these are not mutually exclusive and there is literature that falls between them. These are learning about intercultural experiences and learning through intercultural experiences. I will consider each in turn by examining each perspective through considering its contributions and shortcomings. The purpose of dividing the literature under two subsections is to clarify the discussion so it is easier to follow.

3.6.1. Learning *about* intercultural experiences.

This conceptualization of learning and interculturality is concerned with the product of intercultural learning, the end result or the outcome of this learning. The outcome of this type of conceptualization is usually a set of competencies that describe and quantify ideal intercultural *behaviour* and as such it is sometimes positivist in its approach. As Meyer’s definition highlights, for example for those whose work can be seen to focus on learning about intercultural experiences, intercultural competency is “the ability of a person to *behave* adequately in a flexible manner when confronted with actions, attitudes and expectations of *representatives of foreign cultures*” (1991, p. 138) [my italics]. This definition does not only carry the essentialist understanding of culture as a discrete entity with the Other being a representative of a foreign culture, but also assesses interculturality in terms of *behaviours*, without any mention of the cognitive or emotional processes that are involved in how one achieves intercultural competency.

However, some competency approaches to intercultural learning in the literature go beyond the behaviour-based approach. My reading suggests that Byram’s (1997) intercultural competence framework is among the most discussed in

the literature on interculturality. Taking van Ek's (1986) work as his starting point, Byram (1997) proposed a framework of intercultural competence that is based on describing:

- **the attitudes:** curiosity, openness and readiness to suspend disbeliefs about others' cultures and belief in one's own culture,
- **knowledge:** knowledge of social groups and their products and practices of one's own and of interlocutor's country and the general processes of societal and individual interactions,
- **skills** (interpreting reading and discovering and interacting): ability to interpret and explain documents from others' cultures and compare them to one's own, the ability to acquire new knowledge of culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge, skills and attitudes under the constraints of real time communication and interactions,
- **and critical cultural awareness/political education:** the ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one's own and in other cultures and countries (Byram, 1997).

Byram's framework was produced explicitly for language learning and teaching (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009), yet the framework is not without its critics as it was rightly criticized for viewing cultures as discreet national entities (Baker, 2011). Also, Byram's dimensions (saviors) of intercultural communication have been seen as "sometimes contradictory and/or based on unconvincing claims" (Dervin, 2010b, section 3). Moreover, Byram's framework has been developed on the basis of previous theoretical research (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009). This means that it

follows a top-down approach that is not based on grounded, bottom-up empirical work derived from the teachers' experiences.

Many researchers view Byram's (1997) framework as a touchstone (Cf. Risager, 2007; Intercultural Competence Assessment project (INCA, 2009), Baker, 2011, and others). I will discuss Baker's framework to exemplify the type of work affected by Byram's framework. Baker (2011) criticized Byram's framework on the grounds that it views cultures as discreet national entities and undermines the fact that English is a global language that should not be tied to any specific cultures, like the UK and the US. Baker (2011) proposed a framework of intercultural awareness, based on Byram's (1997) critical cultural awareness framework. Baker (2011) attempted to provide a "non-essentialist" view of the dynamic and fluid relationship between culture and the English language as the lingua franca. He proposed some "practical" applications for his framework in the language classroom, yet his framework, just like Byram's (1997) was totally based on theory rather than on a field research. In other words, the "practicality" Baker aspires to needs to be tested against real life experiences of TESOL teachers. This is the real validation of any "practical" framework.

The literature based on presenting interculturality as a set of competencies has been attractive to policymakers as it provides a standardized version of learning about interculturality that provides outcomes that can be measured (Dervin, 2010b). As such, this perspective has led to interest in developing competency-based frameworks internationally, such as the Intercultural Competence Assessment (INCA) framework. The INCA project is a collaborative project that was funded by the Commission of European Communities. The project's aim was to come up with an effective framework of intercultural competence and tools to assess intercultural

competence to meet employers' needs (Kotthoff & Spencer-Oatey, 2009). The INCA competencies framework has six components with three levels each, basic, intermediate and full. The INCA project was mainly based on the work of Kuhlmann and Stahl's research (1998) and the work of Byram (1997) which are theoretical. The project can be viewed at <http://www.incaproject.org/index.htm>. The project is still being tested against empirical data needs (Kotthoff & Spencer-Oatey, 2009), so again this framework was based on a top-down approach.

These frameworks of competencies are reductive and simplistic as they reduce the complexities of interculturality into a set of competencies that are largely descriptive of certain outcomes. Dervin, et. al. (2011) provide an accurate description of such political frameworks of interculturality:

[I]n short, to sketch and analyse social experiences in their complexity—politics often expects simplified and reductive descriptions, capable of producing user's manuals, road maps and toolkits for managing the encounters between "cultures" which give the illusion that otherness can be deciphered. (p.12)

The discussion of some of the most prominent intercultural competency frameworks above reveals they are solely based on theory and assume a top-down approach that undermines the intercultural experiences the teachers go through and learn in. Moreover, Dervin & Kuoppala (in print) rightly regard intercultural competencies as mostly "polysemic" and heavily reliant "on problematic concepts such as (national) culture and identity" (p.19). This makes competency frameworks problematic as competencies are dependent on problematic concepts, situations and experiences (Kim, 1991), the assessors using these frameworks (Kotthoff & Spencer-Oatey, 2009) and the context in which these frameworks are used (Dervin, 2010b). Plus, these competency frameworks are based on the concept of culture, which is "ideological" (Holliday, 2011), yet none of the above frameworks takes this into consideration.

These observations concerning attempts to reduce intercultural learning to a set of intercultural competencies have resulted in a belief amongst many researchers that research on interculturality has to change (Machart, Lim, Lim & Yamato, 2013; Poutiainen, 2013). Many researchers have started to move away from learning-about to learning-through orientations to understanding experiences in intercultural encounters. Dervin et. al. (2011) explain why a process-oriented conceptualization of intercultural encounters is necessary. They contend:

In order for the 'intercultural' to be a part of the hybrid, the segmentary and the heterogeneous (Abdallah-Preteille, 2010: 15), it must necessarily be understood as process-based, dynamic -become that which we call interculturality- as to account for the complexity of social worlds that interest us as researchers. (p.18)

This process-oriented conceptualization of interculturality is necessary to capture the emergent and complex nature of people and their social worlds. As discussed earlier, the outcome of learning in intercultural encounters is emergent and complex itself (see 3.4). Despite this, all the above studies present the outcome of learning in intercultural encounters as eminent, intercultural competence. Intercultural competence comprising positive attitudes including openness to the Other, curiosity about the other, knowledge and skills comprising, critical cultural awareness (Byram,1997) and increased empathy, tolerance and respect for the Other (INCA, 2009) are widely discussed in the literature. In addition, the studies discussed above ignore the perspectives of the learners, who undergo intercultural experiences (the global TESOL educators in this study).

3.6.2. Learning *through* intercultural experiences.

This conceptualization of learning and interculturality is concerned with the process of intercultural learning. A process-oriented approach places “our conception of intercultural encounters [...] in the midst of a revolution” (Dervin, 2011, p.192). A process-oriented conceptualization emphasizes how to achieve intercultural competence rather than what competencies are required to achieve intercultural competence. Although often the emphasis is still on competence as an end goal, a process-oriented approach has been beneficial as it resulted in a number of conceptualizations that view intercultural learning as a process. Literature that examines people’s intercultural experiences has been conducted within three theoretical areas, “stress-and-coping”, “social identity” and “culture learning” (Ward cited in Kotthoff & Spencer-Oatey, 2009).

3.6.2.1. *Stress and coping studies.*

There are many studies that describe learning in intercultural encounters as psychological adaptation that includes stress and coping. Some of these studies are largely affected by the conceptualization of the process of learning in intercultural encounters as a gradual process with the ultimate outcome of assimilating into a new “culture” and the disregarding of an old “culture”. These assimilative studies resulted in a number of frameworks of broadly two schools of thought. Firstly, a unidirectional model (UDM) which describes acculturation as shedding off ethnic culture and adoption of the host culture and assumes that there is one intercultural learning outcome, assimilation (Gans, 1979; Gordon, 1964). UDM views the process of adaptation to a new culture on a continuum with immigrants heading in a linear manner towards assimilation. The second is a bidirectional model (BDM) (Berry, 2004, 2005) of acculturation, which separates the ‘home’ culture from the host culture and this is what the “bi” in “bidirectional” refers to. This model assumes that

there are four possible outcomes to acculturation separation, assimilation, marginalization and integration. However, all these schools of thought view “cultures” as discrete entities. For example, though Berry focuses on the process rather than the product of learning about interculturality, his conceptualization of culture retains the essentialist approach that is also present in the studies reviewed above (section 3.6.1), and so it is also insufficient for describing intercultural learning.

To address this shortcoming, other developmental models that approach learning in intercultural encounters as a process of forming hybrid identities were arrived at. My reading suggests that Bennett and Bennett’s (2004) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) is one of the most discussed frameworks in the literature. This model is based on research conducted in the 1970’s and 1980’s. It contains six developmental stages through which people move in a linear process towards intercultural sensitivity, from denial to integration. In the integration stage “the predominant experience of one’s self is expanded to include a broader repertoire of cultural worldviews.” (Bennett & Castiglioni cited in Bennett, 2013, p.98). Bennett (2013) suggests that “an expanded intercultural repertoire is simply an extension of contextual shifts that we make all the time, such as shifting between appropriate feelings and communication behaviour with one’s grandparent and one’s spouse.” (p.98). The six stages of DMIS are divided into three ethnocentric stages and three ethnorelative stages (see Figure 2 below). The model is based on the underlying principle that as people’s experience of cultural difference becomes more sophisticated, people’s competence in intercultural relations increases (Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003). This is related to how people interpret cultural difference and hence, constitutes a move away from the positivist conceptualization

underlying the competency frameworks discussed in section 3.6.1, into a more constructionist and hybrid understanding of culture. However, it is important to point out that it is not clear in this model how people move from one stage to another.

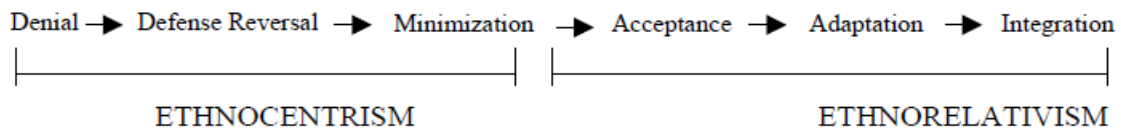


Figure 2. DMIS framework. Adopted from Hammer et. al. 2003

All the above discussed frameworks in this section, however, share the view of interculturality as psychological acculturation (Cf. Graves, 1967 for more on this view), the adaptive process to a new culture. Moreover, all the discussed frameworks so far are largely theoretical rather than evolving from empirical inquiry.

The first empirically grounded model that views learning as a process is Deardorff's Model of Intercultural Competence (2009). Deardorff's close and open-ended questionnaire and 3-round Delphi study sought to find a consensus amongst 23 intercultural experts (21 completed the Delphi study), and 24 administrators (completed the questionnaires) of the meaning of intercultural competence, its components and the way it is measured. The study was conducted in the US. As a result of her study, Deardorff defined intercultural competence as the "effective and appropriate behaviour and communication in intercultural situations" (Deardorff, 2009, p.xi). Moreover, Deardorff identified a number of components of intercultural competence and devised an intercultural competence measurement tool according to these components.

Deardorff's model represents a move-away from theoretical top-down frameworks and emphasizes the need to present a more grounded conceptualization of learning in intercultural encounters. The framework also views intercultural encounters as interactions between people in the real world rather than between systems or national cultures. "The acquisition of intercultural competence is a continual, dynamic process, one that moves through diverse dimensions while developing and enriching itself in an upward spiral" (Bertelsmann-Stiftung, 2006). There are four dimensions of intercultural competence. These are attitudes, intercultural knowledge and skills, reflection on intercultural issues (internal outcome), and constructive interaction (external outcome) of intercultural competence. The tool assumes that during intercultural encounters, people pass through these dimensions continuously. The more these dimensions are passed through and achieved, the higher people's competency becomes. However, Deardorff's study is largely bound by the US context, and as a result, it presents another "Western" framework based on a "Western" viewpoint (Bertelsmann-Stiftung, 2006). It also seems to ignore the learners' experiences.

The process-oriented research, discussed above, reflects a more complex understanding of intercultural learning than that reflected by competency frameworks (see 3.6.1) yet such research retains an emphasis on competence, which is viewed and measured as an "*individual and trait* concept" [italics in original] despite the repeated calls in the literature to include the relational aspect of intercultural learning (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009, p.44). Another significant shortcoming of all of the research studies discussed above is their complete exclusion of power relationships. Also, all these theories view the outcome of intercultural encounters as eminent, the development of intercultural competence. The study, reported in this thesis, aligns

itself with the process-oriented models in the sense that it also views intercultural learning as a complex process. However, my study considers power relationships of this process, as well, and sees the outcome of this process as emergent and diverse rather than eminent as reflected by the process-oriented models discussed above. My study conceptualization of intercultural learning is dialogic and relational rather than individual as in the process-oriented models discussed above. To account for the complexity of intercultural encounters, a new theory which attempts to take into account power relationships in theorizing intercultural learning was devised by Andreotti and Biesta as I will discuss below.

3.6.2.2. A poststructuralist understanding of learning through intercultural experiences.

Drawing on the work of Hannah Arendt (Cf. Biesta, 2010) and poststructuralist theories of subjectivity and alterity or difference, Vanessa Andreotti and Gert Biesta proposed a theoretical and methodological instrument, which “aims to qualify trends in outcomes of mobility schemes in terms of their potential to foster ‘genuine global-mindedness’” (EDGE, 2011). Global-mindedness is defined as the ability to:

- to see the bigger picture,
- to have awareness of own prejudices,
- to be open to new things,
- to have a willingness to interact with different kinds of people,
- to see difference as richness (EDGE, 2011, p.2).

The instrument is called the “TEV’ global mindedness scale. It is based on Arendt’s metaphor of travelling dispositions. Andreotti (2013) describes these dispositions as frames of mind that result from people’s engagement with social,

cultural and historic contexts, which condition but do not determine people’s minds. The instrument consists of three dispositions of travelling and one disposition of refusal to travel. The dispositions are represented by a caravan, a tent and a backpack. The refusal to travel metaphor is represented by a fenced house. “Each ‘travelling’ disposition has specific cognitive, affective and performative characteristics and offers a different scope of possibilities for recognition of and engagement with complexity, plurality, uncertainty, contingency and inequality (Andreotti, 2013, p.13). These cognitive, affective and performative characteristics are best summarized in Table 1 below:

Caravan	Tent	Backpack
Objectivism: there is only one true account of reality	Relativism: we have different perspectives on the same world	Pluralism: we all live in different worlds
Spectator: we always understand the other through our own knowledge, and we already know what the other is	Native: we can understand the world from the perspective of the other	Exposure: having one’s own thoughts and feelings in a location that is different from one’s own
Distance between self and other	Fusion of self and other	Encounter of self and other
Empowerment	Empowerment	Disarmament
Single understanding	Common understanding	Multiplication of understanding
Eliminating difference	Reducing different/plurality	Increasing difference/ plurality
Ethnocentrism	Ethnorelativism	Existentialism

Table 1. Comparing travelling dispositions. Adapted from Andreotti (2013, p.13).

Unlike the competencies conceptualization discussed above (see 3.6.1 and 3.6.2.1), dispositions do not result in definite behavioural patterns and they are not individual.

The instrument (see Table 1 above) suggests that human beings carry all these different dispositions (in Table 1 above) within them and use one or a combination of them when they engage with difference, in encounters, that are characterized by complexity, uncertainty, plurality, contingency and/or inequality. This is done unconsciously “in response to contextual characteristics and qualities that are both internal and external to ourselves” (Andreotti, 2013, p.13). These dispositions/metaphors are not progressive stages, either but are rather different positions, all of which can be appropriate in particular contexts (Andreotti, 2013).

This framework is relatively a recent one and I am not aware of any empirical studies that have employed it. Like many of the previous frameworks, it remains largely theoretical. However, this framework acknowledges the complexity of intercultural encounters and accounts for the importance power relationships play in these. It also acknowledges that people’s responses to complexity in intercultural encounters can relate to internal qualities, as well as external ones. Therefore, this framework can help me recognize the participants’ dispositions in this study and how such dispositions can affect the participants’ intercultural experiences.

3.6.3 Research on the global TESOL educators’ intercultural learning process.

The studies I will discuss, in this section, all emphasize the process of intercultural learning although they discuss the outcomes of this process, too. As I established that my study will be focused on the intercultural learning process and its emergent outcomes, I will examine some of the studies of teacher intercultural learning below. As I am interested in exploring *experienced* global TESOL educators’ experiences in intercultural encounters and the intercultural learning that occurs as a result of these experiences, I will now I critically evaluate the empirical

studies that are relevant to this topic. It is important to note that to date there has been limited research undertaken into this topic. One of the main reasons for this scarcity is that literature on English language teachers has been focused on pedagogical issues rather than on the teachers' intercultural experiences. As Neilsen (2009) suggests:

Most of the research into ELT has focused on its linguistic and methodological aspects, which are based on Western scientific traditions. The contributions and experiences of English language teachers themselves, especially their work in overseas contexts, have usually been overlooked [...]. [These] teachers teach a world language that contributes daily to the process of globalisation, and I therefore argue their work has important social and cultural ramifications. (p.xi)

Within the limited body of research that has looked at TESOL teachers' intercultural experiences, the majority of studies relate to the pre-service (Gleeson & Tait, 2012) or novice (Farrell, 2011) teachers' intercultural experiences rather than experienced TESOL teachers' intercultural experiences, which are the focus of this thesis (see 1.2).

I will discuss the studies concerned with the experienced global TESOL educators' intercultural learning from intercultural experiences under two subtitles according to the focus of the studies reviewed. The first subtitle will be concerned with research addressing intercultural learning as an individual developmental experience. Under the second subtitle, I will discuss intercultural learning as a social and relational experience. I will discuss one study under the first title as an example of studies that conceptualize intercultural learning as an individual developmental experience since my study does not align itself with these studies. As my study aligns itself with the studies that conceptualize intercultural learning as a social and relational experience, I will discuss all the studies that I am aware of in the literature,

under the second title, that subscribe to this conceptualization and examine the experienced global TESOL educators' intercultural learning. These are three studies.

3.6.3.1. Research on global TESOL educators' intercultural learning as an individual developmental experience.

This strand of research views interculturality and learning as an individual teacher developmental process. I present one study to illustrate this conceptualization of learning and interculturality out of the three studies, in the literature, that I am aware of. These are Schlein's (2006), Menard-Warwick's (2008) and Cheng's (2012) studies. I chose to review Schlein's (2006) in the thesis and the other two studies in Appendix XIV because Schlein's study employs a narrative approach to analyse the findings, which my study also employs (see Chapter 4) .

Schlein, a Canadian ESL teacher, used narrative inquiry to describe her sojourn in Japan which lasted for two years and her re-entry experience to the Canadian educational system. She discussed her intercultural learning in terms of psychological "acculturation" to the new "culture" of Japan. She based her narrative on comparisons between her approach to teaching in Japan and to teaching in Canada. She found that after working in Japan, she developed a sense of global identity which helped her teach in Japan and in Canada upon her return.

Schlein's research findings pinpoint a gap in the literature in discussing global TESOL educators' sojourn experiences and stress the urgent need to research these experiences. She sees that this future research can minimize the isolation global educators feel when they teach outside their countries and when they return home. Schlein's research findings contribute to an understanding of global TESOL educators' intercultural experiences. Despite the fact that Schlein described how Japanese and foreign "native-speaker" teachers collaborate to teach English in

Japan in her narrative, her research findings do not contain any mention of a relational or social dimension of her intercultural learning. In fact, her research views intercultural learning as a lone process of psychological identity-formation.

Researching interculturality and learning as an individual process downplays the role of context and the larger discourses within this context of intercultural learning that have a prominent role in learning. In this sense, the contribution such studies provide to an understanding of intercultural learning is limited to the individual only. This does not do justice to the complexity of intercultural learning.

3.6.3.2. Research on global TESOL educators' intercultural learning in situ.

This research considers interculturality and learning as social process where people and context are seen to have a prominent role in intercultural learning. I will discuss three studies that fall within this conceptualization of learning and interculturality and to what extent these studies conceptualization of learning in intercultural encounters as a social, dialogic and relational process resonates with the conceptual understanding of this study that I developed (see 3.4).

The first study was undertaken by Gleeson and Tait (2012). This qualitative case study examined a sojourn in New Zealand for a group of nine experienced Chinese teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL). The teachers were commissioned by their home institution to join a university program to develop their academic, linguistic, cultural and professional skills. The question the study sought to answer was, "How did a cohort of educators negotiate meaningful learning from their sojourn experience?". A community of practice theoretical lens was employed to interpret the sojourners' learning experience. The researchers collected the data three times through conducting focus groups, at the beginning and end of the

program and when the teachers returned home. The teachers reflected on their relational and social learning during the focus groups. The findings suggest that these participants were seen to have formed a transitory community in New Zealand to support their academic and social learning. This allowed the participants to assume unfamiliar roles during their study abroad experience and resulted in academic, linguistic, cultural and professional learning. The participants disbanded this community upon their arrival to Hong Kong as they no longer shared a common goal.

The researchers conclude that educators can design programmes using participants' shared resources by recognising the lifespan of a community. The study is enlightening as it examines the process of relationship formation at three critical stages of the educators' sojourn. These relationships allow for the creation of a context-based community of practice through which the learners achieve learning. This study reflects the importance that context and social relationships can bear on learning experiences. However, there is no mention of the role of power relationships that may have affected the learning the teachers have undergone during their sojourn.

The second study was undertaken by Neilsen (2009). Neilsen described a quasi-ethnographic 12-month case study he undertook to investigate the work and lives of nine "native-speaking" English language educators. These educators have lived and worked away from their countries for lengthy periods. He was interested to explore "the nature of the complexity of ESL as "work" in changing economic and cultural conditions and how this complexity is realized in the ELT everyday experiences of ELT teachers" (2009, p.9). Neilsen applied Appadurai's (1990) theorisation of global flows of people, ideas, images, technology and money, or

scapes, as a metaphor for the various dimensions of ELT as a framework for the case study analysis. The narratives of the interviews shed light on the personal, pedagogical and cultural dimensions of ELT work in “non-Western” countries. The findings show that the English language teaching profession in expatriate contexts creates Othering situations that motivate the teachers to consistently adapt and recreate their teaching identities. Neilsen suggests these teachers can be associated with ‘third cultures’ of new professionals, who could gain inner strength in being forced, by the critical experiences they faced to construct their own teaching philosophies and new pedagogic practices almost in isolation. The study presents a thorough examination of the dimensions and power relationships that are intertwined with ELT in a globalized world. In fact, there is a great emphasis paid to economic, ideology and power relationships in general, which helps discuss ELT within the context of globalization and sheds light on the factors, which affect the teachers’ intercultural experiences. It acknowledges the dynamic nature of “cultures”, yet it seems to associate “cultures” with nation-states, which can lead to stereotyping (see 3.5.1.1.1). The study acknowledges the impact of social relationships on the educators’ identity-formation process, yet it does not emphasise the important impact of these social relationships in the findings.

The third study was undertaken by Holliday (2010). In an exploratory qualitative study, Holliday sought to understand the relationship between the perception of cultural identity and nation. Two research questions were emailed to 28 participants, 18 were academics, of whom 14 were applied linguists. They represented a variety of nationalities and were living/ had lived in countries other than their own. The research questions were: “(1) What are the major features of your cultural identity? (2) What role does nation play in this?” (p.166). Holliday’s

study followed a postmodern approach as it acknowledged the influence of ideology. It used complexity theory as a theoretical lens and correspondence by email as a means of collecting qualitative data. The study weakness lies in the fact that data could have been biased by the choice of informants who were all middle-class and known to the researcher, a weakness that Holliday acknowledges in his report. Holliday found that despite the diversity of the 28 participants he recruited, they all talked about the complexity of their local cultural realities similarly. They all refused to be associated with any specific cultural types (for example, Asian). However, he found that nation was still viewed as an important “external force in conflict with the layered ‘cultural realities’ associated with personal life trajectories”. These realities included religion, ethnicity, class, appearance, age and sexuality as well as workplaces, skills, communities and artefacts such as clothing and housing, which as he says, “cluster around people as they move through life” (p.170) often in multiple national locations. These findings, Holliday saw resonated with Weber’s (Cf. 1964, 1968), social action theory which sees that the social structures of nations do not define cultural reality. As such, Holliday’s study presents a non-essentialist understanding of culture. His employment of complexity theory to understand the participants’ cultural realities reflects his understanding that the concept of culture is a complex one that involves many “layers” of analysis. The cultural realities he uncovered are illuminating as they may contribute to an understanding of the factors that affect the TESOL teachers’ intercultural experiences which is one aim of my study.

Collectively the three studies outlined above show a new direction in examining intercultural learning and identity construction of global TESOL teachers as a social, situated and complex process unfolding in the sociocultural world, and they

emphasize the prominent role of experience for learning in intercultural encounters. The emphasis of the last two studies acknowledge some factors that may affect TESOL teachers' intercultural learning within the contexts they were presented. My study seeks to build upon the efforts of these studies and other studies (Cf. Devitt, 2014; Rich 2011 in Appendix XIV) to uncover the intercultural learning that is afforded by global TESOL educators' intercultural experiences in global contact zones. My study extends the efforts presented in these studies in the sense that it emphasizes the dialogic and relational aspects of theorizing intercultural learning in situ. Moreover, my study extends the efforts of the previous studies by finding ways to prepare teachers for the realities of their work and support the experienced TESOL educators working in global contact zones. My study also does not build on the concept of identity, which is controversial but rather on the concept of positionality (Anthias, 2002).

3.7. Summary

In this chapter, I have put forward my conceptual understanding of the two key notions under examination in this thesis, learning and interculturality. I have presented my understanding of learning as an embodied, social, dialogic and experiential process with emergent outcomes that manifests itself in peoples' everyday actions and conversations. I have employed the works of Dewey, Bakhtin and Harre as theoretical lenses for this thesis as their collective work conceptualizes learning as a situated, experiential and dialogic phenomenon. Harre's work in particular, acknowledges the role of power in the learning process.

Moreover, I have presented my understanding of interculturality as an intersubjective process that is negotiated, fluid, dialogic and context-based. I have

discussed the role power relationships play in the process of learning in intercultural encounters. I have suggested that people meet as individuals in intercultural encounters not as representatives of their national cultures. These individuals derive from different sociolinguistic and sociocultural resources and learn from each other in global contact zones. I proposed that a Third Space understanding of interculturality combined with Anthias's "translocational positionalities" theory, which incorporates power relations to the conceptualization of Third Space can afford a more realistic conceptualization of learning in intercultural encounters. The Third Space is a fuzzy space where people who draw upon different sociocultural and sociolinguistic resources meet and learn from each other through dialogue and practice. I drew on some ideas of Bhabha and Anthias to conceptualize intercultural learning as a dynamic dialogic and experiential process with emergent outcomes that takes place between people in the sociocultural world where people learn together about themselves and the Other through dialogue and experience. The chapter also discussed the emergent literature that argues in favour of understanding culture in a non-essentialist way.

In addition, I have critically reviewed the theoretical and empirical literature on learning and intercultural encounters emphasizing the shift in the literature to an understanding of learning in intercultural encounters as a *process* with open-ended and emergent outcomes rather than pre-defined eminent positive outcomes. The positive intercultural learning outcomes, in the literature included, developing more awareness, openness, understanding and empathy to the Other. As indicated in Chapter 1, one of my aims is to see how far these outcomes apply in this study and what other sorts of learning outcomes might occur. The literature review suggests that there is a need to research experienced TESOL educators' intercultural

experiences using a sociocultural and experiential approach, which is currently under-represented in the literature. In addition, there is a need to conduct grounded research to balance out the many theoretical studies that examine TESOL educators' learning in intercultural encounters. There is also a need to acknowledge and legitimize the global TESOL educators' ways of knowing through experience (Johnson, 2006). Finally, there is a need to acknowledge the role of power in this learning process in intercultural encounters. This has implication for the study methodology, which informed by the issues discussed above, needs to allow for the global TESOL educators to discuss their experiences and reflect on them to interpret them. This is why the study will follow an interpretative qualitative rather than quantitative design. Using narrative interviews as the method for this study will allow the global TESOL educators to discuss their experiences in their complexities in a temporal and situated manner and reflect on the macro and micro factors that they deem to affect these experiences.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will present the research questions and the study design. A research design is a plan and a procedure that comprises the decisions from general theoretical perspectives to data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2009). Chapter 4 will provide an overview of the interpretive theoretical perspective and its suitability for my study. The chapter will examine the methodology, data collection and analysis procedures, my position as a researcher and issues of ethicality and trustworthiness of the study. The chapter will close with the limitations of the study design.

4.2. The Research Questions

The questions which this study seeks to address are as follows:

- What experiences of interculturality, in Saudi Arabia, do global TESOL educators relate?
- What factors affect the global TESOL educators' experiences of interculturality in Saudi Arabia?
- What intercultural learning occurs as a result of these educators' experiences of interculturality?

4.3. Theoretical Perspectives and their Role in Research Study Design

There are different research theoretical perspectives that underpin approaches to educational research. These perspectives are expressed in the literature in different

terms, namely, “paradigms” (Lincoln & Guba, 2000), “theoretical perspectives” (Crotty, 2010) and “worldviews” (Creswell, 2009).

I will be referring to these as “theoretical perspectives”. The term “paradigm” is used to refer to the general worldview which a research approach is informed by (Oliver, 2004) and the term “worldview” is used to refer to the researcher’s broad “orientation about the world and the nature of research” (Creswell, 2009, p.6). The term “theoretical perspective” is used to refer to the “more specific assumptions made in terms of conducting research” (Oliver, 2004, p.28) that are informed by the broader philosophical worldviews. One reason I think “theoretical perspectives” is more suitable is because the term “paradigm” is largely associated with the view that research traditions are mutually exclusive. This view has been largely contested lately as researchers demonstrated that these traditions of research could be combined in many different ways using mixed-methodologies and mixed-methods (Denzin, 2009).

Theoretical perspectives inform the following elements, ontologies, epistemologies, methodologies and methods (Cohen et. al., 2010). These elements are the “building blocks” of any theoretical perspective (Grix, 2010) and are the fundamental elements of the process of any research (Crotty, 2010). Ontological assumptions are concerned with the nature of the social phenomena under investigation. In other words, ontological assumptions are concerned with asking the question, “what is” the nature of reality? (Crotty, 2010). Epistemological assumptions are concerned with the relationship between the known and the knower (Burrell & Morgan, 1979/2005). They are concerned with “meaningful reality” and that is, at times, hard to separate from ontological assumptions (Crotty, 2010, p.10). Epistemological assumptions are concerned with asking the question, how do

humans come to know what they know? Ontological assumptions ask, what is reality (Crotty, 2010)? Ontology and epistemology are the basic components of any research on which the research methodologies and methods are built (Cohen et al., 2010). Therefore, it is necessary that researchers make the ontology and epistemology clear in their research reports to inform the research readers about the researcher's position and to avoid criticism for omitting aspects that do not fit into the researcher's ontology (Grix, 2010). Methodological assumptions are strategies researchers use to design their studies. They comprise theoretical explanation behind the use of certain strategies, and how these strategies relate to the outcomes of the research conducted (Crotty, 2010). Methodologies are informed by epistemologies and ontologies. Methodologies inform the methods to be used in research (Crotty, 2010). Methods are the systematic techniques, procedures and tools that researchers use for data collection and analysis (Cohen et al., 2010).

The main theoretical perspectives are the positivistic/scientific, critical/postmodernist, and interpretive/naturalistic (Grix, 2010). The positivistic theoretical perspective is supposedly value-free; it objectifies reality and argues for the researcher to be a detached observer from the phenomenon studied. Quantitative methods are largely used within this research tradition. These are based on numerical values. Positivistic research is not concerned with understanding the individual, but rather with generalization of findings (Cohen et. al., 2010). The critical theoretical perspective, on the other hand, derives from critical theory and seeks to uncover power relations in the social world and to challenge these relations (Cohen et. al., 2010). Political, social, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values are seen to shape reality, which crystallized over time (Husse-Biber & Leavy, 2004). The epistemology in this tradition is "subjective in the sense that values mediate inquiry"

(Guba, 1990, p.25). Knowledge is constructed through inquiry, which entails a dynamic interaction with the environment. Knowing and being are seen to be the same (Husse-Biber & Leavy, 2004). The methods used to collect and analyze data are qualitative or mixed-methods. Qualitative data are non-numerical data based on prose while mixed-methods can be both numeric and prose. Finally, the interpretive theoretical perspective “*looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social world* [italics in original]” (Crotty, 2010, p.67). Even though it is epistemologically attractive to devise three distinctive theoretical perspectives, i.e. positivist, interpretive and critical, such division is simplistic as “there are a multitude of interests and ways of understanding the world and it is simply artificial to reduce these to three” (Cohen et. al., 2010, p.30). It follows from this that researchers need to draw upon any theoretical perspective or a combination of perspectives that best suit the purpose of their study (Crotty, 2010).

This thesis seeks to understand global TESOL educators’ lived intercultural experiences, the factors that affect these experiences and the intercultural learning that these experiences generate. I see that the interpretive theoretical perspective as suitable to explore these things as it allows for an emphasis on the individual experiences and the multiple realities these participants bring to the research. My study is also informed by critical theoretical perspectives in so far as it acknowledges power relations and the effects these have on intercultural experiences although the study does not attempt to challenge these power relations.

4.3.1. Interpretivism.

Interpretivism, also known as “naturalism”, “alternative paradigm research” and “the qualitative approach to educational research” (Ernest, 1994), originated

from Weber's work (1864-1920) that was fundamental in the establishment of the social science modern identity as an independent area of inquiry (Kim, 2008). Weber's philosophy was concerned with "Verstehen". This stresses the importance of understanding required in social sciences in contrast to "Erklären", or explaining, which uses causality as in research within natural sciences or research which adopts a positivistic theoretical perspective (Crotty, 2010). "Verstehen" stresses the importance of "acting and interacting" of human beings in their context (Crotty, 2010). Interpretivism draws upon and encompasses phenomenology, symbolic interaction (Cohen et al., 2010), hermeneutics and pragmatism (Crotty, 2010). The collective premise these philosophies emphasize is the importance of everyday experiences and the importance of people's interpretations of these experiences in empirical research. These philosophies are all based upon "Verstehen" or the interpretive theoretical perspective to human inquiry as we understand it today (Crotty, 2010).

From an interpretive theoretical perspective, there are multiple realities of social phenomena, which are intangible mental constructions. Truth is neither out there in nature nor absolute. It is rather informed (Cohen et al., 2010), socially constructed and time and context based (Crotty, 2010). Meaning is constructed only when consciousness engages with the world and the objects in the world (Crotty, 2010). The researcher and the phenomenon investigated are seen as interrelated, so the findings can be constructed (Guba, 1990). Thus, inquiry is affected by the researcher's values; the researcher generates rather than tests hypotheses (Cohen et al., 2010). Thus, researchers are seen as the research instruments (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The constructions can be elicited only through interaction between and among the researcher and the respondents (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004). The

methods used in interpretive research are largely qualitative rather than quantitative (Crotty, 2010). Meaning is created in research projects through employing hermeneutical methodologies (Flick cited in Cohen et. al, 2010). Interpretive studies employ a double hermeneutic interpretive process as both the participants and the researcher are involved in the interpretation of the participants' accounts of their lived experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Interpreting qualitative data comprises two stages. In the first stage, the participants try to make their own interpretations of their experiences; in the second stage, the researcher tries to interpret the participants' interpretations of their lived experiences (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). Interpretation is focused on interactions and the language of participants (Cohen et. al, 2010).

The interpretive theoretical perspective is suitable to be employed in my study because the TESOL educators' intercultural experiences explored are not absolute objects that are external but are mental constructions. The different educators can generate multiple realities because of their different ways of thinking. This matches the conceptualization of learning as dialogic and experiential (See 3.4) and calls for qualitative methods that foreground the language of interaction.

There are many methodologies that can be employed in interpretive research. The collective purpose of these is to understand, explain and describe people's lived experiences and the meaning people make of these experiences (Merriam, 2009). Examples of these are case study, phenomenology, narrative inquiry, grounded theory and ethnography designs (Creswell, 2009). However, the most common approach used in the interpretive theoretical perspective in practical fields of study, such as education, is "a basic interpretive study" which can be labelled "*basic qualitative study* [italics in original]" (Merriam, 2009, p.22). For this reason and some

other reasons (discussed in 4.4), a *basic qualitative study* design will inform my study. I will use the term interpretative qualitative study to refer to the methodology rather than *basic interpretive study* or *basic qualitative study*, so the methodology is not confused with the theoretical perspective or the methods used in the study.

4.4. Interpretative Qualitative Study and its Suitability for my Inquiry

An interpretative qualitative study is one that is informed by the general aspects of the interpretive theoretical perspective described above and uses qualitative methods to data collection. An interpretative qualitative study is a strategy of inquiry “for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2009, p.4). Thus, an interpretative qualitative study allows for in-depth exploration of under-researched phenomena (Merriam, 2009). The central focus of interpretative qualitative studies is the everyday actions and people’s interactions. Cohen et. al (2010) describe these actions as “behaviour[s]-with-meaning” that are “intentional... and as such future oriented” (p.21). The research process in interpretative qualitative studies includes emergent procedures and questions, data collection in participants’ settings, inductive data analysis starting from specific events to general themes and the researcher’s interpretation of the meaning of the collected data (Creswell, 2009). The aim is to sketch a complex picture of the focus of the study including “identifying the many factors involved in a situation” (Creswell, 2009, p.176), which is one of the aims of this thesis.

The sample of participants is purposefully selected to help the researcher arrive at an understanding of the research problem and answer the research questions (Creswell, 2009). The sample used in qualitative studies is usually small

to allow for an in-depth investigation of the phenomena under study rather than form generalizations about the results though theoretical generalizations are feasible in qualitative studies (Patton, 2002). There are many methods used to collect and analyse data in interpretative qualitative studies. Among these are interviews, observations, text and image documents (Creswell, 2009). Interviews, however, are considered a major method to collect data in the form of participants' accounts and stories in qualitative studies but written material can be used, too (Cohen et al., 2010, Flick, 2007; Kvale, 2007). For these reasons, interviews will be used as the main method for collecting data in this thesis. Kvale (2007) identifies three main ways to collect and analyse data in qualitative research, one of these is: "By analysing experiences of individuals or groups. Experiences can be related to biographical life histories or to (everyday professional) practices; they might be addressed by analysing everyday knowledge, accounts and stories (p. x)". In this study, interviews and personal correspondence will be used to collect rich qualitative data; the reasons for this choice will be discussed in the following sections. In the section that will follow, I will describe the study design. Firstly, I will describe the research setting and selection of participants and then move to outline the research methods used and data collection procedures.

4.5. The Research Setting and Selection of Participants

This study was carried out with experienced TESOL educators working in three main cities in Saudi Arabia, Dammam/Dhahran, Jeddah and Riyadh. The Saudi Arabian setting is described in detail in Chapter 2. Figure 3 below shows the steps I followed for recruiting and sampling the participants.

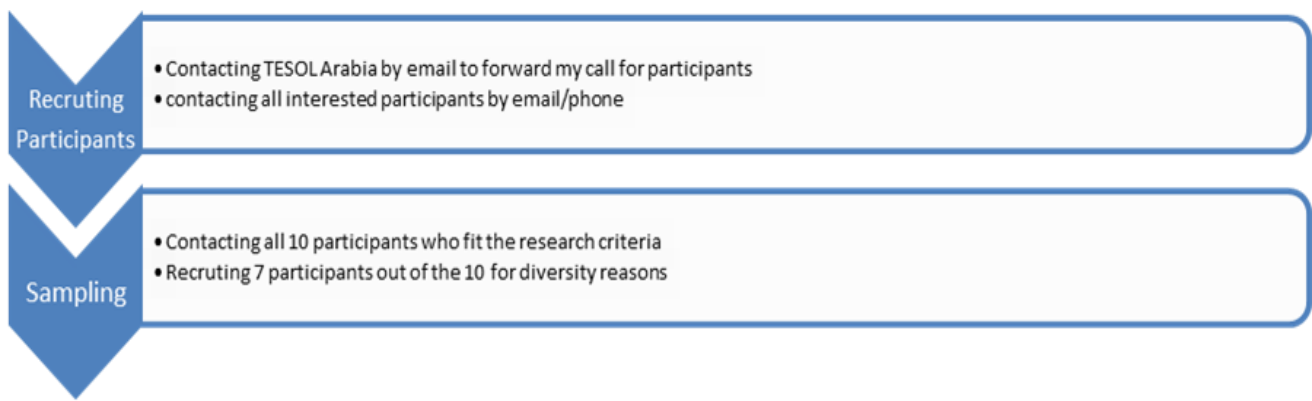


Figure 3. An overview of the sampling procedure.

I recruited the participants through emailing TESOL Arabia (an association that organizes conferences, exhibitions, training and networking events for TESOL educators in the Gulf Region) regarding my research. I requested they forward a description of my research with a call for participants to their emailing list (See Appendix I). In my email, I specified the criteria for this research, the participants needed to be expatriate (not Saudi or Arab) experienced TESOL teachers, who have three years plus of work experience in Saudi Arabia.

I chose TESOL educators that are not Saudi because the focus of this thesis is on global (expatriate) teachers. I chose TESOL educators that are not Arab because I am an Arab TESOL educator, and I wanted to explore intercultural experiences from a different perspective than mine (See 1.3.1 for the aims). This sampling strategy was adopted to allow the participants to add to my understanding on the topic of this study as participants can be selected for their ability “to contribute to the researcher’s understanding of the phenomenon under study (Merriam, 2010, p.105). The reason I chose participants with three years of experience is because a teacher who has three plus years of experience is considered an experienced teacher (Washington Central Supervisory Union, n.d). Following Senior (2006), an “experienced teacher” in this thesis, refers to teachers who worked as teachers for many years, who are not pre-service or novice rather than to teachers who have

expertise. An additional reason for choosing experienced teachers was to add to the still limited understanding of *experienced* global TESOL teachers' intercultural experiences (see 1.2). However, I wish to acknowledge that I recognize that experience is different from expertise (Tsui, 2003). As the debate of who an experienced teacher is, is beyond the scope of this thesis, I am strictly using the adjective "experienced" to refer to the number of years a teacher has worked as a teacher rather than to the teacher's expertise.

To my surprise, the response from participants was huge suggesting that global TESOL educators in the Gulf region felt a strong need to share their experiences. Initially, twenty educators expressed their wish to participate but these also offered to connect me to other TESOL educators that fitted the criteria of my research, who they said were also interested to be interviewed. Despite the fact that I thanked the teachers and explained I had enough participants, other teachers contacted me by email expressing their wish to take part in my research and offered me lists of names with contact details of yet more teachers. The total number of the TESOL educators, who expressed an interest in participating in this research reached fifty. This created two dilemmas for me. The first was an ethical one. I certainly felt that the teachers, whom I would select to participate in my study, were privileged over the teachers whom I would not select. However, I knew that, as an individual researcher, I could not have possibly conducted interviews with all the teachers interested in this research. Yet because many of the participants explicitly expressed their wish to learn about the findings of my research, I would ensure to share the findings with all the educators, who expressed their wish to participate. The other dilemma I faced related to whom to select and what contribution those I did not select might have made to my study. Unfortunately, this dilemma was not

easily resolvable.

I decided to select participants from out of the pool of 20 people who initially replied to my email as ten people satisfied the criteria for this research. I selected the seven participants out of the ten that were seen to represent diversity in terms of such things as gender and nationality among other things (see Table 2 below), which were likely to impact on their orientation and engagement and positioning within intercultural encounters in Saudi Arabia. The reason for this purposive sampling decision was to allow for an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon from multiple perspectives rather than to form generalizations about it (Patton, 2002). Table 2 below provides details of these seven participants. More details of each participant are provided in the pen-portraits I developed for each participant (see appendix III). Pen-portraits were developed through an analysis of the participants' interviews to make the participants "more alive and present" in the write-up (King & Horrocks, 2010, p.139).

pseudonym	Nationality	Degree & Qualification	Age	Gender	Experience in Saudi Cities	Experience in Saudi/Outside Saudi (No. of years)	Workplace in Saudi Arabia
Julie	UK	PhD in progress TESOL	50	Female	Riyadh/ Khobar	About 4 years /13 years	1 university and British Council in 2 cities in Saudi
Ameen	US	BA	61	Male	Jeddah	6 years /30 years	2 Postsecondary institutions
Marianne	Mauritius	PhD in Applied Linguistics	35	Female	Riyadh	6 years/3 years and a half	2 universities and 1 institution Postsecondary
James	Canada	BA IN International Business, TESOL courses	30	Male	Khobar	4 years / None	1 Preparatory program in postsecondary institution
Esha	Pakistan	Masters in Applied Linguistics	34	Female	Khobar/ Dhahran	13 years / limited	2 universities and 1 preparatory program in postsecondary institution
Ali	Canada	BA in English	32	Male	Riyadh/ Dhahran	5 years/ 2 years	1 postsecondary vocational preparatory program
Eleanor	UK	BA publishing and education and DELTA	48	Female	Jeddah/ Riyadh	4 years/ 7 years	British Council/ 1 university (past)/ freelance tutor

Table 2. Some background information about the participants.

All participants' names are pseudonyms to protect their identity. Some Arabic names are given to "Western" teachers because these teachers changed their "Western" names into Arabic names during their sojourn in Saudi Arabia. Though the nationality of each participant is mentioned, I wish to emphasize, following Holliday (2010) that I chose to mention these nationalities because "the diversity of the interviewees, which was important for the purpose of the study, could only... be represented by the atomistic listing by nationality above" (p.167). Thus, I did not view nationality as the starting point of departure for my analysis or consider it the most

significant factor that affects the TESOL educators' experiences though I was aware that the findings could prove otherwise.

4.6. Data Collection Procedure

There were many steps that I followed to collect the data. Figure 4 below shows the procedure I followed to collect the data. As these steps are mainly related to the interviews, I will discuss them under the relevant section on interviews in this study.

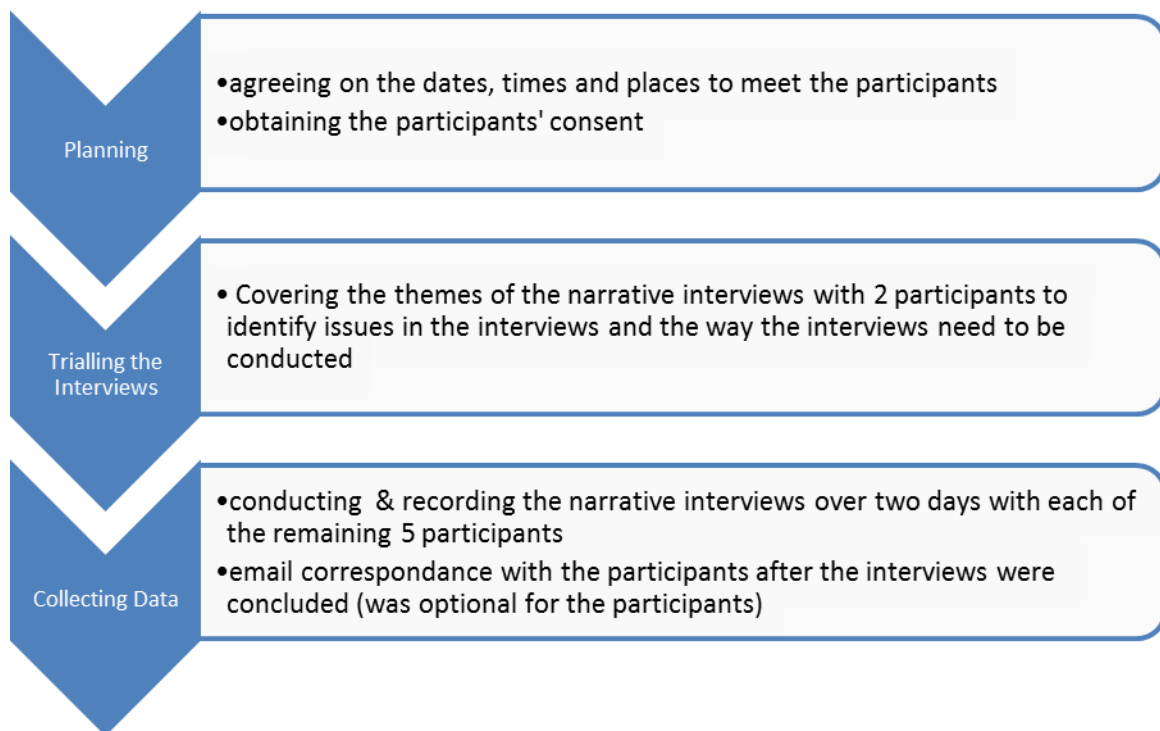


Figure 4. An overview of data collection procedure.

4.6.1. Data collection methods.

I will turn now to a discussion of the methods I used for data collection. There are two methods used to collect the data in this study, narrative interviews and

personal correspondence with the participants. While the narrative interviews are the main method to collect data, correspondence generated a secondary source of data.

Data Collection Methods	Frequency of Data Collection
narrative interviews (main)	2 interviews with each participant 2x7
correspondence with the participants (optional and secondary)	The frequency is different for each participant as this was optional for the participants.

Table 3. Data collection Methods & Frequency.

4.6.1.1. Interviews

Interviews are used in research because they are “powerful” implements for researchers (Cohen et. al., 2010). They allow for flexibility in collecting data and for (co)construction of knowledge (Laing, 1967). They allow the participants to detail their interpretations of their world (Cohen et. al., 2010). Kvale (2007) regards an interview as an “inter-view”, a socially situated interchange between the researcher and the participants that allows for a central human interaction on a topic of mutual interest to the end of generating knowledge.

Although interviews were regarded as an unsuitable method of collecting data for research from the scientific positivists’ perspective, interviews nowadays, are considered among the most suitable and convenient methods to collect rich data in qualitative studies for the many benefits they offer (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). However, researchers warn of power asymmetry that can be created during interviews between interviewers and their interviewees (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Interviewers have more power than their interviewees as interviewers choose the

topics and ask the questions while the interviewees have no choice over the topics chosen in the interviews and usually do not ask their interviewer questions (Chase, 2005; Jones, Torres & Arminio, 2014). Other methods where the interviewer acts as a facilitator of a discussion between interviewees in focus groups can be employed to overcome the power asymmetry (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). However, focus groups could not have been employed as a method in my study because the participants live in different cities in Saudi Arabia that are far away from each other. Also, the rather conservative context of Saudi Arabia creates a challenging atmosphere (See Chapter 2) that would affect the openness of the discussion and the quality of the data collected or result in harming the participants who may discuss sensitive data. This is why I will opt for other ways to deal with power asymmetry that I will discuss under 4.6.1.1.2 below.

There are many types of interviews. Typical interviews are open-ended dialogues with one interviewee and are conducted face-to-face (Flick, 2007). Interviews can be of three types, structured, unstructured and semi-structured (Cohen et. al., 2010). Interview questions can be open-ended or close-ended based on the interview schedule (Creswell, 2009). Structured interviews strictly follow a set of pre-determined questions in a specific pre-set order in the interviewing process (Kvale, 2007). These interviews are largely employed in quantitative studies. Semi-structured interviews are those, which provide prompts to be discussed. The questions themselves and the order of the discussion of the prompts differ according to the situation (Kvale, 2007). Unstructured interviews are those that do not follow any set of predetermined questions, order or prompts. The questions emerge during the interviews themselves (Flick, 2007). Semi-structured and unstructured interviews are largely used in qualitative studies (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Recently,

however, other special types of interviews that draw on the general guidelines of qualitative the semi-structured and unstructured types have been widely used (Flick, 2007; Kvale, 2007). Among these are the narrative interviews done face-to-face, by telephone or via the Internet (Flick, 2011). Narrative interviews were employed in my study.

4.6.1.1.1. *Narrative interviews.*

Narrative interviews are a method of inquiry whereby researchers ask interviewees to tell stories about their lives or their experiences in relation to a given research topic (Flick, 2007). Narrative interviews help researchers discover “the subjective views of participants” (Flick, 2011, p.113). Therefore, employing narrative interviews, in this study, will allow the participants to tell stories about their intercultural experiences, which will allow me to answer my research questions (see 4.2 for the questions). Employing narrative interviews will also allow me to understand the global TESOL educators’ experiences from their own points of view and the ways they position themselves in these experiences. Also, using interviews resonates with the interpretative theoretical perspective I employed in this study.

A set of prescribed interview questions are not typically employed in narrative interviews as the main purpose is to invite the participants to tell their lived experiences/life histories (as related to the phenomenon researched) in as extended and coherent account as possible (Flick, 2011). It is the researcher’s task to elicit stories from the participants and probe them when needed (Flick, 2011). Recounting stories is a relational exercise in which the participants and the interviewer interact in specific cultural and historical contexts, “which are essential to interpretation” (Riessman, 2001, p.697). For this reason, the researcher needs to be mindful of

how her/his interaction with the participant affects the interviews to adjust the interview questions or interviewing methodology as needed (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). These interviews can be guided by a theoretical lens or perspective (Creswell, 2006).

Narrative interviewing may contain two stages; the first stage is the telling of stories; the second is probing during which narratives that were not completed in the first stage can be completed (Kvale, 2007), for example, the researcher can conduct two interviews with the same individuals on two different days and use the time between the interviews to identify underdeveloped narratives or points of interest in the first interviews to probe the participants on. This is how I conducted the interviews in this study. Planning and carrying out Internet interviewing is very similar to face-to-face interviewing, except that the interviewer needs to make sure that everyone involved in the interview is able to use the chosen technology and is comfortable using it (Salmons, 2010).

The Internet has become a part of people's everyday life and as such using it for conducting interviews is feasible (Flick, 2009). Using the online video/audio conferencing programs, like Skype, to conduct interviews has many benefits; amongst these are convenience (for the researcher and/or the participants) and the ability to conduct global research at a low cost (Salmons, 2010). Salmons (2010) argues that with the array of free synchronous software available that allows for audio, video and text interaction, the difference between online and face-to-face interviewing is diminishing. Skype, in particular, forms an attractive option for conducting online interviews, though at times the quality of the image may be affected and respondents can go offline (Cohen et. al, 2010).

For the purpose of systematic analysis, interviews are often transcribed (Flick, 2007). If interviews are conducted via the Internet, like via Skype and other forms of simultaneous Internet video/audio conferencing software, then special programs can be used to record these interviews (Flick, 2011). Many of these can be found on the Skype website apps page. In this study, I conducted interviews with two participants over Skype and recorded these using Supertintin as it was the highest rated Skype-recording software when I conducted the interviews.

4.6.1.1.2. Narrative interviews in this study

Well-planned interviews are crucial to ensure that areas and aspects relevant to the study are covered by the researcher. Preparing an interview guide which includes tentative narrative themes and familiarizing the participants that they need to “recount specific situations” are useful (Flick, 2011, p.115). To ensure the aspects relevant to the study were covered, I prepared an interview guide with themes to be consulted. The themes were not followed in the order presented in the interview guide during the interviews, but rather each interviewee’s lead was followed as I tried to cover the themes in the order they emerged in each participant’s story. Kvale (2007, p.14) argues that the researcher should construct and analyse any qualitative interview according to “what the researcher is interested in knowing”. My conceptual framework (see 3.7) and my research questions (see 4.2) informed the interview guide themes (See Appendix IV).

The interviews were conducted over a span of eight weeks, between June and July. I chose not to disclose the year the research was conducted to ensure the anonymity of the participants as revealing the year may make some participants identifiable. Each participant was requested to choose the time, space he/she

preferred to be interviewed as the place and time of the interviews are important for the success of the interviews (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p.110). The places chosen were comfortable, safe, quiet and interruption-free for the participants. The participants' written consents were obtained before any data collection took place in accordance with qualitative research guidelines (Creswell, 2009). The participants were informed via email (Appendix II) that two interviews would be conducted with them. It was made clear to them that the first interviews would require an hour of their time. They were informed that follow-up interviews may be required to develop underdeveloped areas in the first interviews. The participants were informed that these would last for half an hour. The second interviews were also means of checking on my understanding of areas discussed in the first interviews. I called and emailed the participants before the interviews and provided them with some guidelines (see Appendix II). These guidelines detailed some of the techniques that may confuse the participants during the interviews.

I trialled these interview with two of the participants, whose accounts were included in the data analysis along with the other 5 participants as their interviews generated rich data. I trialled the themes of the interviews (see Appendix IV) and the way I followed to conduct the interviews, which was conversational and informal. The themes proved to be comprehensive as they generated rich data. The way I followed was also suitable. While trialling the interviews, I discovered that the two participants continued relating details about their stories in a deeper manner after a brief pause, which seemed to signal the end of their stories. When I also paused before I asked the next question, they had the chance to relate more details. Pausing briefly when the participants paused before moving to the next question helped me elicit richer

data. This helped me improve the way I conducted the interviews with the five remaining participants.

Two interviews were conducted with each participant, on two consecutive days to allow me time to read through the first interviews and pinpoint underdeveloped narratives and areas to probe the participants on. The first set of interviews lasted for an hour to two hours each. The second set of interviews lasted for half an hour to an hour with each participant. The participants' choice of the place where interviews took place was honoured. Hence, some interviews were conducted over Skype (as this was convenient to 2 participants who claimed they used Skype regularly), some were conducted in cafes (3 participants), one interview was conducted at the participants' workplace and one was conducted at one participant's home.

Following Kvale (2007) I tried to establish rapport with the participants before the interviews started and to create an atmosphere of trust so the participants feel free and safe to relate private events. Once I felt they were comfortable, I started the interviews. As Clandinin and Connelly (2000) point out, the way the interviewer interacts with the interviewee affects the relationship and consequently "the ways participants respond and give account of their experiences" (p.110). Bearing this in mind, during the interviews, I tried to use pauses effectively to allow the participants space and time to express themselves in accordance with qualitative interviewing techniques. I tried to avoid questions that are leading. I tried to prompt and probe when necessary. I tried to avoid authoritative or demanding tones, as well. Given the imbalance in power between interviewers-interviewees in an interview situation that was discussed by many researchers (Cf. Chase, 2005; Jones, Torres & Arminio, 2014), I opted to shift my position to that of a listener to the participants whom were

positioned as the narrators in this study (Chase, 2005). This empowered the participants and allowed them to relate their stories at ease. While interviewing the participants, I was mindful that the participants and I belong to different sociocultural backgrounds, and how this may affect the participants' discussion of cultural issues that they may believe I, as an Arab, share with people in Saudi Arabia. When I felt this was the case, I encouraged the participants to voice their opinions freely and allowed them extra time to relate their stories. Twelve and a half hours of interviews were recorded. The recordings were clear, without interruptions during the interviewing time when research data was collected.

4.6.1.2. Personal correspondence.

Personal correspondence was a second method of data collection that I employed with some of the participants. I sent each participant an email after the interviews requesting them to write to me even briefly about other events/insights related to their intercultural experience that we may have overlooked in the interviews and the significance they attach to these. This was optional. Only two participants wrote to me about such experiences. Others chose not to respond to my email. Six participants sent me personal correspondence or requests to connect with me over social networking sites either immediately after the interviews or months afterwards. The correspondence they sent me was sometimes not related to the prompt I sent them, but it was rather wishes to keep in touch, updates about their lives and opinions about our interviews and the research topic. I asked for their permission to use relevant correspondence in my study and they granted me such permission.

4.7. Data analysis procedure.

4.7.1. The approach to narrative analysis adopted.

Stories as a form of qualitative data may be analysed in many ways depending on the way narrative is defined, including, textually, culturally, conversationally, historically/politically or performatively performing identities, which are “situated and accomplished in social interactions” (Riessman, 2001, p.701). As the focus of my study is on experience that I understand as a transaction as explained by Dewey (see 3.3.1), I see that an “experience-centred” (Phoenix, 2008, pp.65-66) approach is suitable to analyse the data I collected. Squire et. al. (2008) suggest that the experience-centred approach “assumes that narratives:

- are sequential [in time] and meaningful,
- are definitively human,
- ‘re-present’ experience, reconstituting it; as well as presenting it,
- display transformation or change” (p.42).

The experience-centred approach to narrative may be about the person narrating the story or about other people; it may connect the present to the past and the future; it concentrates on the main themes in the story rather than on structures, and it can address a turning point in life or a thematic life biography in relation to a phenomenon or a career (Squire et. al., 2008). This approach to analysing the data resonates well with the understanding of learning as experiential and dialogic (see 3.5). As such, the “experience-centred” approach to analysis will inform the data analysis procedure in this thesis.

I see that following the steps outlined by Clandinin and Connelly (2000) as suitable for the analysis of the data as Clandinin and Connelly also subscribe to the

experience-centred approach to narrative discussed above. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) also align themselves with Dewey's conceptualization of experience in understanding narratives, which this thesis employs (see 3.4). They align their conceptualization of narrative analysis with Dewey's "notions of situation, continuity, and interaction" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p.50), which are core elements of the conceptualisation of intercultural learning that this thesis is interested to explore. Based on the work of Dewey, Clandinin and Connelly see narrative as comprising, "*personal and social (interaction); past, present, and future (continuity); combined with the notion of place (situation)*" [italics in original] (2000, p.50).

Clandinin & Connelly (2000), describe three stages of data analysis based on their conceptualization of narrative. First, researchers generate field texts (data collected in the research field, e.g. from interviews, and/or in a written form). Second, researchers transform the field texts into research texts. Although they propose two steps to analysing the data, Clandinin and Connelly (2000), see that in reality, researchers need to write interim texts before their research texts are composed. These interim texts, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) suggest, can take many forms, including "interpretive accounts" (p.134). According to them, these accounts act as a transition between field texts and research texts. Clandinin & Connelly (2000) see that the function of interim texts is to help define the phenomena and refine the research texts. In the next section, I will discuss how the data analysis in my study is informed by the experience-centred approach and Clandinin and Connelly (2000) analysis guidelines.

4.7.2. Narrative analysis procedure in this study.

The narrative analysis procedure consisted of many stages, which were contemporaneous with the data collection process (see 4.6). I tried to transcribe each interview as soon as I conducted it. This is because narrative interviews generate a large amount of oral data to be transcribed, which poses a challenge for the researcher (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). To meet this challenge, I started transcribing each of the interviews as soon as I collected it. I repeatedly listened to the recordings to accurately record the participants' words. I was transcribing some participants' interviews while I was still collecting data from interviewing other participants. Also, once I collected data from 2 interviews and correspondence from the same participant, I started reading through the data while still collecting data from the other participants. There are four main stages that I followed to analyse the data. These were preparing the collected data, or the field texts as Clandinin and Connelly (2000) refer to it, converting field texts into interim research texts and then final research texts (narrative accounts). Then I undertook analysis of these research texts and identified 4 of these to illustrate different intercultural learning trajectories observed in the narrative cases. For an overview of the data analysis procedure, see Figure 5 below.

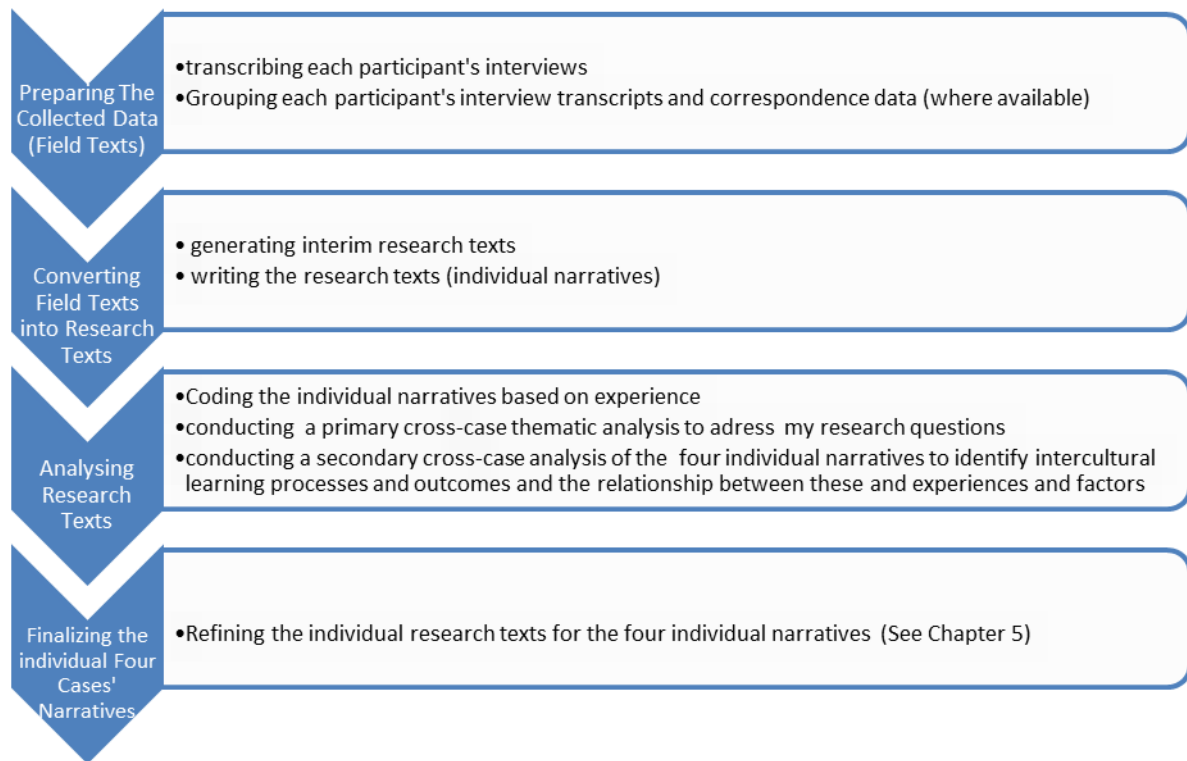


Figure 5. An overview of data analysis procedure.

4.7.2.1. Preparing the collected data (field texts).

Transcription of the interviews was undertaken to create field texts. Lee & Fielding (2009) define transcription as rendering qualitative oral data, from field sources, like interviews, into a textual form (p.553). The transcripts that are generated from this process range from very detailed full-verbatim transcriptions (sometimes including paralinguistic elements) to summaries and paraphrases of the narrators' words (Wells, 2011). A researcher's decision, however, on the level of detail he/she would want to produce in his/her transcripts is largely guided by the researcher's interests (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Riessman, 2008). As the aims of my thesis include understanding global TESOL educators' experiences using a bottom-up approach that reflects the educators' own voice, I see that employing a full-verbatim transcription as a necessary step for data analysis. This is why I opted for full-verbatim transcription of the oral interviews I conducted (see Appendix V for a

sample transcript). The transcripts accounted for pauses, hesitation, repetition, laughing and even grammatical mistakes to reflect as full a picture as possible of the conversation I held with the participants. In other words, there were no attempts on my behalf to “tidy up” the messiness of the data I collected (Wells, 2011). The overall transcribed data mounted to 69816 words. After I finished transcribing the interviews of each individual participant and after I received his/her correspondence (where available), I grouped each participant’s interview transcriptions and correspondence into one text. This helped me organize the large amount of data I collected and facilitated the data analysis I engaged in at later stages.

4.7.2.2. Converting field texts into research texts.

I used the grouped field texts of each of the participants to generate an interim research text for each participant. I did this through reading the interview transcripts and correspondence repeatedly until I felt I could “retell” the story of each participant in detail. However, even then, I refrained from writing the interim research texts. Following Clandinin and Connelly’s (2000) recommendations, to make sure I was ready to “retell” the participants’ stories, I reflected for a while on my research questions (see 4.2). I then decided on the parts that I needed to omit and the parts that I needed to include in the interim research texts based on my research questions and conceptual framework regarding intercultural learning experiences that guided my research study (see 3.7). I placed these experiences and their outcomes (I included instances of reflection where available under outcomes) in a table to reflect the (action-reflection- consequence) experiential learning discussed by Dewey (see 3.3.1). I used this table and the memos, which I wrote about my observations while I was reading the field texts, to generate the interim research texts (Riessman, 2008). I constructed the interim research texts in a temporal

manner (past, present and future experiences) in accordance with the temporal qualities of the learning theory developed in my conceptual framework (see Appendix VI for the interim texts). In keeping with McAdams (2006) approach to narrative research, I then extracted a title for each narrative from the individual narratives and assigned it to each of the individual accounts to capture the spirit of each experience (See Appendix XI for these titles).

After I completed writing the interim research texts, I compared these interim texts to the field texts to make sure that they were true to the participants' narrative accounts. I also identified extracts from the transcripts, which could be used in the final research texts. Because one of the aims of my thesis is to have the global TESOL educators' voices heard to legitimize their ways of knowing (see 1.3.1), I opted to employ what Chase (2005) refers to as a researcher's "authoritative voice", which separates the researcher's voice from the participants' voices in the final narratives, which comprised the research texts. This way I ensured the participants' voices were heard in this study (Reisman, 2008). This resulted in co-constructed research texts (individual narratives), which neither belonged fully to me nor to the participants. See Appendix VII for an example of the final research text developed from the field and interim texts for the same participant (Eleanor).

4.7.2.3. *Analysing research texts.*

An experience-centred analysis of narratives is conducted typically by means of thematic analysis, which is widely employed for its suitability for both written and oral data (Riessman, 2008; Squire, 2008). Thematic analysis concentrates on the *content* of the stories in the data (Riessman, 2008; Squire, 2008). The purpose of describing the stories thematically is "to develop and test theories" (Squire, 2008,

p.34). This is usually done through, reading research texts and forming generalisations about them. This is done via “a classic ‘hermeneutic circle,’ using a combination of top-down and bottom-up [often comparing across cases] interpretive procedures” (Squire, 2008, p.34). I followed this while I was constructing the individual narratives. My intention was to create a sort of a super-narrative that is coherent to present it in this thesis. Although this process may look similar to grounded theory, in the sense that thematic analysis is also inductive, the experience-centred narrative analysis is differentiated by its emphasis on the “sequencing and progression of themes” within the data and the “transformation and resolution” of these themes (Squire, 2008, p.34). In order to analyse narrative data using the experience-centred analysis, a researcher needs first to acknowledge how he/she understands the experiences in the narratives. Squire, for example, conducted research on HIV patients assuming connections between individual and cultural narratives within her participants’ accounts (Squire, 2008). My study also assumes connections between micro factors related to the individual and macro factors, including culture.

Analysing the research texts, in my study, was done through structuring the narratives in a temporal manner. This is because temporality is central to the experience-centred approach to narrative data analysis I adopted earlier. Temporality also reflects an aspect of the conceptualization of learning presented in this thesis (see 3.4). The analysis was done via conducting two types of analysis, primary analysis and secondary analysis.

4.7.2.3.1. *Primary analysis.*

After composing the research texts (the individual narratives), I conducted a primary cross-case thematic analysis of the seven individual narratives based on experience to address my research questions (see 4.2).

While reading the research texts, I was looking for experiences, factors that shaped the teachers' experiences and the intercultural learning that these experiences generated. I was also looking for broader ideological discourses that presented in the stories the participants told and how these shaped the participants' narratives (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). These individual narratives were coded (see Appendix VIII for a sample) using thematic analysis informed by Radnor's technical tips on thematic analysis (2001) and Squire's (2008) experience-centred approach. This was done via reading through the individual narratives and findings subcategories and categories inductively and then organizing the categories under themes. The coding of the themes was done through using the initial letter of each theme and organizing categories and codes within the themes. When two themes had the same initial letter, I used the initial letter of the second word in the theme. For example, I used "T" to code "Taking future decisions", and "TC" to code "Transformation & change". Numbers were used to code categories. Once I coded all the interviews, I conducted a cross-case analysis of the research texts. This analysis resulted in many initial themes, codes and categories (See Appendix VIII). I then refined these themes through adopting "a classic 'hermeneutic circle,' (Squire, 2008) organizing similar categories under one theme by means of a constant comparison approach across the 7 research texts. Four final themes and many categories and the subcategories within each of these themes were finally settled on (See Appendix X). These are discussed in the first part of Chapter 5.

4.7.2.3.2. Secondary analysis.

After I identified the four final themes, I conducted a secondary cross-case analysis of the research texts to interrogate two of the final topics identified that relate to intercultural learning, “intercultural learning process” and “outcomes of intercultural learning” to answer my third research question (see 4.2 for the questions). I was interested to see how these two themes played out in the participants’ accounts. Examining the seven participants’ individual narrative research texts showed that the “intercultural learning process” topic and its subcomponents manifested themselves in all the participants’ research texts but to different degrees. The outcomes, in terms of whether the participants’ intercultural learning trajectories were more or less positive, also varied across the different participants’ accounts (see Table 4 in 5.2.2 below). I identified the participants who achieved the most components of intercultural learning I identified (Ali and Esha) and those who achieved the fewest components of intercultural learning (Eleanor and James). Ali’s and Esha’s individual narratives also showed how they changed in more positive ways than the other participants. Eleanor’s and James’s individual narratives, on the other hand, showed more negative transformation with respect to the outcomes of their intercultural experiences than the others (see Table 5 in 5.2.2). I chose to re-analyse these four accounts to show how the process and intercultural learning outcomes played out in each of these accounts. The analysis of these four accounts is reported in the second half of Chapter 5.

4.7.2.4. Finalizing the individual four cases’ narratives.

To re-analyse the four accounts, I refined the individual research texts for the four individual narratives discussed above through adding subheadings to signal the

different temporal stages (McAdams, 2006) through which the topics of intercultural learning process and outcomes evolved in these participants' intercultural experiences (See the second half of Chapter 5). This helped me see these accounts in their full complexity and allowed me to compare and contrast the accounts of those participants who could achieve more positive results with those who could not. I also made minor changes in the narratives to enhance the style through providing more details in the latest individual narratives. This allowed me to pinpoint some of the ways in which global TESOL educators can be supported and prepared to work in global contact zones, which are key aims of this thesis (see 1.3.1). It also helped me understand the participants' intercultural experiences and the factors affecting these experiences in more complex ways.

4.8. My Position as a Researcher

It is widely accepted within the interpretive approach that the researcher and the research are interrelated (Guba, 1990). Therefore, it becomes important for the researcher to detail her role in the research and position vis-à-vis the participants. I have discussed my interest in this research, my background and previous experience in Chapter 1 and my ontological and epistemological beliefs earlier (see 4.3.1). Here, I will discuss my position as a researcher vis-à-vis the participants, which I consider to be that of an insider and of an outsider. On the one hand, as explained before (see Chapter 1), I am a global TESOL educator myself in Saudi Arabia. This positions me as an insider with regards to the participants. My position as a global TESOL educator made me aware of the problems that newcomer global educators go through when they come to Saudi Arabia. These global educators were the majority of teachers in my department. They were my friends and colleagues,

and we discussed many of their problems together at the time I worked in Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, I am an outsider because, unlike the participants, I am an Arab, who has lived in Saudi Arabia for more than 30 years of my life. I can speak and write Arabic, the language used in Saudi Arabia, fluently. I consider myself able to easily navigate and deal with many cultural aspects of life in Saudi Arabia, which the participants may see as challenging. This position, I believe, has allowed me to keep a critical distance from the data I collected (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013) and has contributed to a richer and more comprehensive analysis.

Perceiving my position as both insider and outsider is consistent with my conceptual understanding of positioning as dynamic and shifting that crosses a number of social positions, which intersect to make up my translocational positionality (see 3.5.1.5). My translocational positionality is made from the intersection of my social positions that relate to my insider and outsider positions vis-à-vis the participants discussed above. Thus, in reality, my insider and outsider positions are intertwined and, hence, difficult to separate. This intersected positionality was extremely valuable during the different stages of my study. My insider/outsider positionality, for example, created conditions that helped the participants raise their awareness of critical issues in their experiences, encouraged reflection and provided an intercultural learning opportunity in its own right. See chapter 6 below for a discussion of the importance of my positionality during the interviews and in the participants' accounts.

I am aware of the debates surrounding the benefits or challenges of different researcher positions for an intercultural research study such as mine (Cf. Shah, 2004). There are many conflicting views regarding who is in a better position to conduct intercultural research, insiders or outsiders. For example, while some

researchers argue that an insider's position can contribute to the researcher, unintentionally, overlooking important information in interviewing the participants or analysing the data because of her/his familiarity with the context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013), other researchers see that insiders are in a better position to conduct intercultural research because the participants can easily relate to them (Liamputtong, 2010). Although, it is important to note that sharing certain social positions or a "community" with the participants does not necessarily make the researcher possess a common "identity" with the participants nor make her/him more empathetic towards them (Edwards & Alexander, 2011). An outsider position, on the other hand, is assumed to discourage the participants from discussing certain issues that they may deem inappropriate to discuss with the researcher, whom the participants may view as a cultural other in intercultural research. However, an outsider position is assumed to provide the researcher with the ability to question widely-accepted norms because of the researcher's lack of familiarity (Shah, 2004).

I have already described my own positioning as both insider and outsider, a stance that is increasingly suggested is an apt description of many researchers' positioning (Liamputtong, 2010). Others have also pointed to the difficulty of delineating clear boundaries between these two positions in research (Merriam et al., 2001; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Bearing these things in mind, it would seem that the issue of researchers' positionality in intercultural research studies relates more to the researcher's ethical stance that can be detailed in the research process rather than to whether he/she is positioned as an insider or outsider (Chrissie & Ludhra, 2012; Liamputtong, 2010).

4.9. Issues of Ethicality and Credibility in Qualitative Research

There are a number of issues that trigger ethical dilemmas for researchers during research projects including, the topic of the research, the methods used and the participants involved; in fact, ethical issues can arise throughout the research project (Cohen et. al, 2010). These include obtaining the ethical approval from ethical committees in institutions or universities and guarding the reputations of these institutions by avoiding misconduct on the researcher's part (Isreal and Hay cited in Creswell, 2009). There are many guidelines that are published by different professional bodies that can be consulted, for conducting ethical research (Creswell, 2009). I followed the British Educational Research Association (BERA) (2011) guidelines in conducting my study. These guidelines are not exhaustive of all the ethical dilemmas researchers can face while conducting, analysing or reporting research. What is considered ethical or unethical or falls in between these "must be interpreted in light of the research context and of other values at stake" (Cohen et. al, 2010, p.58).

4.9.1. Issues of ethicality and trustworthiness in the study.

It is widely accepted within natural quantitative research that the "goodness" of research is measured in terms of its validity, reliability, objectivity and generalizability. At the beginning, qualitative research drew upon these values to measure the goodness of research, but this is not the case anymore (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). It is widely accepted, nowadays, that the above values are not suitable to be employed in qualitative research (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Linclon and Guba (2000) suggest that the ideas of trustworthiness and credibility are more suitable to be employed in qualitative research.

As discussed above (see 4.3.1 and 4.4), within interpretive studies, including the interpretative qualitative study design followed in my study, the researcher is an integral part of the research process rather than an objective observer. This is why the rigor (Patton, 2002) and goodness of my study are better discussed in terms of trustworthiness and credibility. Trustworthiness relates to whether or not the findings are accurate from the researcher's perspective, and reliability shows whether the researcher's approach was consistent across the whole research (Creswell, 2009). However, many researchers see that trustworthiness and credibility "cannot be separated from ethical concerns" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p.39). In the following paragraphs, I will discuss how I adhere to ethical procedures in dealing with the participants and reporting my research results. Through doing this, I ensured the study was trustworthy and credible.

I adhere to the BERA (2011) ethical principles I subscribe to as a researcher, discussed in section 4.9, that emphasize in their core obtaining institutional ethical approval and participants' consent and anonymity and safeguarding of the participants. Before conducting this research, I obtained the ethical approval of the university I am studying at and observed the ethics detailed in the Certificate of Ethical Research Approval Form with regards to the participants' anonymity and confidentiality (See Appendix XII). I shared with the participants the research nature, topic and stages. I obtained the written consent from the participants prior to any data collection or on my first contact with them (See Appendix XIII for a sample). The participants were given pseudonyms to protect their identities. The names of the institutions the participants' are working/worked at and the year the research was conducted along with any information that could render the participants identifiable were kept confidential to protect the participants' identities.

My ethical stance is evident in all the procedures I undertook described in this chapter and other chapters. For example, I contacted all the participants that emailed me showing interest to thank them for their interest in participating in my research despite the large number of teachers (See 4.5). I honestly discussed the ethical dilemmas that I faced (see 4.5). I described in detail how I collected and analyzed the data (see 4.6/7). I established rapport with the participants through emailing and phoning them before I conducted the interviews. I extensively included excerpts from the participants' interviews in their verbatim to ensure that the participants' voices were heard throughout the thesis along with my voice (see 4.7.2.3). However, my co-constructed narratives with the participants created an ethical dilemma for me as to who owns the stories (Yardley, 2008). If the participants and I own the stories, then why am I the one who is presenting the story under my name when the other narrators, as I viewed the participants following Chase (2005), were anonymous? This dilemma could not be resolved as according to the ethical guidelines I subscribe to, I am expected to guard the anonymity of the participants and hence, cannot reveal their true names without their consent. As for the interviews themselves, it is generally perceived that the trustworthiness of narrative interviews can be judged on whether or not the researcher has gained insight and changed as a result of being a part of the narrative interviews (Creswell, 2006). Moreover, the trustworthiness of narrative interviews is judged according to whether or not the interviews have generated narratives by the interviewees (Flick, 2011) as interviewees do not always generate chronologically organized stories. I believe conducting this research has changed my outlook and provided me with a lot of insight as I will discuss in 7.4. I also believe that the interviews generated narratives by the interviewees, which the interviewees were very enthusiastic to share with me. These are evident in the

analysis and discussion chapters to follow. I openly discussed my background and interests in this research (see Chapter 1). I also detailed my position as a researcher in this study (4.8). While writing this thesis, I extensively reflected on my own intercultural experiences in Saudi Arabia. Finally, my relationship with the participants was that of respect and appreciation, which evolved into a friendship. This relationship continues to this day. In this sense, my dialogue with the participants is still ongoing (see the second half of Chapter 5). The above are examples of how I observed ethicality in planning, conducting and reporting this study but they are not exhaustive of all the ways I followed to observe ethicality as the details of these can be found throughout the thesis. I believe I have succeeded in establishing an ethical stance with regards to my research throughout the different stages of conducting and reporting my research. I think my open and honest discussion of my position and experiences have contributed a great deal to the trustworthiness and credibility of this study.

4.10. Limitations

It is generally agreed that all studies have limitations (Tracy, 2013). There were some limitations of my study that I was aware of from the outset of my study, and there were other limitations that surfaced during the study. Although I opted for an interpretative qualitative study methodology to conduct this research, I was aware from the outset of the other research designs that I could have adopted to research the TESOL teachers' lived intercultural experiences, such as narrative analysis inquiry. However, the interpretative qualitative methodology was the most suitable methodology that helped me answer my research questions and allowed for other benefits that were fundamental in conducting this research (see 4.4). This methodology also is aligned with my epistemological and ontological beliefs

discussed in 4.3.1 and my conceptualization of learning as a dialogic and experiential process with emergent outcomes discussed in 3.4.

I am aware that my subjectivity and positionality in this research (see 4.8) must have affected the ways I wrote and analysed the narratives. In other words, I acknowledge that there are different ways in which the participants' stories could have been told and that what I could see as "the story" of each of the participants is not the only story that can be told. Because of this, I made a conscious effort to transcribe the participants' stories in their verbatim. I supported my narratives with extracts from the participants' stories to make my research as reflective of their intercultural experiences as possible and to have their voices heard along with my voice. This, I believe, contributed to a great extent to the trustworthiness of this study.

Chapter 5: Findings

5.1. Introduction

This chapter will consider the findings that address the research questions detailed in 4.2. The chapter is divided into two parts. Part one, will present an overview of the findings of the cross-case analysis of all the seven individual narratives, in terms of the sorts of experiences the participants had, the factors affecting these experiences, and intercultural learning process and outcomes. Part two, will present the results of the secondary analysis of the four individual narratives selected (see 4.7.2.3.2 for how I identified the 4 cases) to illustrate the participants' trajectories and their relationships to the participants' intercultural experiences, the factors that affected these and the intercultural learning that was generated from these experiences . This is because these four narratives represent some important different (more or less positive) intercultural learning trajectories detectable in participants' narratives. The findings presented in the first part of the chapter are intended to provide a brief overview of themes identified from the analysis, illustrated with a limited number of examples, mainly from the three participants' narratives that are not discussed in the second part of this chapter, as it is only through the individual narratives presented in the second part of the chapter that the full complexity of the participants' intercultural learning can be understood.

5.2. An Overview of the Findings of the Cross-Case Analysis

The cross-case analysis of the research narratives revealed findings, which constitute direct answers to my research questions, but the analyses also generated additional insights that are highly related to the focus of my study. These insights highlight some important considerations to be borne in mind in finding ways to

prepare global TESOL educators for their work and support them in global contact zones to achieve favourable intercultural learning outcomes. These insights will be discussed in the discussion chapter. In the first part of this chapter, I will discuss the primary and secondary analyses findings under headings that reflect my three research questions (see 4.2).

5.2.1. Participants' experiences of interculturality and factors that affected them.

The cross-case analysis of the seven research texts (see Appendix VII for a sample) revealed that intercultural encounters were enormously complex experiences with many factors affecting them. These experiences and the factors that affected these were mutually-constituting. Discernible factors identified in the analysis were related to social positions, namely, being "Westerner/ non-Westerner", being a "native-non-native" speaker of English, ethnicity, nationality, religion, marital status, race and gender. These were seen to condition but not to determine the participants' intercultural encounters and the ways in which they were perceived by others. As such, they were part of the experience that they had. This is why I will discuss the participants' intercultural experiences and the factors affecting these together in this section to answer my first and second research questions (see 4.2).

The discernible factors outlined above were ones, which point to the significance of positions/positioning to the sorts of intercultural experiences the participants had and the sense they made of these. Moreover, in their accounts, as will be seen, the participants chose to recount intercultural experiences in a host of everyday events, conversations and encounters, which also happened outside of their immediate teaching places. Julie for example related the following, "I went

without a partner, without a husband... I am here as an outsider to a large extent in Saudi Arabia... It's such a family type of social life, and it's not common to be invited to someone's home". Julie related her feeling as an outsider to her being an unmarried woman in a milieu that values family life. Marianne thought her dark skin and her "non-native" English accent were reasons why people treated her differently from the way the "white native-speakers" were treated. She related, "OK. I can tell you what it is like being an English teacher, a non-native English teacher who is not white, in Saudi Arabia [laughter]... white from the UK and the US feel this superiority complex, I guess, because of their context that makes them feel this way". Ameen thought he became more socially accepted by the locals when he became Muslim. He said, "Being a Muslim, I am much more involved in the society. If you are not Muslim, you are not really involved in the society". These examples all point to the significance of the participants' social positions to their experiences of intercultural encounters. It is clear, from the above examples, however, that the participants' sociocultural differences between them and the locals were objectified, which caused the participants to be treated as "outsiders" with "real" differences. This created an "Us" and "Them" discourse that created distance between the locals and the global TESOL educators. Such experiences were prevalent in all the participants' accounts. As such, it seemed that, the global TESOL educators' narrated experiences can be considered mainly experiences of Othering.

The analysis revealed that these experiences and the factors the participants invoked in relation to these (their social positions) were informed by four interconnected facets (overarching factors) of their experiences. These facets are wider global discourses, situated value systems in Saudi Arabia, the participants'

dispositional positions and contextual realities within which they operated (See Appendix X for the factors). These will be discussed in turn below.

5.2.1.1. *The impact of wider discourses on experiences of interculturality.*

As can be seen from the examples above, the Othering situations were closely associated with the participants' social positions. Julie's single status, Marianne's ethnicity and Ameen's religion significantly affected the participant's intercultural experiences. These positions/positionings were informed by wider discourses that relate to the realities people live in. These are ones that relate to the hierarchy of social positions (e.g. gender, religion, marital status, nationality and ethnicity) and global positioning that are drawn upon in exchanges between people, which may also manifest meta discourses of global political, historical and economic significance such as the "West" vs. Islam", and "white vs. non-white", "Westerners vs. non-Westerners" and "native-speakers vs. non-native speakers" of English.

5.2.1.2. *Situated value systems.*

The participants' Othering experiences can also be associated with situated value systems such as, for those in the first examples I provided, valuing family life, "white native-speakers" of English and Islam, all of which are seen as significant to the Saudi Arabian value system (see Chapter 2). These value systems positioned the participants in different ways. Based on these, the participants were afforded recognition or otherised.

5.2.1.3. *Dispositional positionalities*

Experiences of interculturality in Saudi Arabia were also experienced differently by each participant according to the participants' dispositional

positionalities. These were related to two things. First, dispositional positionalities were related to the participants' previous and ongoing experiences outside Saudi Arabia in general. Julie, for example, related the following, in our first interview, "You have to have a very very open mind wherever you go". Marianne stressed in our second interview that, "Having a positive attitude when you move into a new country is very important". These are general dispositions that the participants constructed through their previous and ongoing experiences that did not specifically relate to intercultural experiences but they affected the participants' intercultural experiences. Secondly, dispositional positionalities were related to participants' previous intercultural experiences outside of Saudi Arabia that resulted in frames of mind related to interculturality through which participants filtered their new intercultural experiences. These are reflected in, for example, Julie's love to getting to know people from other cultures because of her positive outlook to her previous and ongoing intercultural experiences in her home country, the UK. She related to me, in our first interview the following, "We had lots of migrant workers... a real mix of students, which was very nice for me.... It meant I had a lot of experience with a lot of different backgrounds, and it was really interesting to get to know so many different people. Also, the town where I live in the north of England, we have a large Asian community". Ameen's positive thinking about Saudi Arabia before moving to work there was based on his previous intercultural work experiences, teaching in Morocco and Oman. Ameen related to me in our first interview the following, "I had been two years in Morocco, one year in Oman, two years in Libya, I was much better prepared [to live in Saudi Arabia] I think than a lot of people are".

5.2.1.4. Contextual realities.

The fourth facet of the participants' intercultural experiences that was identified from my analysis was contextual reality. This is related to the site of intercultural learning itself and to the fact that this transcended Saudi Arabia itself as Saudi Arabia is well-connected to the rest of the world via transportation, telecommunication and information technology. This is related to participants' relationships to physical places/people within and across the borders of Saudi Arabia. Because of this connectivity to the rest of the world, the participants did not experience Saudi Arabia as a discreet location. As evident in all the participants accounts, it was possible for the participants to keep relationships with their significant others outside Saudi Arabia while they lived in Saudi Arabia. Marianne, for example, related to me the following in our second interview, "Skype kept me in touch with my relatives. It has a positive effect I would say because sometimes, my mom wants to see me. I see my nephews and nieces and everything. I can see them grow up". Ameen related the following in our first interview, "Now, I am skyping my son in the States every day, morning and night". Julie related to me the following in our first interview, "That was one of the things that made it so easy for me to settle in Saudi Arabia. The fact that you have got so much technology now. You can use Skype and Facebook 24 hours a day if you want to, so you don't feel that far removed from people".

As can be concluded from the examples I presented in this section. The Othering discussed above and the different factors related to the social positions affecting the participants' intercultural experiences as well as the four interconnected facets underlying these were identified as commonalities across all of the seven narrative accounts. However, the ways in which these worked to generate intercultural learning differed from one participant to another. This is why the

individual narratives are significant to the analysis as it is through the participants' individual stories that the interplay between the experiences, factors and facets emerge in their full complexity and that their effects on the participants' intercultural learning trajectories are revealed.

5.2.2. An overview of the participants' Intercultural learning: Processes and outcomes.

Here, I will discuss the intercultural learning that occurred in terms of both the process and the outcomes across the seven narrative accounts. The cross-case analysis showed that the participants were constantly developing awareness of their sociocultural positions/positioning in relation to the Other in Saudi Arabia. They also resorted to different strategies to negotiate their Othering experiences through efforts to renegotiate positioning in their encounters. This analysis, shown in Table 4 below and the accompanying key (See also Appendix X) revealed two discernable sorts of developing awareness and four main strategies of positional readjustment, which were significant to their intercultural learning process.

Pseudonym	Developing awareness of one's position/positioning in relation to the Other's positioning		Learning how to (re)negotiate one's Othering in the new milieu							
	1	2	1	2	3				4	
					a	b	c	d	a	b
Ali	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ameen	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Eleanor	✓			✓						
Esha	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
James	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Julie	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Marianne	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table Key:

* **Developing an awareness of one's positioning in relation to the other's positioning**

1. Understanding one's own social background in the new context in relation to the other's (one's own position in the social hierarchy in the new milieu)
2. Understanding one's own cultural background in relation to the other's (values, beliefs and practices, prejudices, language) in the new context.

* **Learning how to (re)negotiate one's Othering in the new milieu.**

1. through commitment to dialogue
2. through using their points of strengths to get their rights
3. through building and maintaining relationships with others
 - a. actively building relationships with superiors and colleagues
 - b. actively building relationships with locals
 - c. actively building relationships with the expatriate community
 - d. maintaining relationships with significant others at home for emotional support
4. through building cultural bridges
 - a. identifying with the other (based on humanity, gender, religion, physical appearance, having a similar sociocultural background, etc.)
 - b. showing interest and appreciation to the Other's difference

Table 4. An overview of participants' intercultural learning process.

As can be seen from Table 4 above, all the participants developed some sort of awareness about their positions/positioning and some strategies to renegotiate their Othering (positioning) in the new milieu. Based on this, it can be argued that all the participants' experiences generated intercultural learning. As Table 4 above shows, most of the participants appeared to have been able to develop awareness about their positioning in relation to the Other's positioning with the exception of

Eleanor and James, who could not fully develop this awareness. This also applies to the second main component of intercultural learning identified, learning how to negotiate one's Othering in the new milieu where the sub-components of intercultural learning were mostly absent in Eleanor's account. James also resorted to fewer strategies to negotiate his Othering than the other participants. In Ali's and Esha's accounts, on the other hand, both of the components of awareness of the self in relation to the Other and all of the identified strategies to negotiate their Othering were present. These findings demonstrate how the components of intercultural learning were evident in all of the participants' accounts, but that these were present to varying degrees. To arrive at a better understanding of participants' intercultural learning, I also examined the final outcomes of the participants' intercultural experiences. The analysis of these is presented in Table 5 below (see also Appendix X). These are classified as more positive or negative. "Negative" and "positive" being the terms the some of the participants attached themselves to their learning trajectories.

Pseudonym	Intercultural Learning Outcomes
Ali	Managed to live in a state of thirdness that he seemed to enjoy- positive was able to write a book about the history and culture of Saudi in English- positive
Ameen	Managed to live in a state of thirdness that he seemed to enjoy- positive
Eleanor	negative transformation (has become racist) negative change (has become dependent)
Esha	positive change (has become more confident) became more empathetic with the people in Saudi Arabia always managed to grow (professionally and personally)- positive
James	negative transformation (has become cynical)
Julie	managed to grow (professionally)- positive felt she was an outsider to a great extent- negative
Marianne	negative change (has become dependent) got her PhD- positive

Table 5. An Overview of the participants' intercultural learning outcomes.

As can be seen from Table 5 above, some participants' intercultural experiences resulted in more positive outcomes and some experiences resulted in more negative intercultural learning outcomes than the other participants. As can be seen from Table 5, Eleanor's and James's narratives showed more negative transformations than the other participants while Ali's and Esha's narratives showed more positive change than the others, mirroring some important differences between the levels of awareness and use of strategies between these two pairs of participants shown in Table 5 above. Nevertheless, reading through these four narratives, revealed the unique nature of each learning trajectory informed by the ways wider discourses, dispositional positionalities, contextual realities and situated value systems interconnect with the sorts of intercultural learning opportunities the participants' own encounters with interculturality provide them with. I, therefore, undertook a secondary analysis designed to deepen an understanding of relationships between their experiences and intercultural learning, to better understand how and why their trajectories became more or less positive over time. The results of this are discussed below.

5.3. Secondary Analysis of the Intercultural Learning Trajectories in Four Participants' Narrative Accounts

As per the process described in chapter 4 above (see 4.7), the individual narratives of Ali's, Esha's, Eleanor's and James's intercultural learning trajectories, presented in this part of the chapter, are structured around headings, which highlight temporal stages in their evolving intercultural learning trajectory: prior experiences, early experiences, later experiences and future decisions. The narratives are based on experiences, events and conversations in the participants' accounts. These are supported with excerpts from the interviews and my personal correspondence with

the participants. The participants' interviews and correspondence are single-lined slanted and indented to distinguish them from my own narratives. Their narratives start with each participant's pseudonym initial letter. A title was extracted from the individual interviews, using the participants' own words, and was assigned to each of the individual accounts to capture the spirit of each experience (as described in 4.7.2.4) (See Appendix XI for the titles assigned to each participant). These titles are as follows:

Ali: The Canadian nomad

Esha: I am not a typical Pakistani teacher

Eleanor: I don't like who I have become!

James: I have become cynical!

5.3.1. Ali: The Canadian nomad

5.3.1.1. Prior experiences: A journey of self-discovery.

Ali was born in Canada. He had spent a brief part of his childhood in Saudi Arabia before returning to Canada. He is of a mixed background. His love for travel was evident from his answers to the first questions I asked him during our interviews:

Me: Can you tell me a little about yourself?

A: My name is Ali. I am 32 years old. I am a father and a husband. I am also a teacher, of course. I have various interests. I like to read. I like to write fiction. I enjoy athletics...various sports. I like to travel... I like to travel, as well, I'd say.

Me: Why do you like to travel?

A: Why do I like to travel? I am a first generation Canadian. My mother moved to Canada when she was three and my father is from South America. My

mother is from an island in the Pacific, Fiji. My roots, actually, lie outside Canada. I think because of that, there is a lot for me to explore. There is a late cultural critic by the name of Edward Said, who was a Palestinian professor of English literature. He was born in Palestine. I think he went to school in Egypt and eventually in the US. He talked about the concept of third fear. It's about not feeling quite right in where he was born, in Palestine, neither in the US. I think to some extent, that's true for many of us who are first generation immigrants with strong ties to our ethnic and cultural backgrounds if they lie outside Canada. For that reason, there's very much for me to explore culturally and geographically what lies abroad and what doesn't. For those reasons, I think, I like to travel and probably, I always will. There is a lot for me to see. I honestly, haven't seen much [First interview with Ali].

Ali thought of travel as a journey of exploration of himself, his roots and his "culture". He draws on the works of an authority, Edward Said, to explain to me why he and many other first-generation immigrants do not feel "quite right" in their own "culture". The above extract strongly suggests that he feels that he belongs to a third space rather than to belonging to one geographical location.

Having spent a part of his childhood there, Ali had a special emotional connection to Saudi Arabia, to the language, to the people and to the Bedouin "culture", which fascinated him. These were the main reasons why he decided to come to Saudi Arabia.

Me: How did you decide to come to Saudi Arabia?

A: It is very difficult for me to be perfectly objective. I am not Arab, but we did live here in Saudi when I was about four or five years old, and I went to a public school here, for about three years after which we returned to Canada. Although I sort of acquired the dialect...I could speak with a Gulf accent, I didn't get to the point where I was completely fluent...I don't think... If I was, I certainly forgot a lot and from that time, which is when I was a boy. I suppose 8 years old until about 23, I didn't use much Arabic. I lost a lot of it. I wanted to return and I used

*to tell people that Saudi was still a part of me, but what triggered my decision to come to Saudi was actually this. I had intended to go to France and there was a fellow trainee in a TESOL program that I was taking and she asked me a question about the Arabic grammar, and it had to do with the definite article and I couldn't answer the question. I felt really embarrassed after speaking with several people and discovering what the definite article was. Because of that one question, by this woman, I realized that I really had to learn Arabic. I had several options, but I think because there is generally a higher standard of living here, in the Gulf, you can do well for yourself financially that is primarily, in addition to that question that the woman posed to me as well as my childhood... I think it's for those reasons...I had also read this book called *The Road to Makkah*, by Mohammad Asad, and he spoke very passionately about where he was. The Western Province, the Hijaz, so I befriended a few Saudis who were studying at university at the time and they would tell me stories about Saudi Arabia, as well, about the Bedouins. I was also fascinated by the Bedouins, so for linguistic reasons, cultural reasons, reasons having to do with history as well as financial reasons, I think, those were the motivating factors in my decision to come to Saudi [First interview with Ali].*

Ali's prior experience to coming to Saudi Arabia with his employer was not a promising start for his journey yet he did not give up on this journey despite all difficulties.

A: It took some 9 or 10 months to actually get here. That was a bit frustrating, even depressing. I never thought it'd take so much time to come here and I was doing all kinds of odd jobs to make ends meet. It was very, very difficult, that time, those nine or ten months, yea.

Me: Why were they difficult?

A. The employer tried to have me come over on a business visa and with a business visa...The reason some employers do so is they are not required to extend certain benefits to the employee if the employee is on a business visa. In fact, technically, they are not even employees. They are a business visitor. That's why they did it. Fortunately and unfortunately, unfortunately, it took a

long time, but fortunately, for me, the embassy refused the visa request and insisted that I apply for employment visa instead, which of course meant that I would get all the benefits. That's what I did [First interview with Ali].

Throughout our interview, Ali made reference to 9/11. It seemed to me that this incident has casted its shadow on Ali's life. He knew that as a Muslim, he might have been stereotyped or associated with this incident.

There was a criminal record check that took a very long time, as well. I don't have a criminal record, but for whatever reason that also took a very long time. This was in 2004, so this is well after 9/11, but, nevertheless, yes, it did take very long [First interview with Ali].

5.3.1.2. Early experiences: A “fake” Canadian.

Ali's first job was in an institution in Riyadh. The second job was in the Eastern Province. His early experiences in Riyadh were not pleasant.

A: The administration was very, very inefficient when it came to things like our salaries, benefits, housing allowances and so on. There were certain expectations that I had when I was coming to Saudi. There was this sort of an open-ended clause in the contract, which stated that everything was subject to change and you really need to understand that [laughter]. They certainly exploited that clause! [First interview with Ali]

Ali liked his second job. Though he related to me that his job included teaching people that were thought to be under-achievers by the institution where he works.

Ali's main struggle was not to teach these students but to constantly explain to them about his background. This bothered him at the beginning but later on he learned why his students keep on enquiring about his “real” background.

Me: How do your students perceive you?

A: How do they perceive me? It's interesting because...I mean, I am not Caucasian...and it's funny because...something very interesting about the Saudis is if you come across... I am not white. My father is from South America and my mother is from Fiji. One of the first questions a Saudi will ask you is, "Where are you from?" When I tell them, "Canada", where I was born, raised and educated, they then say, "but where are you really from?" That's not a satisfactory answer because, to them, a native Canadian, despite what you and I know about the first nations, is...I guess to an average Saudi, if you are not Caucasian, you are not originally Western European. So what they are expecting is, OK, I am Indian, for example, but I have a Canadian passport. That's what they might expect here ... I have recently asked a student, you know, about his origins and he looked sub-Saharan African. He didn't look characteristically like a Peninsular Arab and yet he would not say that somewhere in his ancestry he was African. Of course, also you must understand about Saudi Arabia and this is something I learned, as well, is this tribalism. If I come from a certain tribe, but you do not come from a certain tribe, in some sense, my bloodline is nobler than yours because I know where I am from. I can name my ancestors 14 generations back or whatever. If you cannot name your fourteen generations, there is something that you lack [First interview with Ali].

After learning why his students constantly enquired about his background, Ali stopped being bothered by his students' enquiries. He started taking this matter very lightly.

A: I kind of got tired explaining my history again and again, and so [laughter]...I started telling the students, "Where do you think I am from? Wherever you think I am from, then I am from." They would say things like Sri Lanka, Pakistan and so on. I would say, "fine" and that would be it, and they would accept that. Then they would learn from my other colleagues that I was born in Canada and so on, and they would look at me differently. Yes, they would look at me differently after that.

Me: What changes when they know you are Canadian?

A: I think they seem to be more interested in me, and they would ask questions about Canada and the West [First interview with Ali].

5.3.1.3. Later experiences: Living up to the dream.

Ali felt he had a strong connection to the people of Saudi Arabia despite cultural differences. Identifying with the people of Saudi Arabia, in this manner, was Ali's strategy of building cultural bridges between him and the people, which could ease relations.

A: For religious reasons, I think, a Muslim could identify more with Saudi Arabia than a Non-Muslim would. Although, of course, there are cultural differences and all that, but there is that similarity. It is much stronger that similarity depending on how religious the person is because Saudi is home, of course, of the two holiest sites in Islam [First interview with Ali].

Ali tried to bridge the cultural gap even further; he related to me he actively started learning Arabic. His dream was to publish a book about his fascination, the Bedouin "culture".

Me: Why do you want to improve your Arabic?

A: I am working on a book of fiction right now and many of the sources are in Arabic [laughter], so I don't really have an alternative [First interview with Ali].

Ali explained to me why he was fascinated by the Bedouin "culture" and how this fascination made him understand a lot about the people of Saudi Arabia today and subsequently about himself.

A: I think there is a social aspect that you cannot ignore. Saudis are friendly. From my experience, I would say Saudis are very friendly. They would invite you up and take you to the desert.

Me: Invite you to their homes?

A: Invite you to their homes, yes. Very recently, I was invited, so they are very friendly. They are warm and hospitable. The worst thing you can call an Arab is... one of the worst things is stingy and you know, the proverbial figure in generosity in the Arab history was Hatim Al- Ta'ee, and he was from Ha'il, which is a city in northern Saudi Arabia. They are proud of certain things, certain traits and characteristics. Saudis are very hospitable, very, very hospitable. At least, they can be ... On the whole, I do not regret coming here. I learned a lot [First interview with Ali].

While living in Saudi Arabia, Ali kept connected to his friends and family in Canada. He thought that globalization and the IT revolution allowed him do this. This arrangement afforded Ali with support and made living away from home easy for him.

Me: Do you find it easy?

A: I find it easy. We also have email. Doing this 20 years ago, would have been incredibly difficult, I think, you know, if I didn't have email because the world has shrunk as they say, it's a global village and so on. We are far more connected than we were in the past. In that sense, I am still quite connected to the family. I am still able to connect on a regular basis [First interview with Ali].

He also made friends from his colleagues, superiors and the locals in Saudi Arabia. This, he thought, was important while living away from one's home.

A: I have established a small network of friends here, which is very, very important being far away. It's also very important because it's a different culture and society. I think you have to have a network of some kind [First interview with Ali].

Keeping connected to the people in Canada and establishing a network of friends in Saudi Arabia along with being familiar with the "Western culture" and learning about the "Saudi culture" helped Ali sustain living in a third space that did not belong to either of the cultures. This he seemed to enjoy. He thought his experience had been

educative and he expressed his wish to learn even more not only about the past and present of Saudi Arabia, but also about the future.

Me: How did this intercultural experience change you?

A: Well, the more you learn, the more you realize how little you know. I think that there was not a lot about the Arabic language that I learned and I still have to learn. It's taken a while and there is still a lot that I have to learn. I was more interested in the Bedouin culture more than anything and that's what I am sort of researching right now. I am very interested in the history of Saudi Arabia, where Saudi Arabia is in comparison to where it was. It had to modernize in less than a hundred years. It was established in 1931, so it hasn't been around for that long. Honestly, and if you look at it today, it has been forced to go through a lot of change in a very, very small amount of time, so I am sort of interested in which direction Saudi is headed. There are going to be a lot of changes with these young Saudis studying abroad who are exposed to different ideas and are doing things differently, then bringing this back to Saudi Arabia in many ways [First interview with Ali]

5.3.1.4. Future decisions: Realizing the dream.

Ali wanted to publish the fiction book he had started writing about the Bedouin "culture". He also wished to stay in Saudi Arabia to learn more. After our interview, I sent Ali a thank-you email and wished him well for his book. He was very happy with the mention of his book. He replied, "As for my collection of short stories, thank you for your encouragement; please, pray for me that I am able to complete and publish it" [personal correspondence with Ali]. After a few months of our interview, he sent me an email to let me know that he managed to arrange for his book to be published with a link to his book on Amazon.

A: On my end, I'm nearing the completion of writing [book title]. I've another 3 or four stories to go. It's a collection of short stories glimpsing Arabia from the

*1890s until the middle of World War I, through explorations of ancient traditions, cultural and religious beliefs, and historic events ... and much more, the collection will mark my literary debut later this year, I hope. I'd *really* appreciate your support by "liking" my page [link]. Thanks! [personal correspondence with Ali]*

I felt privileged that Ali shared this information with me but more than anything else, I felt happy that he realized a great part of his dream, which very much represented his success on the journey he embarked on. Since then, Ali has been sending me excerpts from his book regularly.

5.3.2. Esha: I am not a typical Pakistani teacher.

5.3.2.1. Prior experiences: Living in a bubble.

Esha is from Pakistan. She came to Saudi Arabia with her family when she was around two years old because of her father's job. Her father was working at an oil company in the Eastern Province. Because of this, Esha developed a strong emotional connection to Saudi Arabia

E: My dad was with the company for 30 plus years... I don't know! Saudi Arabia is like a second home for us [first interview with Esha].

Her father's job provided her and her family with a type of life that was so different from the type of life other Pakistanis had in Saudi Arabia

E: It was very comfortable growing up here. It has been very safe and secure. We have had ample opportunities to do everything. We are well-travelled and well-educated. My dad was working in the oil company, so yes that was a plus. We experienced things very differently. I know other people who have not been as fortunate because not everybody lives the same life. I know, my cousins, for example, who are here, because they don't work for the oil company... they

work for other companies, their life is very different. It is harder. It is harder [first interview with Esha].

Esha went to an international school in Saudi Arabia. This did not provide her with ample contact with the people of Saudi Arabia but rather with the Westerners there. As a result, she could not speak nor understand Arabic.

Me: How do you feel about not being able to speak Arabic?

E: Sad, I hate it. I am trying to learn it now, really I am. It is so unfortunate that I have spent all my life here and I don't know the language... I really feel bad. I didn't think much about it when I was growing up because I didn't have any Arab friends either but now it's different [first interview with Esha].

Esha saw, however, that this did not affect her understanding of the “culture” of Saudi Arabia because she had much stronger connections to the people, her religion and a similar “culture”. These were the resources that Esha used to identify with the people.

Me: Were there any cultural aspects that shocked you here?

E: No, because, I mean, yes, I was growing as a child here. Yes, I didn't have much contact with them [Saudis] as I was always in international schools or out studying, but no, because I am also Muslim, I think that also helps. I know the subjects I must not touch. I understand and relate a lot to the culture because my background is similar to the Saudi background. We are tribal, you know. Pakistan is also tribal. Where you are from matters, who your family is matters a lot, so then being a Muslim helps. So I am not shocked [first interview with Esha].

As a result of being away from Pakistan, Esha can only understand and speak Urdu, but she cannot write in Urdu. After finishing her high school in Saudi Arabia, Esha completed a BA in English and an MA in Applied linguistics in Pakistan and also

completed a brief internship there after which she returned to look for a job in Saudi Arabia.

5.3.2.2. Early experiences: Striving to be acknowledged.

Though she thought of Saudi Arabia as home, Esha faced many experiences that made her realize that this was not the case. She faced discrimination every single time she applied for a job because of her nationality. In the following excerpt, she relates to me how she was discriminated against in her first job:

E: A Saudi girl and I applied, at the same time for the same position, the same job title, same everything, you know, everything. However, her salary was 800 riyals more than mine, same everything. And the only difference was I was more educated than her and that shocked me. It was very shocking to me [first interview with Esha].

This first experience served as a wake-up call for Esha. She learned a great deal from it but the most important thing she learned was to be prepared to struggle to be acknowledged. She also learned that her nationality bore a stigma in Saudi Arabia that she had to overcome before she could achieve success in her career.

Me: Why do people discriminate against people like you?

E: The first thing that people want to know is where you are from, you know. And that creates an image in people's minds already. A couple of years ago, Pakistanis were only for example construction workers, maids and drivers, you know [first interview with Esha].

Esha was not only stereotyped by the institutions she worked at, but also by the students she taught, at least initially but this time, Esha was ready. She faced another situation when she moved to work in the public university but this time she could skilfully manipulate the situation.

E: When I first joined the public university, the girls were told you were having Pakistani teacher. They hadn't seen me, they hadn't met me. They signed a letter saying, "we don't want to be taught by a Pakistani" and the reason stated was, "she will have a different accent, and we don't want an Asian accent". I wasn't aware of this. They didn't know me at all. I was new that was when I was first being hired. Yes, they had that assumption that, you know, I'd be speaking in a normal Pakistani accent. I didn't tell them, I walked into the office and I was going to observe during my first day at work. Then the secretary told me what the girls had done and she said, "We don't know what to do, and the boss is a little upset". I said, "OK, don't tell the students I'm here to teach them just tell them I'm doing an evaluation for a thesis or whatever, and I'm just going to audit the class" and they said, "OK". At the time they were being taught by a Scottish lady. Her accent was very different because she lived in the US, so she didn't have a strong Scottish accent. I went in and then I asked a couple of questions and all this and the girls were wondering, I could see, "Who is this? She speaks well". The next day I went into the class as a teacher, and I said, "I am going to be teaching you". And they thought the Pakistani teacher didn't come. At the end of the class, I told them, "Do you know where I am from?" and all said, "Canadian", "American", and one said, "British" and I said, "No, you don't know the difference then!" One said, "Australian". I mean every other nationality except Pakistani, and I said, "Well, you know, I'm Pakistani". They couldn't believe it. I mean they told me later when I got to know them that they signed the letter because they didn't want the [Pakistani] accent. They wanted something native. I said, "It is OK, I do understand". The stigma is still there, it doesn't change [first interview with Esha].

The students confronted Esha with their actions as Esha describes below.

E: The students have told me this themselves, "Miss, the first time we heard we are getting a Pakistani teacher one girl said, 'I don't want to be taught by a maid'. I said, "Do I sound to you like a maid?" She said, "No, Miss you don't, but you are different. Most Pakistanis don't sound like you". I said, "OK, I agree there, too". So it is very difficult to balance things sometime. But like I keep saying I just want to be recognized for my work [first interview with Esha].

Esha was understanding and empathetic even in the face of a very discriminatory remark like the one related to her by her students above. Esha's attitude was also an example of her commitment to dialogue with her students.

When Esha applied to work in the private university, she was discriminated against by the highest authority there, the rector, but this time her shock did not last long. In fact, she had a great sense of pride that she had actually managed to change the rector's mind.

E: Oh, one other very interesting story, I remember when I was being hired at the private university, we were the first Pakistanis to be hired. They had only Westerners at that time, not even any Arabs, only Saudis in management and faculty was all Westerner but they desperately needed teachers at that point. It was very hard to get teachers to work for them [...]. The academic coordinator dean was American, the HR director was American and the director himself wanted to come in and interview us. We said, "OK". I was first.

Me: Was he Saudi?

E: Yes, he is Saudi.

E: And anyway I got called in first and he just asked me a few basic questions about myself and then he stopped me and then he said, "You sound good and your sister seems to be here". I said, "Yes". "Does she sound like you?" he said. I said, "Yes, exactly like me. But she is faster than me. I slowed down a bit because of teaching". He said, "Call her", and I said, "OK". He heard her introductions and then, all of a sudden, in the middle of the interview, he got up, turned to the HR director and he said, "Hire them". And he walked out, and he was the rector of the university. We didn't know what was going on. And then the Westerners, both of the gentlemen started laughing. I was like, "What is going on?" They said, "You know he came down to fire you". We said, "What?" They said "He wanted personally to tell you to your faces that you wouldn't be hired here". I said, "why?" One of them said, "because he saw on the paper that you guys are Pakistanis, but you have impressed him", they said and we

couldn't believe it. And after that the director himself, of that university, never forgot our names. Every time we met at a gathering, you know, faculty gathering, he never, never forgot our names.

Me: And how did this make you feel?

E: It was a huge shock at first, but very proud, very proud. For the first two years we were there, we were the only Asians. We were the only Pakistanis in the entire university, and it was wonderful, wonderful [first interview with Esha].

Esha's attitudes and her ability to deal with hard situations to turn them in her favour were helpful in social interaction. Esha also knew how to use her strengths. She claimed she has good oral skills and this made her feel more confident. She was well-aware of her weaknesses, as well. She described to me how her perception of herself had changed over time as she gained more experience.

E: [Earlier] I did not really have any expectations in the salary department, I just knew I wanted to teach, and I wanted a good job. At that time, I did not focus on salary, on benefits or career wise even. I just wanted a job because I was a new graduate to practice all I have learned, really. That was my only conception at that time. But over time, it has changed. It has changed a lot. I learned a lot. Now, I am very confident in what I can do. I know my weaknesses, I know my strengths, but I also know how to quickly prepare and overcome my weaknesses, but now my focus more is on my advancement and salary, to be honest with you. Because it really bothers me, sometime, when I think about how much work and effort, and you know, everything that I put into it, and I am still paid according to my nationality, which really, sometimes, if you think about it is really unfair [first interview with Esha].

As evident from the above extract, after accumulating so many years of teaching experience, Esha was not satisfied with having a job anymore. She wanted a career.

5.3.2.3. Later experiences: Cherishing a career.

Knowing that Saudis are positioned at the top of the social hierarchy and Pakistanis are not, Esha felt it was important for her not only to adapt to the Other's "culture" but also to adopt it. There were many instances, in our interviews, when I felt she was trying to do this. She told me during our first interview, "*I tell them [the students] outright I am probably more Saudi than you because I am a lot older than you*". She would also dress like a Saudi, "*If I am outside, and I am covered, and I don't speak, people think I am Saudi*" [first interview with Esha]. In addition to that, Esha considered herself a foreigner in her country, and she considered Saudi Arabia her home.

E: It is very difficult to fit in Pakistan when we go. We stand out. We are considered foreigners when we go there. Our thinking is different. Our dressing is different. Our way of doing everything is very different from my cousins and my family over there. So, yes, Saudi is home to us. I came when I was two or three years old. So, you know, my parents were here. My mom was a young bride when they came here. It is very difficult to imagine ourselves outside the Kingdom right now [first interview with Esha].

By adopting the Saudi "culture", Esha was trying to escape the "stigma" of being a Pakistani she talked to me about earlier and to identify with the people whom are positioned at the top of the social hierarchy.

As far as her career was concerned, Esha managed to get a job in the oil company where her father worked before. This company is one of the most prominent companies not only in Saudi Arabia but in the whole world. Esha liked the atmosphere there.

E: [...] because it is more multicultural

Me: How does that help?

E: And that does help. How it helps is that they are more open. They do recognize merit and the hard work, and they do promote on those bases whereas in other places, nationality is a huge, huge thing to consider, regardless of how you teach or what results I can produce or how I sound [first interview with Esha].

Esha liked her new colleagues, as well, “As for my colleagues, this is the first time I am working with a large Saudi group, they are very educated” [first interview with Esha]. Because of all this, Esha decided the oil company was the place where she would want to build her career.

5.3.2.4. Future decisions: Aspiring high.

Esha’s future aspiration is to be promoted in the oil company to an administrative position, “I would like to stay in the classroom for a couple more years, but, eventually, I would like to move to an administrative position. But I hope the oil company is going to be the place to do that at.” [first interview with Esha]. Esha hoped to keep working for this company because women are given administrative positions unlike the places where she worked before. Esha thought that there is a sense of patriarchal thinking in the community that affects women’s experiences.

Me: How would you evaluate your overall intercultural experience here in Saudi Arabia?

E: Let me start with management. Management, until I joined the oil company, Arab or Saudi management we have very tough time working with. Again the stigma of women should only listen and be seen and not heard all the time is still there.

Me: Was it men thinking this way?

E: Men... a lot of male bosses, also. This is the first time I have had a female boss, in the oil company, Saudi, wonderful, wonderful, but yeah until now, until this job, I had male bosses [first interview with Esha].

I felt that Esha thought that by getting an administrative position in such a company, she is redefining herself not only as a respected Pakistani, who could negotiate difficult situations well in Saudi Arabia, but also as capable a woman.

5.3.3. Eleanor: I Don't like who I have become!

5.3.3.1. Prior experiences: A warning voice.

Eleanor is from the UK. She went through many negative experiences before she decided to become an English language teacher. These included a divorce and two careers that she said, “*didn't go well*”. She decided to take teaching English as her third career. This she said was a conscious decision.

E: I did a CELTA in London. I didn't fall into teaching English by accident. It was quite like looking at the things I enjoyed doing in my previous lives and things I was passionate about. I put it all together, and I thought this might be a good career [first interview with Eleanor].

Eleanor moved to Spain, to take a DELTA course. She applied for a job in Saudi Arabia while she was still there. Her main concern was to secure a job before she finishes her DELTA to pay off her student loan. She did not think about life in Saudi but she had “*already picked up it's largely disorganized and a bit chaotic*” [first interview with Eleanor].

Though she did not mention where she picked up this information during our first interview, Eleanor related to me later that she had met a person from the UK, while she was studying in Spain that had a very negative view about Saudi Arabia that surprised her.

E: When we did our DELTA, there was a British guy who thought that we are supporting the regime by coming to Saudi and teaching. But it's not our place, as English teachers, to have to do anything with it unless one teaches a government person. His hatred and hostility for the Saudis rather surprised me [second interview with Eleanor].

While in Spain, Eleanor's back started degenerating just before she was getting ready to move to Saudi Arabia. This required her to undergo an emergency neurosurgery in the UK. She said, "*The whole manner of build-up before I came to Saudi caused me not to give how life in Saudi is going to be any thought*" [first interview with Eleanor]. The only information she learned about Saudi Arabia was the information she learned from the person in Spain but she had to pay her loans.

Me: Why did you decide to come to Saudi Arabia?

E: Well, obviously, money. That doesn't go unnoticed when you've been earning 6000 pounds a year and you've got debts because you have been studying [first interview with Eleanor].

5.3.3.2. Early experiences: I am devastated.

When she arrived to Riyadh, to start her job at the university's preparatory program, Eleanor was picked up at the airport and was put in a holiday apartment which she described as follows:

E: We were put in a dreadful apartment of the sort that we, as Westerners, won't understand. It was very smelly because they have got all the thick velvet and lots of smoke. People have been smoking in the rooms. Nobody smokes in hotel rooms now [first interview with Eleanor].

Later on, the university moved Eleanor to an apartment building with other teachers. There was a Muslim American convert who was responsible for the female teachers, the apartments and the cultural issues whom Eleanor described as, "*furios*,

aggressive and hysterical” [first interview with Eleanor]. This she told me had to do with the “whole Western approach about Islam” and that this woman was a part of “a fundamentalist fraction”; Eleanor thought the situation in these apartments “was bad and set against us [non-Muslims]” [first interview with Eleanor]. Eleanor believed so though she related to me a few minutes later this story about the same American housing manager:

E: At the end, I was put with this woman, the union woman, who was bonkers! Really, really awful, you get very sad stories around here. This is the problem. The American housing manager, who was very good with me, gave me an apartment on my own because of this, so I was rattling on my own. [first interview with Eleanor].

It was clear at this point that Eleanor started associating all the negative experiences she went through with Islam. Her experience at the university was not pleasant either. The preparatory program was extremely disorganized. As a result of undergoing this series of negative experiences, Eleanor started associating life in Saudi Arabia with restrictions.

E: That was pretty grim initially and after that, it kind of got worse. The project was very disorganized. It was badly organized from the university to the contractors to everybody [...]. Everything was a battle, but how much of that has to do with the Saudi culture? I don't know. I think probably because of the constrictions of life here [first interview with Eleanor].

Eleanor was later given a manager's position at the university with many benefits. She learned to use this position along with her qualification as an IELTS examiner as a power tool to get to retain her passport, get a multi exit-re-entry visa and bring her new husband to work in Saudi Arabia. *I said, ‘Listen if you won't do this, I won't do any IELTS examining’ [...].I had leverage, but lots of women didn't” [First Interview*

with Eleanor]. Despite this, she was not completely satisfied. She told me, “I went back as a manager, but I couldn’t hack it as a manager. It was so awful, so I went back to being a teacher” [first interview with Eleanor]. Eleanor’s goals became to move out of these apartments into a compound and to change her job.

5.3.3.3. Later experiences: I have become racist.

Eleanor achieved one of her goals through getting a job in the British Council in Riyadh but she could not convince the British Council to house her and her husband, who had joined her by then, in a compound. Based on this, she decided to work for the British Council in Jeddah which provided her with a house in a Western Compound. She told me she loved the compound.

Me: so it’s been nice here in the compound.

E: It’s been nice here in the compound because, in Riyadh, we weren’t in a compound, and I couldn’t go anywhere without my Abaya whereas here, I can go for a swim. We can walk to the shop. There is a restaurant. It’s like a little village here, and that makes it feel better when I don’t have to leave the compound [second interview with Eleanor].

Eleanor did not like it outside the compound as the above extract shows. She describes why in the following excerpt:

E: When I go out of the Examination Centre of the British Council, we go around a garden that is done really nicely, lovely landscaping. There are bins every ten feet, but the last couple of weeks, I go down at quarter to nine, in the morning, and the little army of Bangladeshis was picking up the rubbish. That’s not just Saudis, Kazakhstan and China are the same; they are all litterer thinkers [first interview with Eleanor].

Though she liked the compound, and she did not like it outside it, Eleanor did not want to deal with her neighbours who were living with her on the compound either. She did not like them.

E: We could have got more involved with the compound, but I don't want to mix with the expats here.

Me: Why not?

E: I don't like them. I really, really don't like them, expats. You see them on the buses. The wives don't work and complain all the time. I am too old to make friends with people I am not interested in. [second interview with Eleanor].

Eleanor was also getting comfortable going shopping in Jeddah alone using a taxi for the first time rather than using the compound buses. She was familiar with cultural norms in Saudi Arabia, as well. This is evident in the following extract in which she describes how she used her gender, because she learned women are respected, as a power resource to have her way.

E: When I actually went out on my own in Riyadh, I actually plucked up courage to go to the main road and get a taxi. The taxi took me to the supermarket. I got into the supermarket. The little Bangladeshi man packed my stuff, loaded the bags into the trolley, unloaded the bags and helped put the bags into the taxi. I wasn't used to all that, so I do think women are treated with a much better degree of respect here. That gave me a certain amount of power because when I got angry, they couldn't handle it. I had a problem in one of the stores here. I bought something, and I put it on my credit card here. They said bring it back in one day, and I thought it meant within one day. I went to try them on, some T-shirts. Of course, they didn't fit. Why can't you try them in the shop before you buy them? You have to go the fitting room area, in the bathrooms, take your Abaya off, put it back on, but they said, "No, you have to bring it in back tomorrow." It was the guy who served me. It was almost only five minutes. I just went, "What?" and I was shouting, "What?" They said, "You have to bring

it back tomorrow”, and I said, “No, I don’t. You can give me the refund now”. Then I went to another shop, and I bought something else, and the man said the same thing, but his English was much better. He said, “If you want to return it, I can’t return it until tomorrow”. Why? It’s the Visa system. In other countries, they can give you a refund right away, but here in this store, the manager sort of came to check, and I was shouting, and I never shout. I never shouted until I got here, never. If I did that with a woman assistant in Britain, they would just come down on you, whereas here they just go, “shut her up, give her what she wants.” [Second Interview with Eleanor]

She was also comfortable working for the British Council, which suited her more than working for the university. She thought this was liberating because she did not have to deal with Muslims and watch out for cultural values:

E: The thing for me is now, I was in an environment where we weren’t bending over to be nice to Muslims but if we were allowed to talk about boyfriends, we could do it, while at the university we weren’t allowed to talk about boyfriends. We weren’t allowed to talk about alcohol or mention bacon and so on. I was like, look, it exists [first interview with Eleanor].

Though the British Council had similar cultural restrictions to the university, Eleanor seemed more willing to accept these cultural rules. She would still, however, discuss topics which are considered cultural taboos in Saudi Arabia with her Saudi students. This, she was sure, would cause her problems, but she still wanted to do it. Her actions and attitude resulted in a problem with the students at the British Council that was picked up in London.

E: This is why I got in trouble once. I was doing academic English and we used to do for and against. The topics were something like women driving because everyone has strong opinions about that. I told them [the students] I wasn’t interested in their opinion, just the reasons. When we do this, I never express my opinion ever! I asked them to look at it from every angle, the fathers, the women, the Filipino drivers. We had a real good discussion. We put everything

on the board in one class. I knew in the class I had a few conservative women, so I had to be careful. The next thing I knew is our boss saying, "Who has done women driving in Saudi Arabia?" About half of us put our hands up because we always do it. It's a good topic. I think somebody had spoken to their brother, you know how they go have coffee together in the afternoon, and the brother had gone on some chat forum talking about this teacher that made the students change their minds about women drivers. But the details were wrong. He wrote we had 19 in the class, but none of us had 19 in the class, but it was in the British Council. They thought these Westerners are brainwashing our women etc. Somebody had tweeted it and that had been picked up by London and London investigated. I showed them my lesson notes and I said, "Look, teacher doesn't give any input on that". Living in some environment where you can be accused of corrupting these poor girls, who are in fact, mature women is just bizarre [first interview with Eleanor].

Eleanor did not blame the British Council for following the cultural norms though the investigation was initiated in London. She did not think she had done anything wrong by discussing cultural taboo topics. She thought it was rather the students to blame for complaining.

E: I found it very difficult and a lot of them [the students] are quite demanding. On the whole of my teaching career, I had two complaints. But then I came here [to Jeddah], I was lucky if I went through a term without a complaint. They complained and complained and complained [first interview with Eleanor].

Many people were trying to explain to Eleanor why cultural norms, which are mainly derived from Islam are important in a conservative country like Saudi Arabia during her stay, including one of her students but Eleanor decided not to discuss her thoughts with her student so the student does not get disappointed thereby refusing to hear any other voices.

E: I have this friend, Amani, who is a very conservative Muslim writing a novel in English to explain Islam to all of us who don't know about it, to understand it.

She is so lovely and so wonderful. I would have a session with her and afterwards would think, "Oh, these are such nice people" [...] really have to bite my tongue sometimes [laughter] when my friend, Amani, comes because I can't criticize her because she believes in Islam wholeheartedly, but then you feel it's like a cult [...] Why do you have to pray five times on time and you have to wake up by the prayer call at 4:30 in morning to pray? While you go shopping, the shops close and you have a fag! [...] It feels it's all about control. It's control of woman and control of lives. [first interview with Eleanor].

Another interesting conceptualization of Eleanor's is that about "culture". Eleanor saw "cultures" as discrete entities associated with geographical locations. She told me that she comes "from a very different culture" [second interview with Eleanor]. Throughout our interviews, Eleanor attached a certain adjective to each nationality, for example, the Bangladeshi was "little", people from Kazakhstan, China and Saudi Arabia were "litterer thinkers" and Canadians were "conservative". Eleanor used similar stereotypical expressions to describe the difference between the students based on gender, despite the fact that she never taught male students in Saudi Arabia, "You feel girls and boys are two different species. The men mess around. They don't do their homework. They are lazy and spoilt. The women are very motivated." [First interview with Eleanor].

These experiences, the prior experiences and more importantly Eleanor's understandings, (re)actions and attitudes to these experiences contributed to her transformation.

Me: Are there any changes people note about you when you go back home?

E: I have become quite racist! I don't like to admit it, but I have. My mother grew up in a household with her parents of two different religions, and she was aware of how one was treated particularly badly by the family of the other. She brought me up with a very strong feeling of live and let live. That was her ethos.

Don't bother anybody and don't let anybody bother you and all that. I always felt I was the same, but sometimes, I feel myself having a real vicious hatred for certain things. I don't like myself. When I left the university, a good friend of mine and myself, we both said, "We don't like who we have become." That's because they made us so frightened and angry that we became so bitter and nasty. Here, it's slightly different because it's not only about being in Saudi, it has to do with other things that are happening with Islam [first interview with Eleanor].

This transformation she did not like about herself.

Me: What other changes do you note about yourself?

E: As I said before, part of me has turned into somebody I don't really like [Second interview with Eleanor].

One change that took place was that Eleanor could achieve financial security, pay her loans and even have extra money. She liked the financial transformation that occurred and hated it at the same time because it came at the expense of abiding by cultural norms. She could not understand nor adapt to common symbols of cultural values in Saudi Arabia.

E: I have saved a great amount of money not just by doing IELTS. Also, there is the money I make for material writing through a British company. I get £50 an hour from my students. Where else would a teacher get £50 for a private lesson? On Wednesdays, I have two classes of two hours each, one is a princess and the two others are two girls who want to do their IELTS. They come together. That's £200, just for one day a week, which is like pocket money. You can see how people get caught into this. It is a very difficult place to live. For me, this damn Abaya. It drives me nuts, especially, in this heat [Second interview with Eleanor].

Another change that took place as a result of her intercultural experiences was that Eleanor has become more dependent on her husband. This she learned was the

result of living in Saudi Arabia where women are expected to ask for their husband's approval for everything they do.

E: I was a very, very independent woman, actually too independent. One of the things that is very good here is that you can hide behind your husband...On a personal level, this has changed me. Now, I defer to my husband more than I would have done before. [first interview with Eleanor]

Growing older away from home was challenging for Eleanor. This did not make her feel quite at home in her country. She thought this was the reason of her dilemma:

E: I left when I was 19. I always find it so stressful going back to Britain because there are some things that I really like and things that I really hate there. That tears at me. It emotionally becomes quite draining [...] I left my city 30 years ago and my country 12 years ago. I have got no roots. That's what I think the suffering is from [second interview with Eleanor].

5.3.3.4. Future decisions: I am moving away.

Despite the challenges Eleanor faced, she was happy with life in the compound but her husband was not.

E: My husband at the moment is going through a little bit of a downer about this place, but I think it has to do with our marriage, because we are only ever been married in Saudi Arabia. This is not the way it is in the world. We live in this cocoon. My husband doesn't like it... I think it's very nice by the way here. I am very happy here. I love it. We have got a swimming pool outside. It's a nice place to live. I think by any standards, but we don't have a community here [second interview with Eleanor].

Eleanor knew though real life is not only about living in a compound, which she described as a "cocoon" in the above extract. She knew she needed a community that she failed to have in Saudi Arabia. Because of her husband and the dilemma

she was going through, she decided to move to her husband's country, Canada. The following extract follows from the above extract in the interview:

E: That's why I am quite keen to go live in Canada, but my husband, who has never been back to Canada for 10 years, is now getting into, oh, my God, I am going back. Will anyone want to see me? He is getting very apprehensive. He is wondering how it's changed and what will it be like. I think that will happen to anybody who leaves his country or city [second interview with Eleanor].

A few days after our interviews were concluded, Eleanor sent me an email which contained some comments on how the interviews not only helped her reflect on her experience, but also how they helped her take action though I did not request this type of information.

E: It was a great pleasure to meet you and to do rather a lot of 'dumping'...Talking to you also galvanised me into contacting an old friend from [the university I worked at], this is the lady who said that working here had turned us into people that we didn't like - so that was another good side to it! [Email correspondence from Eleanor].

5.3.4. James: I don't trust people anymore!

5.3.4.1. Prior Experiences: A budding dream.

James is from Canada. He came to TESOL from a business background. After completing a TESOL course, he decided to teach English in Saudi Arabia. This, however, was not his first visit to Saudi Arabia because his first experience in Saudi Arabia was when he accepted Islam. He told me that he came to Makkah to perform his pilgrimage.

Me: Did you have any preconceptions about Saudi Arabia?

J: In 2006, King Abdullah paid for a bunch of people to come for Hajj, so when I became Muslim, I came here in 2006. I liked it here. It seemed very peaceful, but when I look back at this time, it was like the honeymoon phase [first interview with James].

James's use of the words "honeymoon phase" suggested that he will soon start shifting our conversation from talking about peacefulness to talking about what seemed to me like a phase of a cultural shock of some sort.

5.3.4.2. Early experiences: Beyond the honeymoon.

James easily got a TESOL job in Saudi Arabia in an institute that subcontracts him to other institutes despite the fact that he did not have a degree in any subject related to TESOL. He did not have any experience in TESOL before he travelled to Saudi Arabia either. He related to me why he thought he got his job so quickly.

J: The only reason why I got a job here is they needed an English native speaker right away. I had no experience. I graduated university in 2008. That's when I received my degree [first interview with James].

The feeling associated with the ease through which he got his job did not to last long as after only one month of his arrival, James faced his first negative experience.

J: When I first came here, after the first month, I asked my manager for my salary. He said, "bukra, inshallah", so I thought, tomorrow, yes! I went back the next day. He said, "Oh, Mr James, I don't know what happened. Bukra, inshallah!" I said, "But you said today, OK, no problem, two days no problem". I went back. He said the same thing. I asked him, "What does 'bukra' mean? It means tomorrow right, but it's been three or four days now!" This was my first real experience of their attitude here. I've never actually received this money until maybe until the end of September. I arrived here at the beginning of May. That was one salary and I thought of going home at that time, but I thought that if I left Saudi, my wife would feel disappointed, like I failed. This was the only

reason why I stayed, and I didn't tell my wife about the problems at first. I ended up telling her about the problems because I had no money to send her [first interview with James].

This experience had immensely affected James, not only because he needed the money, but also because his first job was a planned dream that came true with ease. The shattering of this dream meant many things. It meant James had failed, it meant his wife would be disappointed, and it meant more than anything else that he was deceived by the people he thought were honest.

Me: Before you came here, what conceptions did you have about Saudi Arabia?

J: I thought it was an honest place. This is may be what I projected. I think this is what I projected onto the society, onto the people. Sometimes, whatever you think, you project onto that. Because they say Islamic country, Islamic society, Muslims, you project this onto society [First interview with James].

This early experience with the deception of the “honest” people made it hard for James to understand what was going on. His main problem was that he thought of Saudi Arabia as a Utopia thereby generalizing that people there are going to be all honest.

Afterwards, James kept on experiencing one negative experience after the other. After six months of his arrival, he brought his family to live with him in Saudi Arabia. As he was not receiving his salary, he could not pay for his wife's and children's tickets, so his wife had to pay out of her money to join him in Saudi Arabia. James seemed distressed about his inability to pay for the tickets. This positioned him as a weak guardian.

Me: How did you feel about it?

J: I felt like scum, really, but I needed my family here. I told them, "I can deal with being paid late, but either bring my family or send me home". They brought my family, but the late salaries and not following the contract kept continuing and continuing. I never expected these kinds of activities going on. Unfortunately, it's very widely spread here. It's not just the company that I work for [First interview with James].

James told me it took the company a month to get his family on his health insurance. He then tried to open a bank account to receive his salary but this also was not an easy task.

J: You have to have permission to open a bank account. I wanted to open a bank account, so they could do direct deposit into my bank account. It took them five months to give me this piece of paper. All they had to do is to go to their computer, put my name on it, put my salary and then hit print because the template is already there. It took them five months! It took them over one month to get my family on my health insurance. I don't know why they do the things they do, but they are very spiteful people. [First interview with James]

James tried to look for a way out. It seemed to me he was actively pursuing information on how to get his rights through legal means. He was reading blogs with people's stories suing their sponsors and asking people about the judicial system in the country, but the outcome of his search was not positive. He concluded:

Me: Why do they do this?

J: Because they can. What are we going to do, go to court! My sponsor, as I said, has a good position in the Eastern Region, so if I go to court and complain about him, he has his connections to have his way. I was reading a blog on the Internet. The blogger was speaking about one of his colleagues, who took his sponsor to court. His sponsor used his contacts to kill whatever he was trying to do. I mean it's the Internet, not everything can be authenticated, but what I am saying is it can happen here. It seems extremely reasonable or logical that this had happened, and there is this perception that we are foreigners. One guy told

me that the courts here are for Saudis not for foreigners, so I was like, "OK".
[First interview with James]

This information meant that James had to find alternative ways to get his rights. He realized that he needs to work on his skills to make himself valuable for the company where he works, build relationships with people who can support him and use his nationality, which he realized later was a huge asset.

5.3.4.3. Later experiences: I have become cynical.

James's negative experiences did not stop but he learned after a while how to negotiate his way out of such negative situations. This was evident in the way he tried to improve his teaching skills and use technology to make himself valuable for the company he was subcontracted to.

J: When I first came to Saudi Arabia, I did not know how to teach. I couldn't even explain what the present perfect was. When I first came, I had to really study. I mean, I worked hard. My manager is American where I work. He gave me a certificate of recognition for being the most outstanding teacher. I came from nothing to being a good teacher [...]. I used lots of pictures, PowerPoint and videos, so I don't have to speak. This is why my boss likes the way I teach because the production of the students is very high compared to others' classes. It's because of the approach that I take with all the PowerPoint and videos. For example, everything I make is used countrywide. The place I work at has institutes in seven cities. Every single teacher uses my stuff.

Me: How does this make you feel?

J: It makes me feel wonderful because I know that this company wants to keep me. When I walk in the hallways, in any of the buildings, if I look in, they are using my worksheets...I, intentionally, made a shared file over the network. I put everything on the shared folder, and I sent it to my boss. I said, "Listen, share this with the teachers". The reason why I did this was to make myself valuable [First interview with James].

This has earned James a great deal of respect in the company he was subcontracted to. He told me.

J: It worked out to the point where I got recognition from the managers up to the president of my company. Anywhere I go, they know my name. This makes me feel good because they know what I do is good. They know I do quality work because I use a lot of technology in the classroom, and the students love this, the videos, the PowerPoint. [First interview with James].

James, also realized that relationships matter and that connecting with people who can support him during his stay in Saudi Arabia was crucial.

J: Basically, the only thing you can do if you really want to stay here is to be patient and find somebody who can help you. The good thing is I have found some people who can actually help me [first interview with James].

James enjoyed good relationships with the local people, his colleagues and his managers. One of the people that James built connections with was his American manager. After establishing himself as a good teacher, James went to see his manager, who did not only help James receive his salary on time, but also helped him get additional rights that James was not even aware of.

J: I didn't start receiving my salary on time. I didn't start getting my benefits until I explained to this man what was going on, and he helped me out a lot. I told him exactly what was going on. He even found out that they were paying us less money than they were supposed to, so he made the company back pay us for as long as we had our contracts.... I still have some problems with my sponsor, but the main thing is that I am happy I started taking my salary on time. He [the manager] also helped me to get all my other benefits, a raise and these things. It's good to have this particular person where I am. If he were to go back to the US, I don't know how my situation would be because this man keeps them on a short leash [first interview with James].

James did not only seek support from his manager, but also from his colleagues, who were his neighbours, as well, because they all lived in a building provided to them by the company. James and his wife were the only Westerners in the building. The other residents were expatriate Arabs, mainly from Jordan and Egypt.

Me: How is your relationship with your neighbours?

J: They're helpful. If you need something, like if I need to take my car to the mechanic, I can rely on them to pick me up or pick it up. We watch each other's kids. There is that help. Most of my neighbours are the people I work with because the building we live in is a company accommodation. We know each other fairly well. We help each other out. It's good. I like it [first interview with James].

Having such support from the manager and James's colleagues/neighbours inside and outside the company made life easier for James. James also managed to keep in touch with his wider family and friends back in Canada, which provided him with ample emotional support.

Me: How do you keep in touch with your family?

J: Facebook, Skype, mobile, phone, MagicJack, the Voice Over Internet, so they phone me as though I am in Canada. Technology helped us to stay together. It makes it easier [first interview with James].

Despite the support James was getting from building and maintaining relations, he was still facing problems like getting permission to travel and getting his payments for overtime work. This meant that he needed to find additional ways to deal with these negative situations. After working in Saudi Arabia for some time, James realized that his Canadian nationality and his ethnicity were important assets that he could use to improve his situation, especially, because he is an English language

teacher. He told me that after working in so many institutes, he realized that he was initially given the job because he is a white, native-speaker Canadian.

J: The only reason they gave me the job is because I am a white Canadian, really, that's the only reason why.

Me: Why do you think so?

J: There is that perception here, and I have seen and encountered that in many places because I have worked in different institutes... It doesn't matter how qualified the person is. He can have a master's degree. He can have a PhD, but just because of the colour of my eyes, the colour of my skin, my name James, they are going to prefer me over someone else. I don't agree with it. I don't like it, but this is the way it works here. They do this because they believe they are getting the original language from the original person [First Interview with James].

Based on this James realized, he could use his nationality to improve his situation and get his rights.

J: last year when I went on vacation, they weren't going to give me my passport until the day that I was supposed to leave to Canada. [...] The only reason I got my passport is because I told them, "Listen, I either get my passport tonight or you have to deal with Queen Elizabeth." Within one hour, I had my passport. I don't like doing this. I hate getting arrogant. I don't like pulling the nationality card. The only time I get my rights is when I stop treating them like Muslims, and I start treating them as Arabs and I am a Canadian [First Interview with James].

James was also paid a better salary than his colleagues because of his nationality but his nationality was a double-edged sword because it was the reason why some of his colleagues resented him. It also was the reason why people thought he was privileged while in fact, he was not.

Me: How do your colleagues perceive you?

J: This is the problem. Even though they treat me nicely to my face, there are some people who resent me. I'll tell you why. Because I am a Canadian. I only have a BA, and I have some TESOL courses. I work with a particular person who is Jordanian. He is a very nice person, but I can feel there is some type of resentment because he has a Master's degree in linguistics, I have a BA, yet my salary is double his. That's the problem here, people are paid by nationality. When we have staff meetings, I am the only native English person and everyone in the room knows that's for every two teachers, that's my salary.

Me: And how do you feel about that?

J: I think it's wrong. How come I make more than people who are more qualified than I am. I make more money than some doctors, from some countries, like the Philippines. I make more money than they do just because of my nationality, because of my passport, and I believe that this is wrong, but there is nothing I can do about it. It's also the fact that this little money that they make goes a long way in their countries, whereas, in Canada, it doesn't go as far. There is that aspect, as well, but they don't think of it. This same Jordanian, for instance, that I was mentioning just finished building a huge house with his salary. Even though I take a good salary here, I cannot build a house in Canada, because even if I do buy the land, I have to pay taxes. [...] It's really not feasible for me to buy a house nor build a house in Canada. [first interview with James].

The negative experiences, James went through, resulted in a transformation in his outlook. He became cynical.

Me: Do you feel you have changed?

J: I have become cynical. I am not that trusting anymore and that's because of my sponsor. It's because of the company that I work for [...] I went from being very trusting to someone...I don't really trust people anymore! When they tell me something, I am very sceptical. I am anticipating they would do something to me. I think if they do, do this, I would do this [...]. I call my sponsor my slave master because this is who we are, we are slaves. That's how the system

works here. You want to open a bank account, you have to have permission. You want to buy a car, you have to have permission. You want to leave the country and go on vacation, you have to get permission. You want to get your family, you have to have permission. This experience here turned my world upside-down. When I meet someone new, I think, can I trust this person? [first interview with James].

In the above quotation, James uses a very strong metaphor to describe his sponsor, a “slave master”. This explains how restrained James feels, as if he were a slave.

5.3.4.4 Future decisions: Open options.

When I asked him about the future, James related to me he had thought of a few options, but these were not final decisions.

Me: Where do you see yourself in the future?

J: Not teaching English... My background is business. I came here to pay my student loan. I came here to get out of debt, and I came here to take money back to Canada to do a master's degree. My goal is to get my CMA, Chartered Management Accountant certification and to use this in a different Gulf or Arab country. Hopefully, whatever is happening in the Middle East these days will improve things down the road, so things are more developed here...The students don't do anything to help themselves. My students asked me last week, “Mr James, why did you give us a low performance report?” and I said, “I never did that. You did. You didn't study. When you don't study, it's like asking me to give you a low performance report”. They say they understand, but still they don't change. I don't like this aspect of teaching English here. It's like talking to the wall. [...]. Because of the students themselves, I don't think I can spend my life teaching English to these guys. May be if I teach English in Asian countries, like Korea or Japan or China. I am sure these students are completely different. I know they are.

Me: How do you know?

J: Because when I was in university, there were a lot of international students and when they are Asian, from these countries, they work hard. This is just what I think. I could be wrong. I was wrong about Saudi in terms of how things are here. I could be wrong there, too. I am sure they have lazy people, too, but I don't think it's such an epidemic as it is here. Here, it is so wide spread. It's everywhere [first interview with James].

The quotation above shows James's awareness about the situation not only in Saudi Arabia, but also about what is happening around Saudi Arabia in reference to the political situation in the Arab countries. He was hoping that "*whatever is happening in the Middle East these days will improve things down the road*" [first interview with James] so things are more developed in Saudi Arabia.

The quotation above also shows that James wants to leave TESOL mainly because of his students' attitude to learning. This quotation also reveals how James was generalizing that all Asian students are hard working. My question to him, however, made him reconsider his statement through reflecting on his experience in Saudi Arabia. Right away, James changed his judgement based only on the question that I posed. I will pick up on this point and other points in the discussion chapter, Chapter 6.

What was interesting about James's interviews and the others' interviews that all seven participants went over the time set for the interviews despite the fact that they related to me that they were busy because their colleagues went on summer vacation, and they had to work overtime to cover for their colleagues' absence. James spoke to me for two hours instead of one for our first interview:

Me: Thank you, James, I know you have to go to work in the morning, and we have already gone beyond the one hour interview time we agreed upon.

J: No, no, please, I want to talk. Do you have any other questions? Please, ask as many questions as you want. [First Interview with James]

I felt James, just like the rest of the other participants I interviewed, needed to talk about his intercultural experiences. Despite the fact that I encouraged James to send me an optional email regarding an experience that we may have missed during the interviews and the significance of this experience, James, like many of the participants I interviewed, did not send me the email I asked for. He seemed to prefer to talk about his experience rather than write about it. I learned that James left Saudi Arabia and moved back to Canada after months of our interviews.

5.4. Summary

This chapter highlighted the complex relationships between intercultural experiences, the factors affecting these and the learning that results from these experiences. This complexity is clear in the four individual narratives that I presented above. These four narratives will be discussed further in the discussion chapter, Chapter 6.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Implications

6.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the findings of my study presented in Chapter 5 above with respect to how far they resonate with existing conceptualisations of intercultural learning and what new insights they afford. The first part of the chapter will consider these in light of the main research questions underpinning the study documented in 4.2. Namely, what sorts of experiences of interculturality the participants relate, what factors affect these and what sorts of intercultural learning occurs as a result of these experiences. The discussion will mainly draw on examples from the four individual narrative cases discussed in the second half of Chapter 5. This is because the individual narratives reflect the evolving learning trajectories in which the intercultural learning identified and the interplay between this and the factors and facets that informed this learning are clearly visible. The first part of this chapter ends with a consideration of the theoretical implications of the findings in terms of the way this has helped me generate a new model of intercultural learning processes and outcomes, which I suggest can make a useful contribution to an understanding of intercultural learning in global contact zones. The second part of the chapter considers the ways in which global TESOL educators can be better supported, drawing upon many insights into this revealed from participant accounts. The insights, I suggest, provide important implications for those involved in helping ensure positive outcomes for teachers, with possible positive knock-on effects for their encounters with students (Montgomery, 2001).

6.2. Intercultural learning: The Complex Interplay between Experience and Positionality and Learning

The findings show how intercultural experiences and learning processes and outcomes are intimately connected to everyday experiences and conversations with others for the participants. Those experiences are also intimately connected to the ways the participants positioned themselves or were positioned by others within the experiences. As such, the findings suggest that the experiential dialogic and positioning perspectives on learning introduced in Chapter 3 are helpful to understand intercultural learning. Firstly, following Dewey (1938/2008) and Bakhtin (1981/2004) experiences can be seen to afford learning spaces in so far as they provide the start point for learning, which help to generate individual reflection processes leading the global TESOL educators to take certain courses of action. Thus, the findings reveal how, in line with Dewey's ideas (1938/2008), learning was rooted in an ongoing action, reflection and outcome process whereby the everyday experiences provide the context for learning, but the learning process (i.e. how individuals act upon these experiences and think about them) is an individual one.

The findings also suggest that the participants and the experiences they have need to be seen as co-constituting as the participants were seen to be both affecting as well as affected by their experiences. In other words, following Harre and associates (2009) and Anthias (2002, 2006), these experiences are seen to be constituted by the ways individuals position themselves and are positioned within these experiences. Thus, experiences were not external realities but were the realities that were created by the positioning actions of those who were involved in the experiences. Thus, positionalities (positions and positioning) were central to the participants' evolving intercultural learning trajectories.

Because the participants live in the real world, their positions were also seen to be informed by and manifested in wider positioning discourses, such as those related to race or gender (see 5.2.1.1), which were invoked by many of the participants. Thus, intercultural learning trajectories were in no small part seen to be influenced by the ways in which participants understood their place in relation to these discourses and the place of those they engaged with in their intercultural encounters. As such, intercultural learning processes and outcomes were informed in no small measure by power relationships that are, as Anthias, (2006) argues, features of translocational encounters in global contact zones, such as Saudi Arabia, where cultures meet and clash (Clifford, 1997; Pratt, 1991).

6.3. Accounting for Differential Responses to a Common Experience of Othering in Participants' Accounts

The intercultural learning that results from the complex interplay between experience and positionality was seen to be emergent and variable (Dewey, 1938/1997) across the participants' accounts. For some this led to the evolution of more favourable orientation to an understanding of the Other, as in the cases of Ali and Esha, but for others this ultimately led to negative outcomes or "mis-education" as Dewey (1938/1997) puts it, such as in the cases of Eleanor and James. The reasons for this were related to the ways in which intercultural learning experiences were seen to reflect a shared social position of Othering within the Saudi setting, and the interplay between this factor and four additional facets of the participants' experiences. These facets were contextual realities, dispositional positionalities, situated value systems, and wider discourses.

All four participants shared one thing in common, an experience of Othering as a result of their social positions within the Saudi society although the scale, type and the frequency of the Othering experiences were different. As will be shown below, Ali and Esha were more frequently and aggressively Othered, based on their social positions, than Eleanor and James were. The finding that the TESOL educators' main experiences were experiences of Othering is partly consistent with what has been identified in the literature earlier by Neilsen (2009) who suggested that expatriate TESOL teachers are Othered several times over the course of their careers "as they take up posts in several different countries" (p.3). The difference is that the participants in this study were Othered several times within the same country and sometimes while holding the same posts as the case with Esha, for example, who was Othered several times in Saudi Arabia and at times, when she was holding the same post. This suggests that experiences of Othering are not bound by new posts/countries, but are rather complex situations that can occur at any time during social interaction over the course of the TESOL teachers' careers.

An experience of Othering creates dilemmas or emotionally-challenging situations that afforded the sort of 'disequilibrium', which is seen as an appropriate condition for the potential for new learning to take place (Dewey, 1938/1997; Bakhtin, 1981/2004). Yet, as mentioned earlier, and as the accounts in Chapter 5 illustrate, this may not always lead to positive outcomes, such as those discussed in the literature, which include openness to the Other among other positive outcomes (Byram, 1997). The findings suggested that part of the reasons for this were linked to the four discernable facets of intercultural experiences mentioned above, which were evident in all accounts. These facets worked together to inform the ways in which

individual participants understood and worked through their understanding and engagement with their positioning as Othered.

Firstly, intercultural experiences and learning took place against the backdrop of wider discourses that positioned the participants in hierarchal ways according to a relative global order system of positioning. This is reflected in how Eleanor and James, as “Westerners”, “native-speakers” of English, “white” and British and Canadian respectively, are globally positioned in ways that gave them more power than Ali and Esha, who are “non-Westerners”, “non-white”, Canadian and Pakistani respectively. These wider discourses informed the situated value systems in Saudi Arabia that the participants found themselves in. The participants were acknowledged or Otherised based on wider discourses that were reflected in the way they were positioned within the social hierarchy in Saudi Arabia. Thus, Eleanor and James were positioned at the top of the expatriate social hierarchy within Saudi Arabia while Ali and Esha were positioned in lower ranks. These wider discourses also related to larger discourses, such as “West vs. Islam”, “Westerner vs. non-Westerner”, “native-speaker vs, non-native speakers” of English and “white vs, non-white”, which were reproduced in the four participants’ accounts. Wider discourses also influenced the contextual realities that affected the participants as the participants could connect through the Internet with their significant others because Saudi is connected to the rest of the globe via technology, communication and transportation. Moreover, contextual realities included the situations that the participants found themselves in that are salient to the Saudi setting. Contextual realities also included the participants’ relationships to people and places within and across Saudi Arabia. These relationships were affected by wider discourses about Saudi Arabia as a place and its people. Dispositional positions are frames of mind that resulted from the participants’ general

and intercultural previous experiences. These were affected by wider discourses, as well, as these positions relate in part to the participants' previous intercultural experiences, which were also affected by wider discourses.

Below I will compare and contrast the ways in which the social position of Othering combined with the four different facets of intercultural experiences discussed in the four narrative accounts of intercultural learning provided in Chapter 5 above. The different intercultural experiences these generated were important to the sorts of intercultural learning experiences the participants had and serve as a backdrop to their intercultural learning trajectories to be described following on from that. I will first consider the experiences of Ali and Esha, who were seen to have generated intercultural learning trajectories leading to positive outcomes and then those of Eleanor and James whose trajectories were seen to result in negative intercultural learning outcomes. Organising the discussion in this way will help highlight any experiential differences that may be significant to more or less positive intercultural learning trajectories and outcomes.

6.3.1. Ali's and Esha's experiences of interculturality.

Although Ali's and Esha's experiences of Othering differed in some respects, with Esha experiencing gendered Othering and Othering based on nationality and Ali's Othering being on account of his ethnicity, there are significant similarities between these two participants' social positions, dispositional positionalities, their positioning vis-à-vis the Saudi situated value systems and their positions with regards to the sort of contextual realities they were engaged in.

Ali and Esha both perceived themselves as Muslim, "non-white" and Asian. The intersection of these positions provided Ali and Esha with less authority in the

social order in Saudi Arabia because of the Saudi value system that values “white” and “Westerner” expatriates and places Asians and “non-whites” at the bottom of the social hierarchy (see Chapter 2). This is informed by a social hierarchy affected to a large extent by global ordering and wider global discourses like “native vs. non-native speakers”, “white vs. non-white” and “Western vs. non-Western”. Because of their social positions, global ordering of “non-white” and “non-Western” people and the larger discourses that reinforced Ali’s and Esha’s positions as inferior to other social positions on the local level, Ali and to a larger extent, Esha claimed to be the most-frequently and aggressively Othered participants who took part in my study. In fact, Esha’s additional social positions as Pakistani and as a woman caused her to be the most Othered participant among all the participants. The Othering the two participants underwent is evident in Ali’s students’ conception of him as a “fake Canadian” based on his skin-color and in Esha’s students’ conception of her as a “maid” based on her nationality and their perception of her as a “non-native” speaker of English.

In addition, Ali’s and Esha’s experiences were positively affected by their similar positions to the Saudi situated value system. They positively positioned themselves vis-à-vis the Islamic, and in Esha’s case also tribalism, Saudi Arabian values. This is because they are both Muslims and because Esha is familiar with tribalism in Pakistan. However, there were other situated value systems that affected the way Ali and Esha were positioned within Saudi Arabia negatively. These were informed by larger discourses related to valuing “Western, White, Native-speakers” of English, which were informed by wider discourses. These positioned Ali and Esha in inferior ways within Saudi Arabia.

Another facet that affected their experiences is contextual reality. These related to the institutions the participants worked at and the cities they lived in, in Saudi Arabia. Esha, for example, worked in many institutions where she had many male superiors, who she claimed neglected her opinion because she is a woman. These institutions also did not honour diversity as Esha related to me, and this is why she preferred the last company, which respected women and diversity and had a positive influence on Esha's experience. This is related to global discourse that position women as inferior to men and Pakistanis as inferior to "Western" nationals. Ali, on the other hand, related to me that the previous company, where he worked did not pay his salary and was not efficient with issues like his vacation. Ali liked the last company he worked at because he did not face problems with the institution. Oddly enough, both Ali and Esha work for the same company although they work in different buildings and teach different subjects and different types of students. Ali and Esha related to me how they were happy working for that company. In addition, Ali's and Esha's narratives were full of instances of how their life between Saudi Arabia and their home countries positively affected their experiences. For example, Ali's and Esha's relationships with their significant others through the Internet and regular visits to their home countries provided them with the support and psychological well-being they needed. These are examples of contextual realities. Their relationships to the people/places in Saudi Arabia will be reflected upon further in 6.4.2.

Finally, the facets that affected Ali's and Esha's experiences were affected by their dispositional positions, which were similar, too. Both Ali and Esha had prior positive childhood experiences in Saudi Arabia that resulted in a positive outlook of Saudi Arabia as a place. They were both interested in the Saudi Arabian culture and

were open to learning more about the Other in general. Ali's also had positive intercultural experiences with Saudis in Canada. Both Ali's and Esha's general position reflected open-mindedness towards learning from hard experiences in general as can be seen from their narratives. Perhaps Ali's and Esha's dispositional positions are best explained in terms of Andreotti's (2013) tent or backpack metaphors (see 3.6.2.2).

6.3.2 Eleanor's and James's experiences of interculturality.

Eleanor and James have significant similarities in their social positions, which affected their experiences. These were informed by wider discourses, and affected by Eleanor's and James's similar dispositional positions, the situated value systems and the contextual realities.

As for their social positions, Eleanor's and James's are both "Western", "white" and "native-speakers" of English. The intersection of these positions gave Eleanor and James a prominent status and authority in social interactions in Saudi Arabia. The place of their social positions in the social hierarchy was affected to a large extent by global order and wider discourses like "native vs. non-native speakers", "white vs. non-white" and "Western vs. non-Western". These are global discourses that were reproduced by the people in the social encounters locally (Harre & Van Langenhove, 1999) in Saudi Arabia. Eleanor and James were given better jobs, salaries and job positions based on these discourses. This relates to another facet that affected Eleanor's and James's experiences, situated value systems in Saudi Arabia, which value "whiteness, native-speakers and Westerners". These were informed by the wider discourses discussed earlier, so Eleanor's and James's positions as superiors were reinforced. However, these larger discourses

caused Eleanor to position herself as an opponent to Islam, which is greatly valued in Saudi Arabia. Although James is a Muslim himself, he still positioned himself as superior to the locals because he is a “Westerner” and they are Arabs.

Eleanor’s and James’s experiences were affected by contextual realities in Saudi Arabia. Eleanor and James had negative prior experiences with the institutions they worked at in Saudi Arabia that seemed to negatively orientate their experiences at later stages. This is related to contextual realities. James’s main problem seemed to be the company where he worked. James was connected to his family in Canada through the Internet. This was an important factor that influenced his experience positively as it provided him with the emotional support he needed to continue living in Saudi Arabia. I will be reflecting on James’s and Eleanor’s relationships to people/places in Saudi Arabia in 6.4.2.

Another facet that affected Eleanor’s and James’s experiences are Eleanor’s and James’s dispositional positions, which can be best explained in terms of Andreotti’s (2013) caravan metaphor (see 3.6.2.1). Neither Eleanor nor James were interested to learn more about Saudi Arabia. They were constantly comparing between how good life is in the “West” and how poor life is in Saudi Arabia. They both thought the Other needs to learn from them because, as “Westerners”, they know better. Eleanor and James both related to me that they could easily return to their countries and live there.

6.4. Reflections on the Participants' Intercultural Experiences

6.4.1. The constraints and affordances of different positionalities to intercultural experiential realities.

For all of these participants' relocation to Saudi Arabia created "translocational positionalities" (Anthias, 2006) that affected their intercultural experiences as well as learning as will be discussed below. Examining the similarities between Ali's and Esha's accounts on the one hand and Eleanor's and James's account on the other hand, has shown how the participants' translocational positionalities affected their experiences and learning. Wider discourses such as "native vs. non-native-speakers", "white vs. non-white", "Westerner vs. non-Westerner" can be understood as "colonial discourses" Bhabha, (1994, p.96). These seemed to have given the participants a different sense of place in the global order. These discourses orientated the TESOL teachers differently to their experiences in Saudi Arabia, the place of experience, and also were drawn upon by others the teachers encountered, who demonstrated the ways in which these discourses were used, at least in part to construct situated value systems.

Nevertheless, the effects of these different facets of the participants' experiences were somehow contradictory. Saudi Arabia opened up privileged positions for Eleanor and James as "white, "native-speakers" "Westerners", yet it made things more challenging for them. It seems that neither Eleanor nor James were used to being Othered as their narratives suggest and they struggled to reconcile themselves to this experience. Ali's and Esha's accounts on the other hand, contained many instances of Othering even before they came to Saudi Arabia, so an experience of othering, alongside a dispositional position, which was built upon

an experience of being marginalized “subalterns” (Bhabha,1994, p.85) was seen as a commonplace feature of Ali’s and Esha’s lived reality. Perhaps, although they were not afforded the privileged position that Eleanor and James had, this enabled them to come at the intercultural experiences differently. In other words, Ali’s and Esha’s experiential realities helped provide them with a more positive orientation to learning from their experiences. This would seem to be an important area for future research into intercultural learning.

6.4.2. Contextual realities: the importance of space and place in participants’ accounts.

All of the participants made reference to contextual realities in their accounts as indicated above. All demonstrated how although they had crossed material borders, they remained connected to their home countries and to Saudi Arabia at the same time via electronic media and the availability of a transport network across the globe. The participants’ ability to connect with their significant others in their home countries while living in Saudi Arabia positively affected their experiences as it provided them with the support they needed. This suggests that the participants do not see themselves as separate from the rest of the world.

Interestingly, participants’ accounts include considerable reference to their emotional responses to Saudi Arabia as a *place* in their discussions of their experiences. In other words, they highlighted the embodied nature of learning (Lave & Wenger 1991) and how this does not only entail a change in thought, but is linked to a change of emotional responses or feelings. Human geographers like Tuan (1977/2001), acknowledge the physical meaning of places (as physical landscapes), but also argue that space and place are best understood if explained in terms of

human experience, which relates to emotions and thought, and how: “In experience, the meaning of space often merges with that of place” (Tuan,1977/2001, p.6). According to Tuan (1977/2001), “Space” can be associated with freedom, movement and openness while “place” is more private and can be associated with narrowness, stability and pause. Once human beings experience (through sensation, conception and perception) space and have emotions about it, they start thinking about space as a place. Tuan contends:

Emotion tints all human experience, including the high flights of thought...Thought tints all human experience, including the basic sensations of heat and cold, pleasure and pain. Sensation is quickly qualified by thought as one of a special kind. (1977/2001, p.8)

For all of the participants, Saudi Arabia was pretty much a space before they experienced it. It represented openness, movement and freedom. This may suggest that a place refers only to a locale, yet a place according to Tuan can be as small as an “armchair” or as big as “the whole earth” (Tuan, 1977/2001, p.150). Through their different experiences, the participants came to understand Saudi Arabia as a place in different ways. An important difference between Ali and Esha and Eleanor and James was that Ali and Esha also brought an understanding of Saudi Arabia as a good place to bear on their experiences because of their childhood experiences in Saudi Arabia, which were characterized by positive emotions that they associated with Saudi Arabia. This caused Ali and Esha to perceive Saudi Arabia as a *place* that they would love to return to. Ali saw Saudi Arabia as a place of safety and stability that he was longing to return to, especially after 9/11. Saudi Arabia was also perceived as a space full of opportunities. Within Saudi Arabia, Ali and Esha made the decision to move to their latest place of work after they reflected on their working conditions in the previous work places and the opportunities that the previous places did not open up for them. The new work place opened up new opportunities for them

to potentially take up leadership positions, for example, as in Esha's account. This negotiation of places enabled them to shift their translocational positionalities in ways that made them feel stronger leading them to build strong relationships with their students and colleagues. Ali's and Esha's perception of Saudi Arabia as a benign place and a space full of opportunities in their minds may well have fostered their ability to build positive relationships with the people there and have played significant roles in their positive trajectories. The significance of Saudi Arabia as a place is evident in Ali's hard work to write a book about Saudi Arabia, its culture and history.

Unlike Ali and Esha, Eleanor's and James's perception of Saudi Arabia was merely as a place and one which they largely experienced negatively. One significant reason could be related to their early experiences of places in Saudi Arabia. Eleanor described to me vividly the apartment she was put in when she arrived to Saudi Arabia, the thick velvet and the smell of cigarettes. All these sensations created negative emotions that Eleanor associated with the location where this happened. This was Eleanor's first perception of Saudi Arabia. The other early negative experiences that followed on from the above one helped compound her negative emotions about Saudi Arabia. These experiences were associated with her place of work, where her passport was taken away so she couldn't travel. James had similar experiences in the place where he worked. Because of this, Eleanor and James perceived Saudi Arabia as an unorganized, restricting and dishonest place. Eleanor negotiated her places of experience through moving to Jeddah, where she changed her place of work and the place she lived in. Although she liked living on the compound, in Jeddah, she still felt Saudi Arabia was a restricting place. This is clear in her description of the compound as a cocoon. Eleanor left every single work place she moved to because she could not build good relationships with the people

in these places. James tried to move to work in a different institution, yet all his attempts were blocked by the institution he worked for. It seems likely that Eleanor's and James's negative trajectories and negative intercultural learning outcomes are informed to some extent by their negative perceptions of Saudi Arabia as a place, the failure to navigate these places and negotiate their positions in these spaces in positive ways. Perhaps Eleanor's and James's failure to perceive of Saudi Arabia as a place and a space at the same time affected their experiences and learning in negative ways.

This points out to the positive impact of conceptualizing a locale (Saudi Arabia in this instance) as both a place and space, on intercultural experiences to intercultural learning. As can be seen from Ali's and Esha's accounts, although Saudi Arabia was perceived as a positive place, there were places within Saudi Arabia that Ali and Esha had negative associations with, yet Ali and Esha considered Saudi Arabia as both a place (which could have negative or positive associations) and a space (for movement and opportunity). Unlike Ali and Esha, Eleanor and James perceived Saudi Arabia only as a place with negative associations. Eleanor and James could not see that Saudi Arabia was also a space with potential to change their negative associations with Saudi Arabia as a disorganized and dishonest place. Although Eleanor tried to negotiate the negative places by moving to different places, her lack of openness to experience the new places as spaces, as well, were clear in her association of negative experiences in previous places with her new spaces of experience.

6.5. Intercultural Learning and Positional Shifts

The Othering situations Ali, Esha, Eleanor and James went through resulted in strong emotions that ranged from discomfort, shock and depression to attachment and fascination as is evident in the participants' individual narratives in Chapter 5. These emotions called for action to resolve the situations that the participants found themselves in and as such the participants were engaged in a process of renegotiating their understanding of their translocational positionalities through strategic actions, which generated more or less positive awareness of the cultural other and which helped them create a greater feeling of empathy amongst other things between them and cultural others. This new learning, therefore, was generated through what might be described as a process of positional shifts. Some of these strategic actions are shown in Table 4. Ali and Esha's intercultural learning trajectories showed a process of positional shifts that entailed strategic actions that generated positive outcomes, but Eleanor and James's intercultural trajectories did not.

Ali's and Esha's accounts showed that they were fully aware of their translocational positionalities in Saudi Arabia as foreigners who are positioned at the bottom of the social hierarchy. To shift their positions, they followed many strategies. Their narratives showed many instances of commitment to dialogue with the Other, like when Esha resorted to dialogue to shift the perception of her students who thought of her as a maid and when Ali was talking to his students to understand their tribalism. Another strategy that Ali and Esha followed was using their points of strengths to get their rights and shift the way people positioned them as "non-native" speakers of English. Esha, for example, was working hard on accumulating years of

experience teaching oral skills. Ali was stressing his Canadian nationality to prove to his students that he is not a “non-native speaker” of English.

Both Ali’s and Esha’s accounts reflected that they were actively building relationships with the locals, expatriates, their superiors and their colleagues to shift their positioning as foreigners and get the support they need in Saudi Arabia through having a community. They also maintained their relationships with their significant others in their home countries through the Internet, regular visits and by phone. This provided them with ample support and made it easier for them to live in Saudi Arabia. Ali and Esha also were building cultural bridges with the people in Saudi Arabia through identifying common values between them and the people in Saudi Arabia, like their religion and in the case of Esha, religion and tribalism. Ali and Esha were interested in and respectful to the differences between them and the people in Saudi Arabia as they both set to learn more about the language and the culture of Saudi Arabia.

Identifying similarities between them and the people were Ali’s and Esha’s strategies to ease relations between them and the people in Saudi while learning from differences was their way to connect with the people in Saudi Arabia. It can be concluded from the discussion about the strategies Ali and Esha followed that they were constantly reflecting on their translocational positionalities to shift them in positive ways. This is clear, for example, in the way Esha shifted her positioning from a “maid” to a good oral skills teacher. The strategies Ali and Esha used to shift their translocational positionality resulted in the positive outcomes of Ali’s and Esha’s intercultural learning, knowledge generation about the intercultural Other and the continuity of their intercultural experiences, in Saudi Arabia.

Both Ali and Esha succeeded in establishing a third space for learning about culture. This space allowed them to learn about themselves through learning about the Other. To them, culture was not only about national belonging, as they were not Saudi nor Arab, it was more about belonging to their own constructed “culture”. Their “culture” seemed to be a fuzzy space of the dialogue they created between them and the Other. Ali thought his strategy was so successful that he thought he could write a book about the new “culture”. Writing the book helped Ali learn about the culture and history of the people in Saudi Arabia. It helped him learn Arabic because most of the resources were in Arabic. Writing the book was a symbol of establishing a dialogue with the Other through which Ali could learn about himself and the Other and combine this knowledge to live by. This can be related to Bhabha’s theory (1994) (see 3.5.1.4), which sees that the Third Space, the dynamic fluid meeting place of the Self and Other, can generate learning about the Self and the Other through dialogue. Similarly, Esha learned not to get offended by her Othering situations but rather to put herself in the position of the people who discriminated against her to learn why they do so through establishing a dialogue with Saudi people, among other positive strategies she followed (see Table 4), and building relationships with the people. This resonates with what Byram terms the “decentring point” (1989) by which people evaluate their own “culture” and position from the Other’s perspective and decentre from own culture and position to achieve better understanding of the Other’s point of view. Thus, the outcomes of Ali’s and Esha’s intercultural learning were positive, too.

Eleanor’s and James’s accounts, on the other hand, showed that they were not fully aware of their translocational positionalities in Saudi Arabia in relation to the cultural Other. Although Eleanor and James seemed to be aware of their social

positions in relation to the Other and how these positions placed them at the top of the social hierarchy, they were not aware of their own prejudices as superior “Westerners”. This is clear in the way Eleanor assigned certain qualities to people according to their nationalities. It is also evident in James’s remark, “*The only time I get my rights is when I stop treating them like Muslims and I start treating them as Arabs and I am a Canadian*”. Although Eleanor and James also managed their translocational positionalities to negotiate their Othering, the strategies they followed reflected rather aggressive responses in comparison to the other participants. These responses were evident, for example, in Eleanor’s refusal to hold dialogues with the people in Saudi Arabia, build relationships with them or appreciate their differences.

The only strategy Eleanor used to manage her translocational positionality to negotiate her Othering situations was through using her skills as an IELTS examiner, social positions as a “white, native-speaker” “Westerner” and managerial position at work as power tools to achieve better living conditions. This shifted her translocational positionality in negative ways. Eleanor started Othering others as she did with the shop assistant. She failed to have a community in Saudi Arabia. This she thought was the reason for her suffering. The outcome of her experience was that she transformed from a believer in diversity to a racist. Eleanor left the country soon after our interviews. James’s negotiation of his Othering situations was similar to Eleanor’s. James, too, used his social positions and computer skills as power tools to negotiate his Othering situations.

The difference between Eleanor’s account and James’s account is that he was actively building relationships in Saudi Arabia and maintaining his relationships in Canada. This provided him with a lot of support, which he needed. However, there were many factors that impacted negatively on his intercultural experience and this

experience outcome (see 6.3), chief among these was the way he was treated by the institution where he worked. The outcome of his experience was that he transformed from a trusting person to a cynical one. He, too, left Saudi Arabia few months after our interviews. Therefore, Eleanor's and James's intercultural experiences resulted in negative intercultural learning or mis-education (Dewey, 1938/1997) as clear from their negative transformations.

6.6. Theoretical Implications of the Study: Towards an Experiential Model of Intercultural Learning in Global Contact Zones

The purpose of this section is to bring together the various strands of intercultural experiences and learning discussed above, to compare the insights from this study with those in the existing literature and to put forward a different way of looking at intercultural learning. The data analysis generated an experiential model of intercultural learning based on a bottom-up approach, one that is increasingly seen as important to develop (Atkinson & Sohn, 2013). The conceptualisation of intercultural learning that is highlighted is one comprising a continuous process of developing awareness about one's sociocultural position in relation to the Other and a process of positional shifting, the outcomes of which are not predictable. This is because these are affected by the participants' real or felt places in the global order reflecting global positioning discourses as well as their dispositional positions, the social positions they are afforded in situated value systems and contextual realities (see 6.2). These combine in complex ways to generate distinctive individual experiential realities. While I acknowledge that a model cannot do full justice to the full complexity of intercultural learning revealed by this study, Figure 6 below is offered to illustrate the relationship between these facets of experience, the intercultural learning process and intercultural learning outcomes.

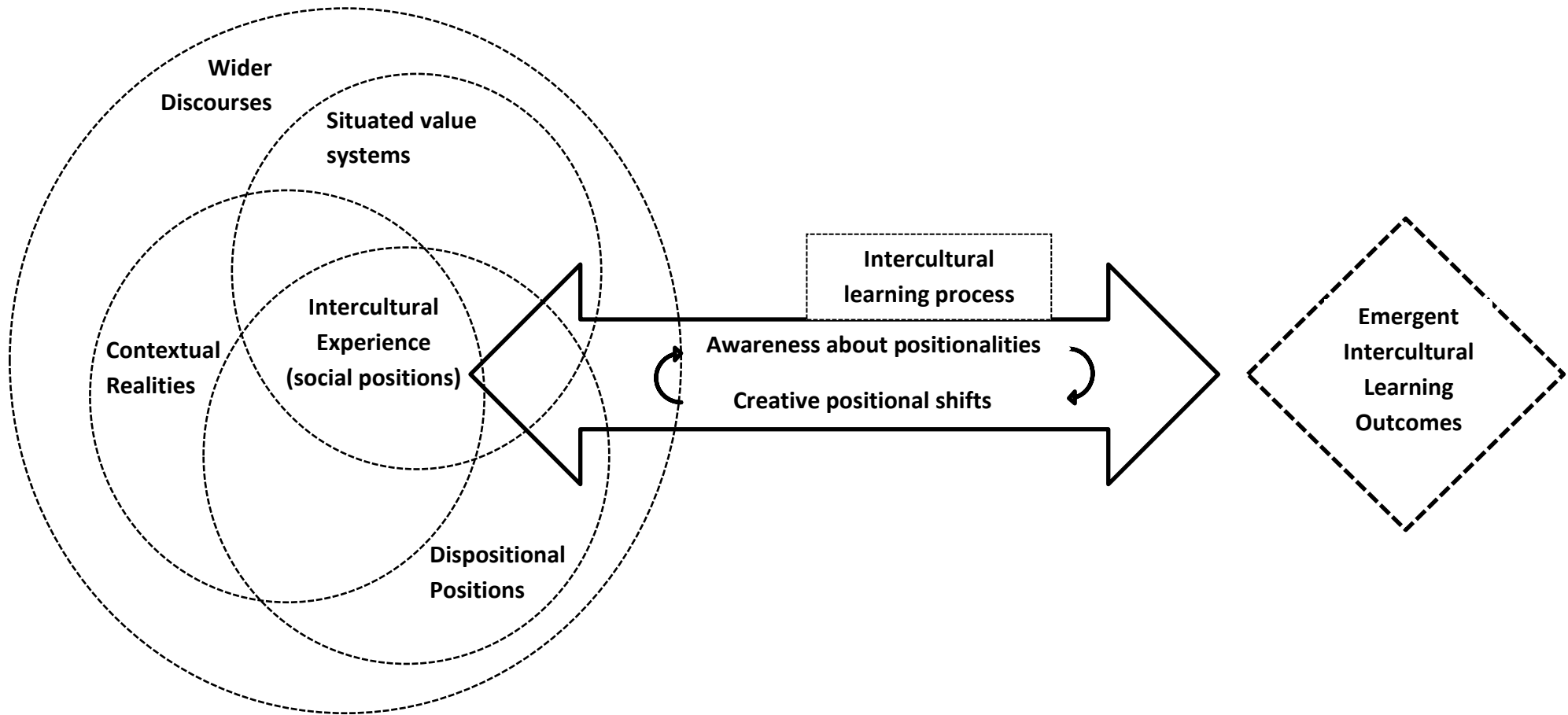


Figure 6. An overview of the experiential intercultural learning model.

In Figure 6 above, the various facets of intercultural experience, which drives intercultural learning are represented with dotted lines to illustrate how these are fluid and dynamic as they change and work together differently over time. Contextual realities, dispositional positions and situated value systems are all seen to evolve and to find articulation with reference to the wider discourses within which they are situated. Similarly, outcomes are also represented by dotted lines as they are emergent. They can be more or less positive and lead to another set of experiences and further intercultural learning. This understanding of learning reflects Dewey's theory of interaction (action-reflection-consequence) (see 3.3.1), but takes into consideration power relationships and positionalities. All this happens in the sites of experience, the global contact zones, which are boundless sites of intercultural learning experiences that are not separate from the rest of the world.

This experiential intercultural learning model in global contact zones is one that incorporates power relations into the conceptualization of intercultural learning unlike most of the previous intercultural learning models discussed in the literature (see 3.6). Moreover, unlike these models this model is one, which acknowledges the differential intercultural learning outcomes rather than seeing this as always leading to greater intercultural competence. This model also seeks to elaborate on those models that have been produced to capture the intercultural learning process, such as those put forward by Deardoff (2006) and Bennett and Bennett's (2004) among others. Firstly, it is built upon and firmly grounded in people's in situ experiential accounts of their own intercultural encounters. Secondly, it seeks to demonstrate how processes inform outcomes and the interconnections between them.

This discussion points towards the need to acknowledge the complexity of intercultural encounters. The findings in this study suggest that all the teachers

learned from their intercultural experiences, but not all learning trajectories were positive ones nor all outcomes were positive. These findings contradict global citizenship programmes that suggest that increased intercultural encounters are likely to result in positive intercultural learning (Spring, 2009). Rather, the model presented in this thesis, suggests that those who work in global contact zones will need support if they are to develop positive intercultural learning trajectories and outcomes.

6.7. Practical implications: towards a pedagogy to promote intercultural learning trajectories with global TESOL educators

As discussed earlier (see Chapter 1), failure of teacher education programmes to prepare teachers for their work (Crandall, 2000) and the very limited attention to the experienced global TESOL educators' experiences in situ (Schlein, 2006; Menard-Warwick, 2008; Neilsen, 2009), resulted in a call to find alternative ways of knowing based on the teachers' experiences (Johnson, 2006). There were two insights that emerged from the data that can help address the above needs. These insights were not direct answers to the research question, yet are important to understanding of participants' intercultural experiences. The first is the TESOL teachers' need to talk about their intercultural experiences. The second is the importance of interrogating underlying assumptions about culture. These point to some important ways in which a pedagogy to promote positive intercultural learning trajectories and outcomes can be developed

6.7.1. The TESOL teachers' need to talk about their intercultural experiences.

This was evident in the rather positive response to my call for participants (see 4.5). Also, participants' reactions, during the interviews, and their actions after the

interviews (see 5.2.4) were clear indications that the TESOL teachers needed to talk about their intercultural experiences. This points out to the role dialogue can play in constructing a pedagogy of dialogue to support the global TESOL teachers living in similar conditions. This is because my dialogue with the participants was seen as an important way in which new learning was generated.

The participants' need to talk mainly originated from the participants' need to reflect on their intercultural experiences in a holistic manner to understand them. This is an opportunity that it seems that they had not been provided with before as it was not referred to in any of the interviews. This finding resonates with Byram, Gribkova and Starkey suggestion that to make sense of intercultural experiences, "there should [...] be opportunity for withdrawal from the demands of being in a new environment, an opportunity for reflection" (2002, p.20). This is consistent with Dewey's theory (discussed 3.4.1), which suggests that people generate knowledge from learning in challenging experiences through reflection. In a similar vein, Moon (2003) sees that people need to reflect arises when they face complicated unresolved situations that they need to understand, like the participants' Othering experiences. While reflection activities advocated in the literature tend to be written ones, such as through keeping diaries, (Cf. Byram, 2005; Roux, Vazquez & Guzman, 2012), this study suggests that the participants preferred talking about their experiences rather than writing about them. As discussed earlier (section 4.6.1.2), I received very poor responses from the participants for the written reflections I asked for.

It seemed the participants perceived me as an interested sympathetic listener, whom they felt comfortable narrating their stories to (Chase, 2005). Eleanor's correspondence in which she relates to me that it was a great pleasure to meet me

and to do rather a lot of 'dumping' (see 5.2.4) suggests that she carried a heavy weight, an unwanted one that she needed to get rid of. Meeting me provided this chance for her, which provided her with a lot of relief. This could be explained in light of the psychological literature on “cultural shock”, which suggests that sojourners can suffer from unpleasant feelings as a result of being in a different milieu and need to be treated as patients with symptoms to be cured through talk (Oberg, 1954).

The participants seemed to have perceived me also as a more knowledgeable other because I am researching culture and because I am an Arab who studies in a “Western” university. They assumed that I know about the topic at least as much as they do. This is evident in Ali’s remark to me in our first interview, “despite what you and I know about the first nations” (see 5.3.2). Because of this positioning, my questions sometimes were crucial for the participants to understand their experiences. See 5.3.4.4 for how James re-evaluates his judgement about Asian students being hard-working when I ask him why he thinks so. In this sense, my dialogue with the participants was an intercultural experience on its own that resulted in positive intercultural learning outcomes.

The importance of dialogue to creating a relational space for reflection was also discussed by Bakhtin (see section 3.4.2). Dialogue, in the interviews, contained many voices, the participants’ voices (both internal and external) and my voice, which was positioned by the participants as both internal and external. May be the best way to explain the nature of internal dialogue and its relation to external dialogue between me and the participants is to illustrate this. This can be illustrated in the dialogue that took place between me and Eleanor. Throughout our conversation, Eleanor positioned herself as a “Westerner” anti-Islam TESOL teacher who refuses to converse or have relationships with the Muslim people of Saudi

Arabia. Eleanor seems to have positioned me as a global TESOL educator who knows what it is like to work in TESOL in Saudi Arabia and as a knowledgeable researcher who knows about the “West” because I am doing my doctorate in a UK-university. In this sense, I was an insider to Eleanor. However, I was also positioned by her as a Muslim and as an Arab. In this sense, I was an outsider to her. Therefore, she positioned my voice as similar to hers when it came to my insider position and as different from hers when it came to my outsider position. She had to position her utterances in relation to mine by predicting my next utterance according to Bakhtin’s theory (see 3.4.2). This seems to have been difficult given my insider/outsider position. However, positioning her voice utterances in my presence was not the only issue as Eleanor also had to reconcile her own internal and external voices at the same time. Eleanor, for example, invokes the authoritative voice of her mother (as discussed by Bakhtin section 3.4.2) to explain to me the ethos on which her mother raised her, “live and let live” (in section 5.3.3.3). This position is in stark difference with Eleanor’s position as a “Westerner” discussed above. The combination of all these voices created conflict. This resulted in the disorienting dilemma, “I have become racist”, which resulted in the conscious awareness moment or what O’Sullivan (2001) refers to as a “transformative moment”. Achieving this conscious awareness is a necessary starting point for reflection and is usually very hard to attain (Osterman & Kottkamp, 1993). This moment resulted in learning about the self that was followed by action. Eleanor decided to call her friend to discuss why they both have become people they don’t like after years of the conversation they held on this topic. This is a clear indication that when Eleanor revealed her transformation, she shifted her position and understanding of herself from a knowledgeable “Westerner” to a racist. She did not like to hear what she said

about herself. This called for action to understand why she has become racist and that was why she made the phone call after our interviews were over (see section 5.3.3.4). It was our dialogue that created the tension that made her aware of her negative transformation. This is a clear indication that my dialogue with Eleanor has in itself resulted in a positive intercultural learning outcome. This intercultural learning is relational and dialogic. Perhaps if Eleanor had this opportunity to talk about her intercultural experience before, her trajectory would have been different. The above discussion points to the potential for dialogue to play a significant role in preparing and supporting not only the TESOL global teachers but also other teachers working in similar conditions.

6.7.2. The importance of interrogating underlying assumptions about culture.

The participants' accounts showed their underdeveloped understanding of "culture". The essentialist understanding of culture as a bound entity was evident across all of the participants' accounts, except for Ali's, whose narrative included references to understanding culture as hybrid, as when he talked about Said and the idea of third space (see 5.3.1). Julie, for example, related in our first interview to me that she, "like[s] to immerse" herself in a different culture, an expression that Holliday (2010) qualifies as essentialist in nature. The participants also assigned to themselves and to others certain qualities based on national belonging (Holliday, 2010; Atkinson & Sohn, 2013). Although this did not always result in the participants Othering other people, there were examples when the participants Othered other people based on the people's national belonging. Detailed examples of the participants Othering other people were mainly present in Eleanor's account and to a lesser degree in James's account (see 5.3.3 and 5.3.4).

Moreover, the participants could not discuss “culture” in an academic way although all of them had their bachelor’s degrees, many of them had their master’s degrees and two of them were completing their doctorate degrees. All these degrees were obtained from good higher education institutions. This suggested a serious problem with these universities’ programs, which seemed not to discuss culture. This caused me to reflect on my own studies, my master’s degree in TESOL and my current doctorate program in TESOL, which are offered by top UK universities. Both programs contained no modules on culture, which is surprising considering the importance of culture in TESOL. This confirms to the view of others that TESOL teacher education continues to fail to prepare teachers for the realities of their job (Crandall, 2000) discussed in (1.2). Eleanor’s conceptualization of culture, which suggested she viewed culture as a discrete entity that is associated with national origins, resulted in her actions of stereotyping and Othering people (Holliday, 2010). Eleanor’s description of Bangladeshis as “little”, Saudis, Kazakhstanis and Chinese as “litterer thinkers” and of Canadians as conservative, are clear examples of how Eleanor attached certain qualities to certain people. Another example is the remarks she made about the housing manager. Eleanor’s conceptualization of two rival entities, “West vs. Islam”, suggests to a great extent an essentialist understanding of culture and relates to what Said (1978/1995) discussed (see 3.5.1.1.1) on how imagined constructed Others can impact on one’s intercultural experiences and create a division between an imagined Other and an imagined Self. Such a conceptualization of culture is dangerous as it is bound to create problems and stereotyping of the Other (Holliday 2011; Said, 1978) especially, within a profession like TESOL which involves working with students of different sociocultural background in a global contact zones like Saudi Arabia. Eleanor’s narrative is a clear

example of the colonial legacy that attaches certain qualities to certain people, who come from certain geographical locations (Holliday, 2011). This is why it is important to interrogate culture and educate teachers on alternative understandings of culture.

Chapter 7: Contribution, Recommendations and Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

The study set out to explore the global TESOL educators' intercultural experiences in Saudi Arabia, the intercultural learning that occurs as a result of these experiences and the factors that affect these experiences. The global TESOL educators' experiences overseas have been largely overlooked in the literature despite the significant role these TESOL educators play in globalization because they teach a global language and represent a mobile group of educators. My aim was to understand these intercultural experiences to find ways to support the global TESOL educators who work in global contact zones as discussed in Chapter 1. The understanding of intercultural learning informing this study was one grounded in experience, relationships and dialogue with reference to a non-essentialist understanding of culture informed by Holliday's work (2010, 2011) among others. My interest was to describe the intercultural learning of TESOL educators in global contact zones such as in Saudi Arabia. This, I argued necessitated an engagement with the significance of power relationships and the renegotiation of these to intercultural learning, informed by my reading of Harre and his associates (1999, 2009) and Anthias (2002, 2006, 2008).

The qualitative interpretative study design with narrative interviews that I employed as the methodology for the study, has contributed to foregrounding the participants' stories of intercultural learning experiences. Analysis of the participants' accounts revealed the complex interplay between their intercultural experiences, the factors and facets affecting these and their intercultural learning. The TESOL global educators' experiences were those of Othering, which was informed by factors

related to the educators' social positions. The facets affecting the educators' experiences were wider discourses, situated value systems, dispositional positions and contextual realities. These four facets intersected with intercultural experiences against a backdrop of wider discourses, which suggested that wider discourses affect intercultural experiences and hence intercultural learning to a great extent. The global TESOL educators' intercultural learning manifested itself in the development of awareness about the participants' positionalities in relation to the Other and the management of these positionalities through positional shifts. Over time, these resulted in the development of more or less positive intercultural learning trajectories and outcomes. Moreover, the analysis of the participants' accounts revealed important insights that can contribute to preparing and supporting global TESOL educators and those working in similar conditions. These related to the importance of dialogue to ensuring positive intercultural learning outcomes and the need to educate teachers on alternative non-essentialist understanding of culture.

In the following sections, I will be discussing the thesis contribution to knowledge based on the topic, theoretical conceptualization of learning in intercultural encounters, methodology and findings. I will then discuss recommendations and suggest future research based on this study findings. I will conclude the thesis by reflecting on my own intercultural learning journey that this thesis afforded me with.

7.2. Contribution to Knowledge

There are many ways in which this study has contributed to knowledge on theoretical, methodological and practical planes. The study has a number of theoretical contributions. Perhaps the most significant theoretical contribution this

thesis has made is uncovering the significant impact of the participants' translocational positionalities on the participants' intercultural learning. The study also found that intercultural experiences do not always result in positive intercultural learning trajectories nor do these experiences always make people more competent as it is widely accepted in the literature. In this sense, the study contributed to an alternative conceptualization of intercultural learning both in terms of the process and outcome that is not related to competences and stages (see the shortcomings of these discussed in Chapter 3). The study also contributed to the scarce research body that seeks to understand the *experienced* global TESOL educators' intercultural experiences. Moreover, the conceptualization of learning as experiential and relational and the non-essentialist understanding of interculturality and culture in this thesis contribute to an emerging body of literature that seeks to understand learning and interculturality. In addition, the study foregrounds power relationships in the conceptualization of learning in intercultural encounters. Incorporating power relationships has to date received little attention in theorizing learning in intercultural encounters as evident from the literature review in Chapter 3. Third, the study was carried out in Saudi Arabia, a "non-Western" global contact zone that is under-researched within the context of TESOL (see 1.3.1). In this sense, the study contributes to the shift in the literature towards examining intercultural learning in "non- Western" settings. Examining the contact zone of Saudi Arabia, has revealed the ambivalent response of Saudi Arabia to globalisation and how this affects the intercultural experiences and learning that happen there.

As for the methodological contributions, the study had two contributions. First, the study assumed a grounded approach that is based on the participants' own experiences. Second, the study gave voice to the teachers thereby contributing to

legitimizing teachers' ways of knowing (see Chapter 1 for the need to conduct such research).

The study contributed to practice in two ways. First, uncovering the teachers' need to talk about their intercultural experiences and how this talk can result in positive intercultural learning outcomes can be seen as an important starting point for constructing a pedagogy of dialogue to support these teachers. Second, the study flagged out the institutions' role in supporting the TESOL teachers in global contact zones and pointed out to the possibility this can be done through building transnational institutional communities. Third, the study has uncovered the global TESOL educators' unawareness of the recent developments with regards to culture (i.e. the non-essentialist understandings of culture).

7.3. Recommendations and Suggestions for Future Research

The thesis reconceptualization of intercultural learning process and outcomes (see 7.2) calls for more research that builds upon and develops the theoretical insights generated from this study represented in the intercultural learning experiential model presented in this thesis (see 6.6).

Moreover, more research is needed to interrogate the global TESOL educators' understanding of culture as a concept to develop more increased awareness of the essentialist/ non essentialist distinction. In addition, more research is needed to extend narrative understandings of intercultural learning and the use of these to develop pedagogies to prepare global TESOL educators for the realities of their work and support them in global contact zones. This is especially important because of the nature of their work, which necessitates working with students from different cultural backgrounds. This research can also have implication for educators

working under similar conditions. The findings that dialogue is important to encouraging reflection and subsequent actions suggest that teachers can be prepared for living overseas through devising undergraduate, graduate or professional development programmes that contain theoretical and practical content. The teachers can be trained to reflect on their own experiences with more knowledgeable others like instructors and colleagues. As for theory, teachers can be educated on experiential and dialogic theories, such as Dewey's and Bakhtin's theories discussed in this thesis. As for the practical programmes' content, devising pedagogies to help these teachers is an important area for future research.

Dialogue also provided an important opportunity for the participants to relieve themselves of the psychological burdens that engaging in intercultural encounters created and was a reason for creating positive intercultural learning outcomes. This finding flags out another important factor that can ensure that the support provided to the teachers is effective like the institutions' role. Institutions can contribute to building transnational learning communities. These communities can include the global teachers and persons who have the required knowledge and expertise to support these teachers through ensuring that the teachers constantly reflect on their intercultural experiences. Institutions can also build transnational learning communities through having policies and regulations that protect the rights of these teachers regardless of their sociocultural backgrounds to facilitate the sojourners' experiences. As the findings suggest, the institutions' role is fundamental in ensuring positive intercultural learning outcomes. Given the complexity of intercultural encounters, it is unlikely that the global TESOL teachers can achieve positive intercultural learning outcomes without their institutions' support as it is clear from findings that those who had more positive trajectories and outcomes were those

who were comfortable in the institutions they worked at. Although establishing transnational learning communities in educational institutions seems to be hinted at as a useful tool to educate TESOL educators about intercultural encounters (Cf. Gleeson & Tait 2012), this research area seems to be largely underexplored. This is why there is an urgent need to research transnational institutional communities as part of the universities' internationalization efforts across the world.

In general, I think this thesis has succeeded in uncovering new ways to conceptualize intercultural learning presented in the experiential intercultural learning model (See 6.6). I believe it has also succeeded in highlighting the importance of providing support to the global TESOL teachers to ensure positive intercultural learning outcomes.

7.4. Reflections on My Own Intercultural Learning Journey

Undertaking this study has enlightened my understanding of intercultural learning experiences in two ways. First, I have learned a lot about the complexity of doing research in intercultural encounters as part of my intercultural learning journey. In retrospect, I see that, in the thesis write-up, I had to use many binary terms that are associated with an essentialist understanding of culture, like “Western/non-Western”, “white/non-white”, etc. However, these are the terms the participants used in their narratives. This is why communicating my points would have been difficult without reference to these terms as one of the thesis aims is to allow the teachers' voice to be heard. I made sure however, these terms are enclosed between two quotation marks, to indicate my understanding of their problematic nature (Elkana, 2002).

Undertaking the study also made me reflect on my previous teaching experience in Saudi Arabia and my own intercultural learning trajectory in relation to the participants' learning. This has made me see my own intercultural experience in a new light, which, I believe, has allowed me to discover my own position as a TESOL educator in Saudi Arabia. Although, I considered myself to be an insider to the participants because I am also a TESOL educator, I admit I was shocked by the scale of Othering the participants underwent in Saudi Arabia. Reflecting back on the years I worked as a TESOL educator, in Saudi Arabia, is rather difficult, yet this "discomfort" is necessary for a researcher's self-reflexivity (Clark & Dervin, 2014). Although I had heard similar Othering stories from my colleagues before, I quickly dismissed them as mere exaggerations or misunderstandings on the teachers' part. This is maybe because I was never Othered in Saudi Arabia. In fact, I felt I was privileged to a great extent because I was given a leadership position when I had limited years of work experience. Looking back at those days makes me wonder whether my privileged position made me blind and deaf (Andreotti, 2012) to what was happening around me. The writing-up of this thesis has transformed my outlook to a great extent. I have become more knowledgeable about the difficulties global TESOL teachers go through. I believe I have also become more open to hearing the voice of the cultural Other (Adichie, 2009). It seems this was achieved through the opportunity to dialogue with the Other that undertaking this study afforded me with. Perhaps I was also a racist in my own terms when I dismissed the teachers' Othering as mere exaggerations or lack of adaptation. Writing this thesis has made me aware of my own prejudices and made me keener to continue my learning journey. It is my hope that this thesis will enable others to identify ways in which they can better understand and support their own and others' intercultural

learning journeys. Researchers can achieve this through embarking on their own research inquiries into this important facet of teachers' experiences in a globalised world.

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Appendices

Appendix I: My Email to TESOL Arabia

Subject: Research on TESOL teachers' Intercultural Experiences

Date: Tue, May 29, 20xx at 4:26 PM

Dear Olivia,

I am conducting a study on TESOL teachers' intercultural experiences in Saudi Arabia. I am looking for participants for my study. Please, forward the below message to TESOL Arabia members.

Description of the study:

The study is set to explore the intercultural experiences and insights of TESOL teachers in Saudi Arabia (i.e. experiences with cultural aspects in the new community). The participants should not be Saudi or Arab. They should be working/have worked in Saudi for at least 3 years. The research data will be collected through conducting interviews with interested participants who match the above criteria. This is a doctoral study, so the data will be strictly used for research purposes. Confidentiality and anonymity will be observed, so the participants cannot be identified. Participants have the right to withdraw at any point from the study. In this case, all data provided by these participants will be destroyed. If interested or if you have any queries, please, feel free to contact me at: xxxx.

Many thanks,

Manal

Appendix II: My Email to the Participants

Dear [participant's name],

I hope this finds you well. The purpose of this email is to explain to you what this research is about and what to expect as a participant in this research.

As previously stated, in an earlier email, the study is about TESOL teachers' intercultural experiences with students, colleagues and the community at large in Saudi Arabia, and the teachers' insights about these experiences. This is a doctoral research for the University of Exeter, UK. Please, be advised that non-Arab participants who have 3+ years of experience match the criteria of this research

Each participant is requested to sign the consent form attached and send it back to me before the interviews take place. This form details your rights as a research participant and is an integral part of any ethical research.

The first interview will last for an hour. The second interview will last for half an hour. Each participant gets to choose the place she/he wants to be interviewed at (workplace or anywhere else) at a date and a time convenient for her/him. Interviews will be recorded. These interviews might seem to you like one-sided conversations, as I will be saying very little during the interviews. This is because I am very interested in hearing your experiences and your insight about your experiences. Some of my questions might seem self-evident. This is because I will be trying to get to grips with how you understand things. Please, feel free to take your time in thinking and talking during the interviews.

It will be optional, though highly recommended, for each participant, to contact me (by email) if they feel during the days/weeks following the interviews that something new came up or she/he remembered something she/he would like to add to what she/he told me during the interviews.

I would like to thank you again for deciding to participate in this research. Please, contact me if you have any queries. Looking forward to hearing back from you.

Yours faithfully,
Manal

Appendix III: Pen-Portraits of the Participants

Julie is a Caucasian British. She is a 50 year-old TESOL teacher. She has a bachelor's degree in English Literature, a CELTA certificate, and is currently working on her PhD in TESOL. Julie has 13 years of experience as an English Language teacher. She has worked in Greece, Spain, the US, Kenya, the UK, the Caribbean and Portugal before she came to Saudi Arabia. She has worked with students of different ages and English language ability, from a variety of sociological and sociolinguistic backgrounds. In addition to English, her first language, she speaks French, Spanish, some Nepali and some Arabic. At the time of our interview, Julie had been teaching in Saudi Arabia for four years. She worked for the British Council in two main cities in Saudi Arabia, Riyadh and Al-Khobar as manager for the educational centre. She also worked as a lecturer at a private university in Riyadh.

Ameen is a Caucasian American. He is 61 years old. He has a bachelor's degree in business. He has worked as a TESOL teacher for 6 years before coming to Saudi Arabia. He worked in Morocco, the US, Libya and Oman. He has 30 years of experience as a TESOL educator in Saudi. He worked in Jeddah and Riyadh mainly in postsecondary colleges within government institutions. He worked as a TESOL teacher and now as a TESOL administrator. Ameen converted to Islam and changed his name into an Arabic name during his stay in Saudi Arabia. He is married to a Saudi lady and is a father of five children. His first language is English.

Marianne is from Mauritius, from a Pakistani/Indian origin. She is 35 years old. She is Muslim. She is married. Her partner is from France. She has a bachelor's degree in English, a master's degree in applied linguistics and at the time I interviewed her, she was working towards a PhD in applied linguistics. She received her PhD degree few months after our interviews. Before coming to Saudi Arabia, she worked in Malaysia and Mauritius as an English language teacher for three years and a half. Marianne speaks English as an additional language. She speaks Mauritian as her first language. She also speaks Malay and some Arabic. Marianne worked in two universities and one postsecondary institution in Riyadh. She has 6 years of experience as a TESOL teacher/administrator in Saudi Arabia.

James is from Canada. He is a Caucasian in his early thirties. He has a bachelor's degree in international business and some TESOL courses. He has four years of experience as a TESOL teacher in Saudi Arabia. James did not have any teaching experience before coming to Saudi Arabia. He teaches in a postsecondary institution in Al-Khobar. James is married to a Canadian and has two children. He converted to Islam in Canada. His first language is English. He speaks some Arabic.

Esha is from Pakistan. She is 34 years old. She is Muslim. She has a master's degree in applied linguistics. She has 13 years of TESOL teaching experience in Saudi Arabia. She worked in Al-Khobar at two universities (one private and one public), a private school and a postsecondary institution. She worked as an administrator, as well. In addition to English, she speaks Urdu as her first language.

Ali is a first generation Canadian. His mother is originally from Fiji and his father is from South America. He is 32 years old. Ali is Muslim. He worked in Riyadh and currently works in Al-Khobar at postsecondary institutions. Ali has a bachelor's degree in English. He is married with two children. Ali worked as a TESOL educator in Canada and in Syria for two years before he came to Saudi Arabia. He has four years of TESOL teaching experience in Saudi Arabia. His first language is English. He speaks some Arabic.

Eleanor is a Caucasian British. She is 48 years old. She is married to a Canadian. She has a bachelor's degree in education, a CELTA and a DELTA (Certificate and Diploma in English Language Teaching). Before coming to Saudi, Eleanor worked in politician campaigns for years in the UK. She later on worked as a TESOL teacher in Russia, Spain, Malaysia, China and Kazakhstan for a total of 7 years. She has four years of experience as TESOL educator in Saudi Arabia. She worked with the British Council in Jeddah and Riyadh and in a private university in Riyadh. Her first language is English. She speaks Spanish as an additional language.

Appendix IV: The Themes Covered in the Interviews

1. Personal information (age, studies, experience -in Saudi and away from Saudi-).
2. How and why the participants decided to work in Saudi.
3. Description of the places they worked at/lived in and how they spend time in Saudi.
4. Participants' preconceptions about cultural aspects in Saudi and how they arrived at these preconceptions.
5. The actual intercultural experiences (with colleagues, students and the community at large).
6. Issues of power, identity, and economy.
7. The participants' feelings and insights about these experiences (what cultural aspects they were surprised about, how they felt about and dealt with these aspects)
8. How the participants keep in touch with significant others in their countries.
9. How these experiences changed the participants (change they see in themselves and change others note about them when they go home both personal and professional).
10. Participants' feelings about and evaluation of the overall intercultural experience in Saudi Arabia.
11. How the participants see themselves in the future after going through this experience of interculturality.
12. How this experience of interculturality changed them.

Appendix V: Sample Interview/Correspondence Transcripts (Eleanor)

First Interview with Eleanor

R: Can you tell me who you are?

E: My name is Eleanor. I am a freelance teacher, materials writer, IELTS examiner and I do a lot of private work. Since I was in the Kingdom, I've been a teacher and a manager in one of the big English preparatory year project in Riyadh. Then I have been a teacher at the British Council here in Jeddah. So this is almost four years in Saudi now.

R: Where else did you teach?

E: I've been teaching since 2001. I started off in Russia. Then I was in Spain, Barcelona, for about five years. Then I went to Malaysia, where I met my husband. Then, we went to China. Then to Kazakhstan. Afterwards, we had a bit of a break when we got our DELTA qualifications. I then had a major operation on my spine, so it delayed my coming to Saudi Arabia. My husband went to Libya because we weren't married then. Then we weren't sure what we will be doing, so we thought it's a good idea to have a bit of a break. I thought things were going on well in Riyadh, so we got married. That's how we got married for the job. We got married in the summer of 2009. Then my husband came to Riyadh and we did one year in Riyadh before we came to Jeddah. I've been to quite a few places.

R: What places have you been to in Saudi?

E: Well, in Saudi, I've been to Jeddah and Riyadh.

R: How old are you?

E: 48

R: What did you study?

E: My first degree was for publishing and education. My first job was in publishing. My second career was in politics. I worked for politicians for many years. Then I did a bit of work for the city in London. That didn't go on well. I didn't like that. Then, I qualified to be an English teacher, so this is like my third career.

R: Why did you decide to come to Saudi Arabia?

E: Well, obviously, money. That doesn't go unnoticed when you've been earning 6000 pounds a year and you've got debts because you have been studying, but also I was quite keen into getting back to teaching during the day not during evenings. In the preparatory year, at the university, teaching was during the day. That was actually my main motivation to join the university. I also thought getting into university environment was quite interesting.

R: Can you tell me how you came to be an TESOL educator in Saudi Arabia?

E: I have been in London. I am not from London. I have been in London for many years. I have been married and then divorced. I sort of moved careers and things were not right, but I didn't know what to do and it took me about two or three years to work out something that I could doing. I did a CELTA in London. I didn't fall into teaching English by accident. It was quite like looking at the things I enjoyed doing in my previous lives and things I was passionate about. I put it all together and I thought this might be a good career.

R: What expectations did you have before coming to Saudi Arabia?

E: To be honest, I don't think I had many because we have been doing our DELTA, which was two months at the end of 2008. While the DELTA was going on, my back started falling apart. When we came back to Birmingham, where my parents lived, it was Christmas and my back degenerated quite quickly. I was having emergency neurosurgery and I just didn't have time to think. It was quite horrible. I've already got the job when I was still in Sayville, doing DELTA. So the thing with me was I just had to have a job when I finished. I just didn't want to finish the DELTA and not have anything to go to whereas my husband was a bit more laissez-faire about it all. May be that's Canadian! He didn't start looking for a job until we were back in Birmingham. Because I was doing my DELTA at the same time, I didn't put a huge lot of effort into it. I've already picked up that's it's largely disorganized and a bit chaotic, so I didn't have a huge lot of expectations about that. The whole manner of build-up before I came to Saudi cased me not to give it any thought.

R: And when you did come to Saudi...

E: Absolutely awful, when we arrived, we were picked up at the airport. We were put in a dreadful apartment of the sort that we, as Westerners, won't understand. It was very smelly because they have got all the thick velvet and lots of smoke. People have been smoking in the rooms. Nobody smokes in hotel rooms now. Yes, we could handle the squat toilets. We have been to China before, but we cannot handle the squat toilets with no toilet paper. You are stuck in the room. You can't go out. Nobody is there to get you food. You've got no toilet paper. Nobody told you bring toilet paper with you because we are going to put you in an apartment with no toilet paper. The next day they picked us up and drove us to medicals and so on. In one sense that was all done for you. On the other hand, nobody told you what was happening. Nobody told you how to do anything, you know. It's only by coincidence I met some other people at the hotel who were English and they fed me! That was pretty grim initially and after that, it kind of got worse. The project was very disorganized. It was badly organized from the university to the contractors to everybody. That is not to say there were very good people doing good jobs, because there were, but the whole thing was very very disorganized. Everything was battle, but how much of that has to do with the Saudi culture? You don't know. I think probably because

of the constrictions of life here. In another society, they will not be putting all single women in an apartment block with a guard, spying and writing lists of everything. I wasn't married then and we made a deliberate decision that I would go to Riyadh for this job and my husband later on got a job with the same company, in Libya. The idea was that we do it sometime there and then we had to decide which was the best place. The other one would then go.

If we look at cultural things what was curious given the whole Islam/Western approach was that, in the place where I was working, there was a fundamentalist fraction and these weren't Saudi women or even women from Muslim countries. Mostly, they were American converts. They were ferocious, aggressive and hysterical. It was really bad and set against us, so you've got this and you've got the Arab women, from the Levant countries, Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, just trying to get on with things normally. They tended to live in Saudi Arabia, so they were not living in this sort of awful atmosphere. Before I arrived, there was something that happened. It's a story really worth telling. It was just after Saint Patrick's day and Saint Patrick's day is a big thing in Britain. There was a do at the Irish Council, in Riyadh. Of course, quite a lot of the girls go there. Drink was taken and they came back. Two of them had forgotten their Abayas because they were drunk. They got off from a car which was parked in front of the building and you just jump into the block. This was on a Wednesday night, something like that. The security guard who was asked to spy on these women made notes about this. The next morning, they all got letters in front of their doors that they were not allowed to leave the compound. This was on Thursday. The locked the front door and all the women were locked in. They all had to stand in a row in the whole. Of course, all the Muslim women were covered, but the Western women were not covered. This particular woman, the leader of converts, said, "Step forward and show yourselves." She quoted something quite biblical. The security guards with some sort of police walked up and down these women to identify three women that had come home drunk the night before. He picked up three of them, though there were four. These women were immediately taken away. They were actually put in the hotel where I met them. I didn't know at the time who they were but I knew later. They were put in these awful holiday apartment places and that was allowed. These women had big investigations and bla bla, bla and all that's kind of stuff. The atmosphere this created was of absolute fear, because for a lot of these women. These women were here because they were in desperate financial state. One was being divorced with the husband running off with the money and that kind of stuff. I know this was kind of extreme, but can you imagine any country where the employers had this kind of power over women's behaviour. They weren't drunk and disorderly. They didn't cause any trouble. They just came home without their Abayas. Everyone knows, in this country, there are drinks if you want to get it, and these women are not Muslims. They are not.

I had a friend from Malaysia and we were not allowed to share accommodation because she is a Muslim and I am not. The woman in charge of management

and in charge of accommodation and all the cultural things didn't allow us to share. It was something really weird. It was as if we were to get into trouble, they might get into trouble, as well. So we won't understand each other. There was this absolute part out, Muslims here and Non-Muslims there. It was a shame because my Malaysian friend and I got on very well. These flats were huge. Saudi family flats for two women, so you have two rooms each and a bathroom each. At the end, I was put with this woman, the union woman, who was bonkers! Really, really awful, you get very sad stories around here. This is the problem. The American housing manager, who was very good with me, gave me an apartment on my own because of this, so I was rattling on my own. There was this huge just totally fraction with our employers. The story is very famous if you look it up on ESL Cafe. Our employers situation went from bad to worse, but professionally, it worked out quite well for me because I was the only IELTS examiner. They needed me. They sacked all the management, but I got through to the end of the term. Then they said to me, "Look, we are going to move to a different campus. It's all going to be better. Come back and we'll give you a management job." I said, "OK, I just want my husband to come."

There were other things that were quite interesting, like the first time I actually, got out on my own and got a taxi. Because, I usually get on the bus and the bus takes me to work and the bus takes you home. Then you go shopping on the bus on Monday and on Thursday.

R: How did you feel about that?

E: This was awful. I have never seen these minibuses anywhere else in the world apart from Saudi Arabia, packed full of women. There was always too many of us. People would be sitting on each other's knees on the bus. The middle seats would come down, total health and safety disaster. The bus was always breaking down. People were late to work.

R: Why would they put women in these buses?

E: How else can they get to work? We could get a taxi to work if we wanted, but none of us thought about that because the bus was for free. This is the way it is in Saudi Arabia because there is no public transport, every company has its own minibus to take its employees around. You see the buses for the restaurants with all the Filipino waiters sitting around. It was only the same as that. There was very little choice to do that because you cannot pay for a taxi, but why pay for a taxi when you have a free ride. The best thing that happened to me in Riyadh was getting my driver whom I found by accident. I was going to do some examining for the British Council and I had found some driver and he didn't show up and I am standing on the street waving my arms around. Then Omar, from Bangladesh, saved my life. It's bizarre for a woman, your best friend is your driver. He was fantastic and I trusted him and he would do errands for me. If my phone ran out, I'd say, "Omar, can you the card to charge my phone?" Then the next time I saw him, I gave him the money because we can't just pop

out. Where the block of flats was, there was a huge sort of six-lane highway and on the other side, is the petrol station with the shop. So of course, women had to run out in the middle of the night in their black Abayas to get cigarettes or milk or whatever. I just didn't do it because remember my back operation. I was in a lot of pain. I could hardly walk.

R: and there was no one to do these things for the women.

E: No, but the women who were there before passed their knowledge. You learn certain things. They tell you certain things. People will tell you things. People will lend you money because somebody lent them money. Then, I came back the next year on October and we were very very long way away, so they had to find an accommodation for us, because it was about an hour to get to work from our accommodation, an hour in the morning and an hour in the evening. The teachers had to teach only four hours a day. The first year I was there they only had to be there for five hours, but then the university decided no the teachers needed to be onsite for eight hours. Then I had to sign in and there was this fingerprint. It was the control. It was all about control.

R: Who were these people?

E: It is actually quite interesting. It wasn't Saudis that were causing all the trouble. The university's management who I think were behind all this because remember it was this contracting relationship. There was the university, the university's preparatory year and the two contracting companies, Saudi and the British. The British company needed to provide the personnel and the educational expertise, and the Saudi company would provide the technical stuff, the visas, the accommodation, the payroll and the buses. I remember when I was there, the British company employed some consultants to see what was going wrong with the whole thing and why did everything go wrong. The guy who had undertaken this were not going to interview anyone on the women's side. He was going to interview all the men and I found out about this and I said, "No, come on, you are going to listen to me because women have got special issues" and he was saying that the university was looking at it as money-saving operation. By contracting it all out, they thought it would be cheaper than trying to do it themselves. By now, trying to go back to the cultural side of it, these people that were running the PYP {preparatory year program} were not Saudi. They were Egyptian or Jordanian. The woman who was the head of the female campus had previously worked for the British educational company and was sacked for being awful, rubbish and difficult. Then the university employ her to act as a coordinator between the British company and the university. This is something you can't understand and there were two of them. She was a very, very extreme Muslim, so for example, we had a strict dress code, long sleeves, high collars and long skirts. For the women, we still had to stick to this dress code. If someone showed up to work with short sleeves, we would all get told off. It wouldn't be this woman saying to our management, "Can you have a word with this woman" rather "Everybody into the meeting. Everybody into the room."

It developed this culture of fear. We had to hand our passport out if you were to keep your residence card. You could travel for the weekend if you wanted, but then they wouldn't get the passport to you on time and you'd miss your flight. Awful stories like that. I am sure you have heard them before. I went back as a manager, but I couldn't hack it as a manager. It was so awful, so I went back to being a teacher.

R: Who were the people you were dealing with?

Egyptian, there was a dean of the PYP who didn't do anything and she sort of glided in Channel but I don't think she actually did anything. They were all non-Saudis. I don't know these non-Saudis, people from Egypt, Syria, Jordan, may be this is something you can ascertain through your research, feel somehow beholden to the Saudis and sort of try and guess what they want rather than come up to them and say, "Come on, we know how to do this. You do it like this". The word "obsequious" is the word that comes to mind when I think of these people, but they were dreadful. This whole management thing...women teachers were not allowed to leave the campus at all, but the men were allowed to leave for lunch. We weren't allowed to do that. We couldn't ask our drivers to take us out to have lunch. If we as women, wanted to leave for say half an hour, say if you were a mother and your children had a parents' day, one had to get permission from the head of the whole project! You had to send an email to your team leader, who then sends it to the manager of the female campus. Then she sends it to Dr. Ahmad. Dr. Ahmad has to decide, and then send it back. This takes half an hour. There are 120 teachers. On any one day, you would have 10 per cent absence, half of them were local hires and they have few children. If you want to go to the dentist. It was just awful because of the fear this caused. It took my husband along time to get his visa to come here. By the time he came over I was just in pieces. I would come home every night and cry and cry and think, "why are they doing this to us? Why are they doing this to us" and he would say, "because they can!" It was a bit complicated because I was the lead person and my husband was a spouse. If any of us women wanted to go away for the weekend, to Bahrain, we had to get permission from the university, who are not our employers. Who are they to tell us what we can or can't do during our free time? But it was a rule. They would threaten they won't give us a letter of no-objection, but they wouldn't write an email saying they won't. You are not allowed not to give a letter of no-objection as an employer, but they did what can we do? We were all in touch with lawyers at some point, but what can you do? I was lucky because when I became a manager, I got a multi-entry visa and I retained my passport because I had power. I said, "Listen if you won't do this, I won't do any IELTS examining". I did the same here because they were so short of IELTS women examiners, had leverage, but lots of women didn't. This was a strange thing, but you could also say that there were quite a lot of teacher who got settled as single women. They got very settled in Saudi because they could handle it. They could handle the teaching environment. They loved the diplomatic Quarter. Because there

weren't many women, they could make their pick of a man. Absolutely wild, every weekend, they were off to parties and they were loving it. I supposed because I was attached and waiting for my husband, I never got to socialize. I still don't, never interested. What was funny, was how few Saudis I got to meet. I did meet some. One thing I was proud of was when I was a manager, this girl sort of wandered from the street and she said she wanted a job. I said, "OK, let's have a look at your CV". I gave her an interview. She was as bright as a bun. I managed to get her a job. She was my assistant and other people assistant. She had a miserable time, as well [laughter], but she has now got a better job. I sort of feel quite pleased I could give a Saudi a better job. There were a couple more Saudis who you feel were the Saudization Saudis. They were decorative and they had nice offices. They drink coffee a lot. They are very lovely, but they don't actually do anything! They were nice and I loved talking to them, but they didn't seem to serve any function. My whole experience at the university was very traumatic. I think there was a real do-we-want-to-stay-here question, in Saudi Arabia.

Worked here from March to July. September to the next July.

R: How could you do your work under all this pressure?

E: I think you just do. They found a quite good job for my husband, who doesn't have a first degree. He is now 51 and of course, people of our generation, not everybody got degrees. So thank God, he didn't get a job at the male campus. He had a job going around many cities in Saudi Arabia with the Saudi health authority in colleges and he was observing the teachers, mainly Egyptian teachers. They he worked out teacher training programs. He got a quite interesting job though it was awful for me because he was away from home from Saturday morning to Tuesday afternoon. I think because of this whole, IELTS business, I developed very good relationship with the British Council in Riyadh. The manager there was very impressive and everybody I met there was very impressive. Both my husband and I applied for a job and we were offered a job at the British Council. In our business, working for the British Council is fairly top of the tree, but my husband came to English teaching very late in life and he just went to China had a two-day learning course and then was sent off to Magnolia to teach forty children, so he really did the wild West. I had slightly a more orthodox route, but again, I didn't come through the English degree route, so for us to get this job we thought was a great opportunity. I think this is west here we made the biggest mistake. There was a bit of uncertainty where they are going to accommodate us in Riyadh. I hated all the driving around. If they could accommodate us in the Diplomatic Quarter, where you could have walked to work that would have been fine, but if they couldn't do that, we were going to be miles away. Then I saw an advert for Jeddah and that was a really big mistake looking back at it. This is because Jeddah is a very badly managed centre. This has nothing to do with the culture here. I think this is historic stuff. The thing for me is now, I was in an environment where we weren't bending

over to be nice to Muslims, but if we were allowed to talk about boyfriends, we could do it, while at the university we weren't allowed to talk about boyfriends. We weren't allowed to talk about alcohol or mention bacon and so on. I was like, look, it exists. One of the things that I did in my elementary class, when there was a big breakfast. There were sausages, and they were all eating sausages. I said, "If you go abroad, will you be able to eat sausages?" and they all said, "yes" and I went, "No, you can't". This is because they have sausages here and they don't think of them as pork. Outside the Gulf, they are going to be pork. This was quite a refreshing change.

One of the things I found interesting was what everybody said, "Oh, they are much more open in Jeddah. It's much freer there". But, from my point of view, the changes in the freedom are so minute. To me, they are unmentionable. The only difference for example, if I were to go with my husband to a restaurant, in Riyadh, we will be in a little booth. Here in Jeddah all the restaurants are open. You would have a family section and a single section, but the family section is open while in Riyadh, it was all closed. In Riyadh, yes, there were some women who still didn't cover their faces and of course, you have got all the Filipinos and the immigrants, so there wasn't really the sense of wow. One of my IELTS described Jeddah as Las Vegas of Saudi Arabia and I was like, "really". I can see why it is for other Saudi. I thought it would be lovely to be by the beach, but it's not as horrible if you walk at the Cornish, it is disgusting, smelly, and dirty. Because they don't know how to take the rubbish home with them. They don't know how to look after their environment. They have built some lovely gardens. When I go out of the Examination Centre of the British Council, we go around a garden that is done really nicely. There are bins every ten feet, but the last couple of days I go down at 9:00 AM and the little army of Bangladeshis was picking up the rubbish. That's not just Saudis, Kazakhstan and China are the same, litterer thinkers.

R: What do you think about this?

I think it's simple lack of education. This whole driving thing. We have a couple of Saudis at work and I knew Ali's wife, one of the drivers was pregnant and we haven't seen him for a while. I said, "Did you have the baby?" He said, "Yes, I had a boy". I said, "Wow, what did you call him?" I remember he said, "Ali, we were going to name him Abdul, but the day we were going to have him, my 17-year old nephew was killed in a car crash" so they gave him the nephew's name. This is the thing. You see them with fast cars and it's frightening, and you look at the rates of diabetes and obesity. You feel something seems to be wrong with the educational system. I think a lot of people know. All the girls know they shouldn't have sugar, but they don't do anything about it.

R: Who are your students?

The British Council is not particularly in a smart part of town. It also had a lot of beginners, a lot of low-level students. I have never taught them just by coincidence. I do high-level students. I found it very difficult and a lot of them are quite demanding. On the whole of my teaching career, I had two complaints. But then I came here and I was lucky if I went through a term without a complaint. They complained and complained and complained. It took the British Council a while to work this out because the men don't complain. I think for two reasons. Reason one is the companies pay for the men's courses while women are self-financing and often that's all what they do. You ask one of the students, "What do you do?" She replies, "I am a student." You say, "really, what do you study?" She replies, "English!" That's what they do. They come three times a week, for two hours. They study English. That's what they do.

R: What are their ages?

They are usually between 18 and twenty three. These are the low level students. I did eight classes of these. This is E1 where you do the daily routine. This is something that I found quite weird because these students had no motivation, but then on the other side of the spectrum, I found those who work so hard to improve their English to study in Britain, America or Canada. Some of these women are amazing.

R: How?

They have a scholarship program here. I don't know all about it, but it's the king. He gives us his money and I think he is quite generous. I think they get around three thousand dollars a month, pocket money on top of everything, accommodation, fees etc... It's restricted to certain majors. I am getting American. It's very American here. I meant, "subjects", at certain universities. so for example, one of my Saudi friends decided to study translation, but the government decided they don't need translators, so she can't get a scholarship to do it. She is going to do educational assessment. There are a lot of people who are not well-off. They can get scholarships to go abroad and study, but what for? They work so hard, so they can get an MA, so they can get back and teach more people to get abroad and come back and teach. It is kind of cyclical industry and the ones that don't come back and teach go off and have babies and don't do anything. This is because there are so many restrictions on women appointments here and it's so nice the last couple of weeks, to see female shop assistants. Ok, it's not a high-end job, but at least they can earn a little bit of money. It makes them independent, but most of the jobs are either in education or hospitals. Women here seem to have much more energy and drive than men.

R: Why do you think so?

Well, when talking to male teachers about boys, you feel girls and boys are two different species. The men mess around. They don't do their homework. They are lazy and spoilt. The women are very motivated. They want worksheets and

tests. They want nines and tens out of ten! In Britain, it is very good if you pass you get 5 and it would be great! This is the problem, I think, with education system here, education here is 100 per centism. The girls I was teaching, in Riyadh, in their exams at school, all got 99 per cent, 97. I mean no one gets this figure. Then there comes this level of expectation that they will get 99 per cent or over 90 per cent. What happened in the university was that all the results were massaged. They did their test. They were all rubbish, but we couldn't be seen to be rubbish. So we just topped the scores by 20 per cent or something. Everything was just massaged. The people that they are cheating are their kids, no integrity, no integrity in education at all.

R: Could you please describe your colleagues?

I'd really rather not. I had one very good friend here. Her husband ended beating her up. She is Scottish and he is African. I think a lot of people come here for the wrong reasons and then it's easy to get sucked in because of the money. I have saved a great amount of money not just by doing IELTS. Also, there is the money I make for material writing through a British company. I get £50 an hour from my students. Where else would a teacher get £50 for a private lesson? On Wednesdays, I have two classes of two hours each, one is a princess and the two others are two girls who want to do their IELTS. They come together. That's £200, just for one day a week which is like pocket money. You can see how people get caught into this. It is a very difficult place to live. For me this damn Abaya. It drives me nuts, especially, in this heat. The fact there is no public transport. There is no freedom. Yes, you can go and get a taxi, but some of them are smelly and disgusting. People don't walk in Saudi and if you are walking that's something strange.

I was a very, very independent woman, actually too independent. One of the things that is very good here is that you can hide behind your husband. If my employer wanted to do something or said something, I could say, "My husband won't let me" and there were no questions asked because that would happen to the local people. That was acceptable in a professional environment saying, "My husband doesn't approve".

The worst thing for me coming here was drivers. We had one driver for over a year. We put up with him for a long time because every time we tried to find anybody else, it was a disaster. Then we had a final blow-up with him. It was also because my husband said, "I am not having you getting street cabs!" It was so funny because I have lived around so many countries around the world and travelled on my own, yet, in the city where I live I can't get a street cab! Actually, it got a bit better. Eventually, I did get a street cab and had many experiences with this. Now, we have got a very good cab driver, like Omar in Riyadh, from Bangladesh. He has got this own car, so he can come in into the compound. He can pick us up in front of our house which makes all the difference when you have to walk when it's 38°.

On a personal level, this has changed me. Now, I defer to my husband more than I would have done before. I would say to him, "Are you happy for me to do this?" When I was in Riyadh, I did something so bad. When I was in Britain, I worked in politics and I always had lots of male friends. My husband is Canadian and very conservative. He could see me email my male friends and he didn't like it, so I dropped it.

When I was married before, my husband and I worked in politics. He worked nights and he knew that most nights I was out either at a party or just going out with a male friend. There was no issue about it at all, so suddenly to go from that society

It's been a sea change for me. One of the hardest things for us here, in Saudi, is how very torn you feel. There are many things that you absolutely hate, bad management, sometimes it's not good for your career because the educational system is rubbish. They are not actually developing anything. Then you think, "Oh, we have been such whores because we're here for the money". I have this friend, Amani, who is a very conservative Muslim writing a novel in English to explain Islam to all of us who don't know about it, to understand it. She is so lovely and so wonderful. I would have a session with her and afterwards would think, "Oh, these are such nice people". My husband feels this way about his boys, as well. He comes back from his classes telling me they are great and that's why it ties you because there is this attitude with the Saudis. They need this IELTS, but there is this sort of mentality, we pay, we get! We don't do anything, we just pay, we get! They think they pay for IELTS and they don't pass, but you don't pass IELTS, you get a score. I have some students who scored 4,3,2 on IELTS and these are the people who want to go and do their PhDs abroad. I would think what would they even think to begin to go away when they can't answer the question, "Why did you choose this job?" I think they should get real and the men are even worse. That attitude drives me nuts, but then you feel sorry for them because the education system has failed them. If they want this country to really improve, they have to educate the people. They are not giving them the English at school they need to send them abroad to allow them to get the skills they need, so they can then bring them back here. Because the way I see it with this Saudi unemployment issue is that many Saudis would not do the low-end jobs but are not qualified to do the high-end jobs. May be it's their fault they are not prepared to do the crappy jobs, but no one wants to do the crappy jobs. And especially for women, the situation is so tragic. They are throwing enough money in education, but I don't think it's being organized. I suspect, at every level, money has been siphoned off, so by the time it actually comes to building a school or materials there isn't enough money to do it properly. Because by the time it actually comes down from the king's pocket through the various layers, everybody has taken a cut and the poor students are not getting anything. In public schools, I hear there are 40 students in a class. The teachers are very poorly paid. Nobody with children I know here wants to send her kids to public schools. They all send them to the international

schools where the education is in English. There are many poor people who cannot go to the private schools. My student told me that not all Saudis are rich. There is this perception that all Saudis are rich. They are not. I see big houses here. It's the same in Riyadh. I think Saudis are very good at business. I had an IELTS student today. The topic was about an interesting old person you know, and they always say it's their fathers. This particular student's father started off with 5000 riyals. I don't know where this came from. He must have inherited it or something and he is now a multimillionaire. He started out in selling furniture. This is the thing here. I think there is a lot of money because there are a lot of Saudis who set their own business. When you get an economy that is growing so rapidly, he's selling furniture when you've got these houses where families have between anywhere between five and ten children, then you need houses of this sort that we could not imagine. Oh, there are so many children! The statistics are 46% of the population are below 16. It's something really quite frightening, actually, especially, if there are a lot of these kids already have got diabetes. There is a timed bomb. OK, so this guy is a multimillionaire. One of the things my husband told me is he worked in this school where the boys say to boys who work, "Your father cannot give you enough money. That's why you have to work!" The attitude is that of looking down upon people who work. It was best not to work and get an allowance from one's dad. If you have 9 children and each one of them has 5 children, that's a lot of grandchildren and your multimillion pound empire is not going to support. So I don't see for how long it can carry on like this. This is what they talk about when they talk about the Arab Spring and these things.

R: Do you think what's happening here is the result of what's happening elsewhere in the Arab World?

They are being bribed by their own money, depending on how you look at it. They are getting unemployment benefits, the students get more money, so they are handing out money. But there will be a time when Saudis will have to do the rubbish jobs and hopefully there will be a time when they will be educated enough to do the better jobs. As my husband says we are all the hired-hands. It doesn't matter how educated we are. It doesn't matter where we come from. The Saudis are always at the top of the pile, and we are always a long way below. We are the paid servants, the paid hired-hands.

R: Are there any changes people note about you when you go back home?

I have become quite racist! I don't like to admit it, but I have. My mother grew up in a household with her parents were of two different religions and she was aware of how one was treated particularly badly by the family of the other. She brought me up with a very strong feeling of live and let live. That was her ethos. Don't bother anybody and don't let anybody bother you and all that. I always felt I was the same, but sometimes, I feel myself having a real vicious hatred for certain things. I don't like myself. When I left the university, a good friend of mine and myself, we both said, "We don't like who we have become." That's

because they made us so frightened and angry that we became so bitter and nasty. Here it's slightly different because it's not only about being in Saudi, it has to do with other things that are happening with Islam. Why would an American woman if she wants to convert to Islam convert to Wahabism? Why are all these women in South London dressing like they are from downtown Taif with the whole black gloves and all because that's not Islam. Most of my more enlightened students, like the princess, are very clear about what Islam is, about what Saudi culture is and it's about flexibility. I really have to bite my tongue sometimes [laughter] when my friend, Amani, comes because I can't criticize her because she believes in Islam wholeheartedly, but then you feel it's like a cult. I am sorry if you are a Muslim and don't really want to offend you.

R: No...please, continue, it's OK.

Why do you have to pray five times on time and you have to wake up by the prayer call at 4:30 in morning to pray while you go shopping and shops close and you have a fag. The shops close 40 minutes for each prayer while prayer takes a few minutes. It feels it's all about control. It's control of woman, control of lives, you know bread and circuses, throw the people something to keep them entertained. There are drinks and live music here. People know the authorities know about that but they keep a lid on it. This is the hypocrisy. What are they so frightened of? Why is it that I am not allowed to go to Makkah? We don't say to a Muslim, "You can't go into St. Peter Cathedral" but they wouldn't go. I am not saying I particularly want to go to Makkah, especially with the big clock thing, but what are they frightened of? Why are they frightened? Why am I not allowed to wear a cross? Because it's illegal to wear a cross, or any other symbol of any other religion. If your religion is so strong, why don't let us wear crosses? I don't think if I wear a cross to work suddenly all my students will become Christians. This is why I got in trouble once. I was doing academic English and we used to do for and against. The topics were something like women driving because everyone has strong opinions about that. I told them I wasn't interested in their opinion, just the reasons. When we do this, I never express my opinion ever. I asked them to look at it from every angle, the fathers, the women, the Filipino drivers. We had a real good discussion. We put everything on the board in one class. I knew in the class I had a few conservative women, so I had to be careful. The next thing I knew is our boss saying, "Who has done women driving in Saudi Arabia?" About half of us put our hands up because we always do it. It's a good topic. I think somebody had spoken to their brother, you know how they go have coffee together in the afternoon, and the brother has gone on some chat forum talking about this teacher that has made the students change their minds about women drivers. But the details were wrong. He wrote we had 19 in the class, but none of us had 19 in the class, but it was in the British Council. They thought these Westerners are brainwashing our women etc. Somebody had tweeted it and that's had been picked up by London and London investigated. I showed them my lesson notes and I said, "Look, teacher doesn't give any input on that". Living in some

environment where you can be accused of corrupting these poor girls, who are in fact, mature women is just bizarre.

Second Interview:

R: What languages other than Spanish do you speak?

I just speak Spanish and English. I wanted to learn Arabic when I lived in Spain, but it's been too difficult here to get down and learn it. I have a little bit of Russian and very very little Chinese.

R: Why did you try learning Arabic?

I just wanted to learn in Spain it because I was interested in a certain part in history, even before I thought about coming to this part of the world. I'd still want to learn it but being here has rather put me off lately.

R: How do you evaluate your experience on the whole here?

It's really difficult to give an evaluation because parts of it have been really really good and parts have been just been awful. Just before you came, there were two girls here that I am trying to prepare for IELTS and they are really lovely, lovely girls. They appreciate what I am trying to do for them. I don't think they are going to get the scores they want. They are a long way away and it's really sad, but they will get there. One of them is going to Leeds and one wants to go to University College London, but she needs years. I find this experience with my students wonderful. A couple of them have become friends and that's what I would probably take away rather than all the frustrations about drivers and all.

R: What advice would you give a new teacher who is coming to teach in Saudi?

The best advice is to relax. You'd be always faced with frustrations but usually things always work out. They become OK, but just getting to this OK is often very, very difficult and if you stress and fight against it you will just wear yourself out. I think one cultural difference is that in the West, we are very very organized. We update and we keep in touch while here they don't. They always say, "tomorrow, inshAllah, tomorrow, inshAllah" {if God wills}. Eventually, it will happen, but usually at the very last minute.

R: and how does that make you feel?

It took a while for me to get used to it, especially, coming from a very different culture. It takes a while to get used to this, but eventually it happens.

R: How do your friends and family perceive you as an English person living in Saudi Arabia?

I don't have a huge number of friends back in Britain because I have been away for such a long time. The friends from school are like, "Well, what country will

she go to now?” because before we came to Saudi Arabia, it was Russia, Spain, Malaysia, China and Kazakhstan. In Britain, we know that people go to Saudi because of high salaries. When we did our DELTA, there was a British guy who thought that by coming to Saudi, we are supporting the regime by coming here and teaching, unless one teaches a government person. His hatred and hostility for the Saudis rather surprised me. Whatever I may think of the regime, it's not our place as English teachers to have anything to do with it.

R: Do you remember any cultural aspects that surprised you in a pleasant way?

When I actually went out on my own in Riyadh, I actually plucked up courage to go to the main road and get a taxi. The taxi took me to the supermarket. I got into the supermarket. The little Bangladeshi man packed my stuff, loaded the bags into the trolley, unloaded the bags and helped put the bags into the taxi. I wasn't used to all that, so I do women are treated with a much better degree of respect here. That gave me a certain amount of power because when I got angry, they couldn't handle it. I had a problem in one of the stores here. I bought something and I put it on my credit card here. They said bring it back in one day and I thought it meant within one day. I went to try them on, some T-shirts. Of course, they didn't fit. Why can't you try them in the shop before you buy them? You have to go the fitting room area, in the bathrooms, take your Abaya off, put it back on, but they said, "No, you have to bring it in back tomorrow." It was the guy who served me. It was almost only five minutes. I just went, "What?" and I was shouting, "What?" They said, "You have to bring it back tomorrow" and I said, "No, I don't. You can give me the refund now". Then I went to another shop and I bought something else and the man said the same thing, but his English was much better. He said, "If you want to return it, I can't return it until tomorrow". Why? It's the Visa system. In other countries, they can give you a refund right away, but here in this store, the manager sort of came to check and I was shouting and I never shout. I never shouted until I got here, never. If I did that with a woman assistant in Britain, they would just come down on you, whereas here they just go, "shut her up, give her what she wants." When I was in Riyadh, I used to go a lot to the old souk. I never found an equivalent here in Jeddah. I used to go to the carpet shops and there is where I got my engagement ring, several months after we got married. I always found that a very nice experience, but I don't know may be that is more Arabic rather than just Saudi. There is this sort of respect for women. There is this sort of courtesy in a buying-selling situation, especially when you are the woman with money. I think women are treated with respect generally and that when you go out.

R: What other changes do you note about yourself?

As I said before, part of me has turned into somebody I don't really like. My husband at the moment is going through a little bit of a downer about this place, but I think it has to do with our marriage, because we are only ever been married in Saudi Arabia. This is not the way it is in the world. We live in this

cocoon. My husband doesn't like it. He is Canadian. I think it's very nice by the way here. I am very happy here. I love it. We have got a swimming pool outside. It's a nice place to live. I think by any standards, but we don't have a community here. There is no community. We could have got more involved with the compound, but I don't want to mix with the expats here.

R: Why not?

I don't like them. I really, really don't like them, expats. You see them on the buses. The wives don't work and complain all the time. I am too old to make friends with people I am not interested in. If it were 20, 30 years ago, then it would have been different and I would party and I would be organizing things, but I have done all that. I am 48 and I am actually happy just being with my husband. I have become very happy with that, but he hasn't. He needs to go out a bit more and we are having a bit of a bad time at the moment. It always gets a bit funny before we leave because we are a bit nervous about the outside world, so in some ways, it made me a bit nervous having to ask him about everything. I think this is related to here and as soon as I am somewhere else I am going to go back to where I was. I am not frightened outside. I am not like them here. They are frightened of everything. I don't like cats. I am frightened of cats.

R: so it's been nice here in the compound.

It's been nice here in the compound because in Riyadh we weren't in a compound and I couldn't go anywhere without my Abaya whereas here I can go for a swim, we can walk to the shop, there is a restaurant. It's like a little village here and that makes it feel better when I don't have to leave the compound.

R: How is it in Birmingham?

It's a big city. It's got quite a small city centre. We live right on the outskirts, so it's one of those cities which have a centre that you can actually walk around. As you go out, you have commercial areas. That where I was born and grew up. I left when I was 19. I always find it so stressful going back to Britain because there are some things that I really like and things that I really hate there. That tears at me. It emotionally becomes quite draining. That's why I am quite keen to go live in Canada, but my husband who has never been back to Canada for 10 years is now getting into, Oh, my God, I am going back. Will anyone want to see me? He is getting very apprehensive. He is wondering how it's changed and what will it be like. I think that will happen to anybody who leaves his country or city. I left my city 30 years ago and my country 12 years ago. I have got no roots. That's what I think the suffering is from.

Email Correspondence from Eleanor:

Hello Manal,

It was a great pleasure to meet you and to do rather a lot of 'dumping'.

I know that this isn't really a cultural insight, but it made my husband and I laugh. One of our regular Thursday treats was to get a specific German brand of frozen pizza from the shop in the compound. They were just particularly good. Then they stopped stocking them because the distributor had increased the price too much. While I was in Manuel one of the local supermarket chains, which appeals to me as its logo is the rather pleasing rear view of a bullfighter, I saw some of the same brand. Purchased a couple, the next Thursday, we got them out and they were all 'folded'. Obviously they had been stacked on their sides and been allowed to defrost. This seems to happen a lot with frozen foods as often the veg is rubbish and without colour suggesting multiple defrostings. We just fell about laughing as to us, this summed up everything about Saudi Arabia. Rather difficult to put into words why. But everyone who's lived here will understand.

Talking to you also galvanised me into contacting an old friend from KSU, this is the lady who said that working there had turned us into people that we didn't like - so that was another good side to it!

If I do have any earth-shattering insights I'll let you know.

And I do look forward to seeing your project, once it's eventually finished.

Best wishes

Eleanor

Appendix VI: Sample Interim Research Text (Eleanor's Experiences and Learning about Interculturality)

Experiences	outcome
<p>• <u>Experiences Prior to coming to Saudi Arabia</u></p> <p>Two careers that did not go well and a divorce</p> <p>She met a guy from the UK during the DELTA course, in Spain, who had a very negative image of and hostile attitude towards Saudi Arabia.</p> <p>Her back started degenerating in Spain which required her to go back to the UK for an emergency neurosurgery.</p>	<p>She started looking for an alternative through finding a job that she enjoyed, teaching English. She did a CELTA in London and went to Spain to study for a DELTA to be able to teach English. While in Spain, she applied for a job in Saudi Arabia to pay her students' loans.</p> <p>The guy's attitude surprised her and made her think that life in Saudi is chaotic and disorganized.</p> <p>She did not have time to think how life in Saudi is going to be like.</p>
<p>• <u>Early Experiences in Saudi Arabia</u></p> <p>Picked up in the airport and put in a dreadful holiday apartment</p> <p>the American Muslim convert housing manager in the apartment building where the university put Eleanor</p> <p>The university put her with a woman from the UK whom she did not like, then the manager moved Eleanor to an apartment by herself.</p> <p>The preparatory program was extremely disorganized.</p> <p>The program manager was fired and Eleanor was called upon to take this position because she is an IELTS examiner</p>	<p>associated this negative experience with the cultural difference between Saudi and the West and her negative image of Saudi started being reinforced</p> <p>Eleanor thought of her as furious, aggressive hysterical and a part of a fundamentalist fraction. Eleanor connected the manager to what's happening between Islam and the West. This reinforced the negative image of Saudi Arabia further and resulted in a negative image of Islam</p> <p>She felt the manager was good to her (conflicting feeling regarding the manager)</p> <p>She thought this was another example of how life in Saudi is disorganized and full of restrictions.</p> <p>This helped her negotiate better life conditions (retain her passport, get a multi exit-re-entry visa and bring her new husband to work in Saudi Arabia)</p>

<p>She did not like her new job as the manager of the preparatory program.</p>	<p>Left the job and went back to teaching, decided she did not want to work for the university anymore and wanted to find another job that would also provide her with residence in a compound</p>
<p>• <u>Later Experiences in Saudi</u> Got a job in the British council in Riyadh but the council did not accommodate her in a Western compound</p> <p>Moving to work in the British Council in Jeddah which provided and her husband with a house in a Western compound.</p> <p>Life inside the compound vs. life outside the compound</p> <p>Watching the Bangladeshi cleaners in the park</p> <p>Expat neighbours on the compound</p> <p>Her experience taking taxi for the first time to go shopping in the supermarket and the mall</p> <p>Discussing cultural taboo topics with the students at the BC and its consequences</p> <p>Amani's explanation of what Islam is</p> <p>Experiencing transformation-Becoming racist/ becoming dependent on her husband/ becoming rich</p> <p>The challenge of growing away from home country/ having no community</p>	<p>She was very happy there but left her job because she wanted to live in a compound</p> <p>she liked her new job and loved the compound</p> <p>She wanted to stay in the compound and hated going outside of it.</p> <p>She thought they are cleaning because Saudis litter</p> <p>She did not like them</p> <p>Made her feel in control and allowed her to practice her knowledge about her powerful social position as a woman in the shopping mall</p> <p>She was questioned by her superiors. She thought the students are spoilt and they complain all the time</p> <p>She did not understand nor wanted to hear what Amani was trying to explain to her/ she felt bad for Amani</p> <p>She does not like who she has become Becoming rich created a dilemma for her Feeling torn and emotionally drained</p>
<p>• <u>Future decisions</u> Leaving Saudi Arabia to live in Canada</p>	<p>Will be leaving the "cocoon" and hoping for the best</p>

Memos:

Relationships: did not maintain relationships in the UK and did not build relations in Saudi Arabia – mentioned she called two of her tutees friends??(she meets them only during sessions).

Conceptualization of culture expressed: culture (essentialists and stereotypical descriptions of others, e.g. conservative Canadians, little Bangladeshi x2, Saudis, Kazakhstan and China are the same; they are all litterer thinkers), gender (boys are lazy, girls are motivated), Islam (a cult).

Larger discourse expressed: West vs. Islam–

Authoritative voices: her mom’s teachings on culture

Her impressions about our interviews/actions taken as a result conveyed in her correspondence: talking to me was relieving/ called her old friend who said they have become people they don’t like (her earlier comments about becoming racist) expressed in her email correspondence showed an ongoing reflection on our dialogue.

The Interim Research Text Developed for Eleanor

Eleanor: I don’t like who I have become!

Eleanor is a Caucasian British. She is 48 years old. She is married to a Canadian. She has a bachelor’s degree in education a CELTA and a DELTA (Diploma in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages). Before coming to Saudi, Eleanor worked in politician campaigns for years in the UK. She later on worked as a TESOL teacher in Russia, Spain, Malaysia, China and Kazakhstan for a total of 7 years. She has four years of experience as TESOL educator in Saudi Arabia. She worked with the British Council in Jeddah and Riyadh and in a private university in Riyadh. Her first language is English. She speaks Spanish as an additional language.

Eleanor went through many negative experiences before she decided to become an English language teacher. These included a divorce and two careers that she said, “didn’t go well”. She decided to take teaching English as her third career. This she said was a conscious decision.

Eleanor moved to Spain, to take a DELTA course. She applied for a job in Saudi Arabia while she was still there. Her main concern was to secure a job before she finishes her DELTA to pay off her student loan. She did not think about life in Saudi but she had “already picked up it’s largely disorganized and a bit chaotic” [first interview with Eleanor].

Though she did not mention where she picked up this information during our first interview, Eleanor related to me later that she had met a person from the UK, while she was studying in Spain that had a very negative view about Saudi Arabia that surprised her.

While in Spain, Eleanor’s back started degenerating just before she was getting ready to move to Saudi Arabia, which required her to undergo an emergency neurosurgery in the UK. This did not allow her time to think about how life will be in Saudi. The only information she learned about Saudi Arabia was the information she learned from the person in Spain but she had to pay her loans.

When she arrived to Riyadh to start her job at the university’s preparatory program, Eleanor was picked up at the airport and was put in a holiday apartment.

Later on, the university moved Eleanor to an apartment building with other teachers. There was a Muslim American convert who was responsible for the female teachers, the apartments and the cultural issues whom Eleanor described as, “furious, aggressive and hysterical” [first interview with Eleanor]. This she told me had to do with the “whole Western approach about Islam” .

It was clear at this point that Eleanor started associating all the negative experiences she went through with Islam. Her experience at the university was not pleasant either. The preparatory program was extremely disorganized. As a result of undergoing this series of negative experiences, Eleanor started associating life in Saudi Arabia with restrictions.

Eleanor was later given a manager's position at the university with many benefits. She learned to use this position along with her qualification as an IELTS examiner to get to retain her passport, get a multi exit-re-entry visa and bring her new husband to work in Saudi Arabia but she did not like the job so she left it.

Eleanor achieved one of her goals through getting a job in the British Council in Riyadh but she could not convince the British Council to house her and her husband, who had joined her by then, in a compound. Based on this, she decided to work for the British Council in Jeddah which provided her with a house in a Western Compound. She told me she loved the compound.

Eleanor did not like it outside the compound as the above extract shows. Though she liked the compound, and she did not like it outside it, Eleanor did not want to deal with her neighbours who were living with her on the compound either. She did not like them.

Eleanor was also getting comfortable going shopping in Jeddah alone using a taxi for the first time rather than using the compound buses. She was familiar with cultural norms in Saudi Arabia, as well. This is evident in the following extract in which she describes how she used her gender, because she learned women are respected, as a power resource to have her way.

She was also comfortable working for the British Council which suited her more than working for the university. She thought this was liberating because she did not have to deal with Muslims and watch out for cultural values.

Though the British Council had similar cultural restrictions to the university, Eleanor seemed more willing to accept these cultural rules. She would still, however, discuss topics which are considered cultural taboos in Saudi Arabia with her Saudi students. This, she was sure, would cause her problems, but she still wanted to do it. Her actions and attitude resulted in a problem with the students at the British Council that was picked up in London.

Eleanor did not blame the British Council for following the cultural norms though the investigation was initiated in London. She did not think she did anything wrong by discussing cultural taboo topics. She thought it was rather the students to blame for complaining.

Many people were trying to explain to Eleanor why cultural norms which are mainly derived from Islam are important in a conservative country like Saudi Arabia during her stay, including one of her students but Eleanor decided not to discuss her thoughts with her student so the student does not get disappointed thereby refusing to hear any other voices.

These experiences, the prior experiences and more importantly Eleanor's understandings, responses (re)actions and attitudes to these experiences were factors that contributed to her transformation. Eleanor became racist.

Another transformation that took place was that Eleanor could achieve financial security, pay her loans and even have extra money. She liked the financial transformation that occurred and

hated it at the same time because it came at the expense of abiding by cultural norms. She could not understand nor adapt to common symbols of cultural values in Saudi Arabia.

A third transformation that took place as a result of her intercultural experiences was that Eleanor has become more dependent on her husband. This she learned was the result of living in Saudi Arabia where women are expected to ask for their husband's approval for everything they do.

Growing older away from home was challenging for Eleanor. This did not make her feel quite at home in her country. She thought this was the cause of her dilemma.

Despite the challenges Eleanor faced, she was happy with life in the compound but her husband was not. Eleanor knew though real life is not only about living in a compound which she called a "cocoon". She knew she needed a community that she failed to have in Saudi Arabia. Because of her husband and the dilemma she was going through, she decided to move to her husband's country, Canada.

A few days after our interviews were concluded, Eleanor sent me an email, which contained some comments on how the interviews not only helped her reflect on her experience but also how they helped her take action though I did not request this type of information.

Appendix VII: Sample Research Text for Eleanor

Eleanor: I have become racist!

Eleanor is a Caucasian British. She is 48 years old. She is married to a Canadian. She has a bachelor's degree in education a CELTA and a DELTA (Diploma in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages). Before coming to Saudi, Eleanor worked in politician campaigns for many years in the UK. She later on worked as a TESOL teacher in Russia, Spain, Malaysia, China and Kazakhstan for a total of 7 years. She has four years of experience as TESOL educator in Saudi Arabia. She worked with the British Council in Jeddah and Riyadh and in a private university in Riyadh. Her first language is English. She speaks Spanish as an additional language.

When Eleanor chose to become a TESOL educator, her first step was to take a course to prepare her for her new job:

E: I did a CELTA in London. I didn't fall into teaching English by accident. It was quite like looking at the things I enjoyed doing in my previous lives and things I was passionate about. I put it all together, and I thought this might be a good career [first interview with Eleanor].

Eleanor moved to Spain, to take a DELTA course. She applied for a job in Saudi Arabia while she was still in Spain although she mentioned she “*already picked up it's largely disorganized and a bit chaotic*” [first interview with Eleanor] in Saudi Arabia.

While in Spain, Eleanor's back started degenerating just before she was getting ready to move to Saudi Arabia. This required her to undergo an emergency neurosurgery in the UK. She said, “*The whole manner of build-up before I came to Saudi caused me not to give how life in Saudi is going to be any thought*” [first interview with Eleanor]. Eleanor accepted the job because she had to pay her student loans.

R: Why did you decide to come to Saudi Arabia?

E: Well, obviously, money. That doesn't go unnoticed when you've been earning 6000 pounds a year and you've got debts because you have been studying [first interview with Eleanor].

When she arrived to Riyadh, to start her job at the university's preparatory program, Eleanor was picked up at the airport and was put in a holiday apartment which she described as follows:

E: We were put in a dreadful apartment of the sort that we, as Westerners, won't understand. It was very smelly because they have got all the thick velvet and lots of smoke. People have been smoking in the rooms. Nobody smokes in hotel rooms now [first interview with Eleanor].

Later on, the university moved Eleanor to an apartment building with other teachers. There was a Muslim American convert who was responsible for the female teachers, the apartments and the cultural issues whom Eleanor described as, "*furious, aggressive and hysterical*" [first interview with Eleanor]. This she told me had to do with the "*whole Western approach about Islam*" and that this woman was a part of "*a fundamentalist fraction*"; Eleanor thought the situation in these apartments "*was bad and set against us [non-Muslims]*" [first interview with Eleanor]. Eleanor believed so though she related to me a few minutes later this story about the same American housing manager:

E: At the end, I was put with this woman, the union woman, who was bonkers! Really, really awful, you get very sad stories around here. This is the problem. The American housing manager, who was very good with me, gave me an apartment on my own because of this, so I was rattling on my own. [first interview with Eleanor].

It was clear at this point that Eleanor started associating all the negative experiences she went through with Islam. Her experience at the university was not pleasant either. The preparatory program was extremely disorganized. As a

result of undergoing this series of negative experiences, Eleanor started associating life in Saudi Arabia with restrictions.

E: That was pretty grim initially and after that, it kind of got worse. The project was very disorganized. It was badly organized from the university to the contractors to everybody [...]. Everything was a battle, but how much of that has to do with the Saudi culture? I don't know. I think probably because of the constrictions of life here [first interview with Eleanor].

Eleanor was later given a manager's position at the university with many benefits. She learned to use this position along with her qualification as an IELTS examiner as a power tool to get to retain her passport, get a multi exit-re-entry visa and bring her new husband to work in Saudi Arabia. *"I said, 'Listen if you won't do this, I won't do any IELTS examining' [...]. I had leverage, but lots of women didn't" [First Interview with Eleanor].* Despite this, she was not completely satisfied. She told me, *"I went back as a manager, but I couldn't hack it as a manager. It was so awful, so I went back to being a teacher" [first interview with Eleanor].* Eleanor's goals became to move out of these apartments into a compound and to change her job.

Eleanor achieved one of her goals through getting a job in the British Council in Riyadh but she could not convince the British Council to house her and her husband, who had joined her by then, in a compound. Based on this, she decided to work for the British Council in Jeddah which provided her with a house in a Western Compound. She told me she loved the compound.

R: so it's been nice here in the compound.

E: It's been nice here in the compound because, in Riyadh, we weren't in a compound, and I couldn't go anywhere without my Abaya whereas here, I can go for a swim. We can walk to the shop. There is a restaurant. It's

like a little village here, and that makes it feel better when I don't have to leave the compound [second interview with Eleanor].

Eleanor did not like it outside the compound as the above extract shows. She describes why in the following excerpt:

E: When I go out of the Examination Centre of the British Council, we go around a garden that is done really nicely, lovely landscaping. There are bins every ten feet, but the last couple of weeks, I go down at quarter to nine, in the morning, and the little army of Bangladeshis was picking up the rubbish. That's not just Saudis, Kazakhstan and China are the same; they are all litterer thinkers [first interview with Eleanor].

Though she liked the compound, and she did not like it outside it, Eleanor did not want to deal with her neighbours who were living with her on the compound either. She did not like them.

E: We could have got more involved with the compound, but I don't want to mix with the expats here.

R: Why not?

E: I don't like them. I really, really don't like them, expats. You see them on the buses. The wives don't work and complain all the time. I am too old to make friends with people I am not interested in. [second interview with Eleanor].

Eleanor was also getting comfortable going shopping in Jeddah alone using a taxi for the first time rather than using the compound buses. She was familiar with cultural norms in Saudi Arabia, as well.

E: When I actually went out on my own in Riyadh, I actually plucked up courage to go to the main road and get a taxi. The taxi took me to the supermarket. I got into the supermarket. The little Bangladeshi man packed my stuff, loaded the bags into the trolley, unloaded the bags and helped put the bags into the taxi. I wasn't used to all that, so I do think

women are treated with a much better degree of respect here. That gave me a certain amount of power because when I got angry, they couldn't handle it. I had a problem in one of the stores here. I bought something, and I put it on my credit card here. They said bring it back in one day, and I thought it meant within one day. I went to try them on, some T-shirts. Of course, they didn't fit. Why can't you try them in the shop before you buy them? You have to go the fitting room area, in the bathrooms, take your Abaya off, put it back on, but they said, "No, you have to bring it in back tomorrow." It was the guy who served me. It was almost only five minutes. I just went, "What?" and I was shouting, "What?" They said, "You have to bring it back tomorrow", and I said, "No, I don't. You can give me the refund now". Then I went to another shop, and I bought something else, and the man said the same thing, but his English was much better. He said, "If you want to return it, I can't return it until tomorrow". Why? It's the Visa system. In other countries, they can give you a refund right away, but here in this store, the manager sort of came to check, and I was shouting, and I never shout. I never shouted until I got here, never. If I did that with a woman assistant in Britain, they would just come down on you, whereas here they just go, "shut her up, give her what she wants." [Second Interview with Eleanor]

She was also comfortable working for the British Council which suited her more than working for the university. She thought this was liberating because she did not have to deal with Muslims and watch out for cultural values.

E: The thing for me is now, I was in an environment where we weren't bending over to be nice to Muslims but if we were allowed to talk about boyfriends, we could do it, while at the university we weren't allowed to talk about boyfriends. We weren't allowed to talk about alcohol or mention bacon and so on. I was like, look, it exists [first interview with Eleanor].

Though the British Council had similar cultural restrictions to the university, Eleanor seemed more willing to accept these cultural rules. She would still, however, discuss topics which are considered cultural taboos in Saudi Arabia

with her Saudi students. This, she was sure, would cause her problems, but she still wanted to do it. Her actions and attitude resulted in a problem with the students at the British Council that was picked up in London.

E: This is why I got in trouble once. I was doing academic English and we used to do for and against. The topics were something like women driving because everyone has strong opinions about that. I told them [the students] I wasn't interested in their opinion, just the reasons. When we do this, I never express my opinion ever! I asked them to look at it from every angle, the fathers, the women, the Filipino drivers. We had a real good discussion. We put everything on the board in one class. I knew in the class I had a few conservative women, so I had to be careful. The next thing I knew is our boss saying, "Who has done women driving in Saudi Arabia?" About half of us put our hands up because we always do it. It's a good topic. I think somebody had spoken to their brother, you know how they go have coffee together in the afternoon, and the brother had gone on some chat forum talking about this teacher that made the students change their minds about women drivers. But the details were wrong. He wrote we had 19 in the class, but none of us had 19 in the class, but it was in the British Council. They thought these Westerners are brainwashing our women etc. Somebody had tweeted it and that had been picked up by London and London investigated. I showed them my lesson notes and I said, "Look, teacher doesn't give any input on that". Living in some environment where you can be accused of corrupting these poor girls, who are in fact, mature women is just bizarre [first interview with Eleanor].

Eleanor did not blame the British Council for following the cultural norms though the investigation was initiated in London. She did not think she did anything wrong by discussing cultural taboo topics. She thought it was rather the students to blame for complaining.

E: I found it very difficult and a lot of them [the students] are quite demanding. On the whole of my teaching career, I had two complaints. But then I came here [to Jeddah], and I was lucky if I went through a term

without a complaint. They complained and complained and complained [first interview with Eleanor].

Many people were trying to explain to Eleanor why cultural norms which are mainly derived from Islam are important in a conservative country like Saudi Arabia during her stay, including one of her students but Eleanor decided not to discuss her thoughts with her student so the student does not get disappointed thereby refusing to hear any other voices.

E: I have this friend, Amani, who is a very conservative Muslim writing a novel in English to explain Islam to all of us who don't know about it, to understand it. She is so lovely and so wonderful. I would have a session with her and afterwards would think, "Oh, these are such nice people" [...] I really have to bite my tongue sometimes [laughter] when my friend, Amani, comes because I can't criticize her because she believes in Islam wholeheartedly, but then you feel it's like a cult [...] Why do you have to pray five times on time and you have to wake up by the prayer call at 4:30 in morning to pray? While you go shopping, the shops close and you have a fag! [...] It feels it's all about control. It's control of woman and control of lives. [first interview with Eleanor].

Another interesting conceptualization of Eleanor's is that about "culture". Eleanor saw "cultures" as discrete entities associated with geographical locations. She told me that she comes "*from a very different culture*" [second interview with Eleanor]. Throughout our interviews, Eleanor attached a certain adjective to each nationality, for example, the Bangladeshi was "*little*", people from Kazakhstan, China and Saudi Arabia were "*litterer thinkers*" and Canadians were "*conservative*". Eleanor used similar stereotypical expressions to describe the difference between the students based on gender, despite the fact that she never taught male students in Saudi Arabia, "*You feel girls and boys are two different species. The men mess around. They don't do their homework. They*

are lazy and spoilt. The women are very motivated.” [First interview with Eleanor].

These experiences, the prior experiences and more importantly Eleanor’s understandings, (re)actions and attitudes to these experiences were factors that contributed to her transformation.

R: Are there any changes people note about you when you go back home?

E: I have become quite racist! I don’t like to admit it, but I have. My mother grew up in a household with her parents of two different religions, and she was aware of how one was treated particularly badly by the family of the other. She brought me up with a very strong feeling of live and let live. That was her ethos. Don’t bother anybody and don’t let anybody bother you and all that. I always felt I was the same, but sometimes, I feel myself having a real vicious hatred for certain things. I don’t like myself. When I left the university, a good friend of mine and myself, we both said, “We don’t like who we have become.” That’s because they made us so frightened and angry that we became so bitter and nasty. Here, it’s slightly different because it’s not only about being in Saudi, it has to do with other things that are happening with Islam [first interview with Eleanor].

This transformation she did not like about herself.

R: What other changes do you note about yourself?

E: As I said before, part of me has turned into somebody I don’t really like [Second interview with Eleanor].

One change that took place was that Eleanor could achieve financial security, pay her loans and even have extra money.

E: I have saved a great amount of money not just by doing IELTS. Also, there is the money I make for material writing through a British company. I get £50 an hour from my students. Where else would a teacher get £50 for a private lesson? On Wednesdays, I have two classes of two hours each,

one is a princess and the two others are two girls who want to do their IELTS. They come together. That's £200, just for one day a week which is like pocket money. You can see how people get caught into this. It is a very difficult place to live. For me, this damn Abaya. It drives me nuts, especially, in this heat [Second interview with Eleanor].

Another change that took place as a result of her intercultural experiences was that Eleanor has become more dependent on her husband. This she learned was the result of living in Saudi Arabia where women are expected to ask for their husband's approval for everything they do.

E: I was a very, very independent woman, actually too independent. One of the things that is very good here is that you can hide behind your husband. If my employer wanted to do something or said something, I could say, "My husband won't let me" and there were no questions asked because that would happen to the local people. That was acceptable in a professional environment saying, "My husband doesn't approve". [...] On a personal level, this has changed me. Now, I defer to my husband more than I would have done before. I would say to him, "Are you happy for me to do this?" [first interview with Eleanor]

Growing older away from home was challenging for Eleanor. She thought this was the cause of her dilemma:

E: I left when I was 19. I always find it so stressful going back to Britain because there are some things that I really like and things that I really hate there. That tears at me. It emotionally becomes quite draining [...] I left my city 30 years ago and my country 12 years ago. I have got no roots. That's what I think the suffering is from [second interview with Eleanor].

Despite the challenges Eleanor faced, she was happy with life in the compound but her husband was not.

E: My husband at the moment is going through a little bit of a downer about this place, but I think it has to do with our marriage, because we are

only ever been married in Saudi Arabia. This is not the way it is in the world. We live in this cocoon. My husband doesn't like it [...]. I think it's very nice by the way here. I am very happy here. I love it. We have got a swimming pool outside. It's a nice place to live. I think by any standards, but we don't have a community here [second interview with Eleanor].

Eleanor knew though real life is not only about living in a compound which, she called a “cocoon” in the above extract. She knew she needed a community that she failed to have in Saudi Arabia. Because of her husband and the dilemma she was going through, she decided to move to her husband's country, Canada. The following extract follows from the above extract in the interview:

E: That's why I am quite keen to go live in Canada, but my husband, who has never been back to Canada for 10 years, is now getting into, oh, my God, I am going back. Will anyone want to see me? He is getting very apprehensive. He is wondering how it's changed and what will it be like. I think that will happen to anybody who leaves his country or city [second interview with Eleanor].

A few days after our interviews were concluded, Eleanor sent me an email which contained some comments on how the interviews not only helped her reflect on her experience, but also how they helped her take action.

E: It was a great pleasure to meet you and to do rather a lot of 'dumping'...Talking to you also galvanised me into contacting an old friend from [the university I worked at], this is the lady who said that working here had turned us into people that we didn't like - so that was another good side to it! [Email correspondence from Eleanor].

Appendix VIII: Coding of Research Texts (Individual Narratives)

Initial Themes, Codes and Categories identified

(Themes)	Codes	Categories
Previous intercultural experience	P	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. previous work experience with international students at their country of origin 2. previous work experience overseas living in Saudi as a child
Reasons to come to Saudi Arabia	R	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Experiencing financial issues 2. Needing to pay student loans 3. Looking for financial wellbeing
Situations in Saudi Arabia	S	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. passports taken away 2. salary not paid/delayed 3. visa letter delayed 4. bank letter delayed 5. family sponsoring requests delayed 6. family not put on health insurance 7. institutions refusing to hire based on skin color/ accent 8. Saudis refusing to invite the participants to their homes 9. institutions refusing to hire based on nationality 10. salary paid according to nationality 11. poor accommodation 12. experiencing social hierarchy

Actions and responses	A	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. building relationships with the locals 2. committing to dialogue 3. using their skills to get their rights 4. building relationships with superiors 5. Othering other people 6. threatening others 7. emotional dilemmas 8. maintaining relationships with significant others at home 9. using nationality to get rights 10. actively building relationships with the expatriate community 11. like an outsider to a great extent
Taking future decisions	T	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. leaving Saudi 2. staying in Saudi 3. writing/ publishing a book 4. finishing postgraduate studies 5. learning Arabic 6. moving to administration 7. looking for a better job
Transformation & change	TC	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Managing to live in a state of thirdness and seeming to enjoy this 2. writing a book about the history and culture of Saudi in English 3. transformation- becoming racist 4. change-becoming dependent 5. change - becoming more confident 6. becoming more empathetic with the people in Saudi Arabia 7. managing to grow (professionally and personally) 8. transformation -becoming cynical 9. getting a PhD
Learning	L	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. learning about the status of women

		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. learning about Saudi culture 3. learning Arabic 4. learning about tribalism 5. learning to be positive 6. learning to identify with Saudis based on skin color 7. learning to identify with Saudis based on religion 8. learning to accept difference 9. learning to ignore unpleasant attitudes from others 10. Understanding one's own social background in the new context in relation to the other's (one's own position in the social hierarchy in the new milieu) 11. Understanding one's own cultural background in relation to the other's (values, beliefs and practices, prejudices, language) in the new context. 12. learning about the students 13. learning about the cultural other
Factors affecting the participants' experiences	F	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. location 2. Nationality 3. Native speaker vs. non-native speaker 4. gender 5. conceptualization of culture 6. building relationships in Saudi 7. maintaining relationships in Saudi/at home 8. Islam vs. West – 9/11 Arab vs. Western 9. class 10. health problems 11. ability to reflect on the situation

		12. dispositions 13. religion 14. ethnicity 15. locals' attitude to English 16. prior/early experiences in Saudi 17. media 18. weather 19. race 20. accent
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Appendix IX: Sample Extract from Eleanor's Coded Individual Narrative

When she arrived to Riyadh, to start her job at the university's preparatory program, Eleanor was picked up at the airport and was put in a holiday apartment **(S11)** which she described as follows:

*E: We were put in a dreadful apartment of the sort that we, as Westerners, won't understand **(S11)**. It was very smelly because they have got all the thick velvet and lots of smoke. People have been smoking in the rooms. Nobody smokes in hotel rooms now [first interview with Eleanor] **(S11)**.*

Later on, the university moved Eleanor to an apartment building with other teachers **(S11)**. There was a Muslim American convert who was responsible for the female teachers, the apartments and the cultural issues whom Eleanor described as, "*furious, aggressive and hysterical*" [first interview with Eleanor] **(S11)**. This she told me had to do with the "*whole Western approach about Islam*" **(F8)** and that this woman was a part of "*a fundamentalist fraction*" **(F8)**; Eleanor thought the situation in these apartments "*was bad and set against us [non-Muslims]*" **(F13)** [first interview with Eleanor]. Eleanor believed so though she related to me a few minutes later this story about the same American housing manager:

*E: At the end, I was put with this woman, the union woman, who was bonkers! **(S11)** Really, really awful, you get very sad stories around here **(S11)**. This is the problem. The American housing manager, who was very good with me, gave me an apartment on my own because of this, so I was rattling on my own. [first interview with Eleanor].*

It was clear at this point that Eleanor started associating all the negative experiences **(F8)** she went through with Islam **(F8)**. Her experience at the university was not pleasant either **(S16)**. The preparatory program was

extremely disorganized **(F16)**. As a result of undergoing this series of negative experiences, Eleanor started associating life in Saudi Arabia with restrictions **(F16)**.

*E: That was pretty grim initially and after that, it kind of got worse **(F16)**. The project was very disorganized. It was badly organized from the university to the contractors to everybody [...]. Everything was a battle **(F16)**, but how much of that has to do with the Saudi culture? I don't know. I think probably because of the constrictions of life here **(F16)** [first interview with Eleanor].*

Eleanor was later given a manager's position at the university with many benefits. She learned to use this position along with her qualification as an IELTS examiner as a power tool to get to retain her passport, get a multi exit-re-entry visa and bring her new husband to work in Saudi Arabia **(L2)** . "I said, 'Listen if you won't do this, I won't do any IELTS examining' [...].I had leverage, but lots of women didn't" **(L2)** [First Interview with Eleanor]. Despite this, she was not completely satisfied. She told me, "I went back as a manager, but I couldn't hack it as a manager **(F16)**. It was so awful, so I went back to being a teacher" **(F16)** [first interview with Eleanor]. Eleanor's goals became to move out of these apartments into a compound and to change her job **(T7)**.

Eleanor achieved one of her goals through getting a job in the British Council in Riyadh **(T7)** but she could not convince the British Council to house her and her husband, who had joined her by then, in a compound **(S11)**. Based on this, she decided to work for the British Council in Jeddah which provided her with a house in a Western Compound. She told me she loved the compound.

Appendix X: The Final Themes, Codes and Categories of the Cross-Case Individual Narratives (Research Texts) Analysis

Themes	Codes	Categories
Experiences in Saudi Arabia	E	<p>1 Othering situations based on social positions (case specific)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - gender, religion, language, race, nationality and ethnicity
Factors affecting the participants experiences	F	<p>1 wider discourses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - larger discourses, such as “West vs. Islam”, “Westerner vs. Non-Westerner”, “White vs. non-white” and “native-speaker vs. non-native speaker” of English. - global positioning <p>2 the participants’ dispositional positions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - frames of mind that result from people’s engagement with the sociocultural other in intercultural experiences, which condition but do not determine people’s minds. - General frames of mind that result from general experiences <p>3 situated value systems</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Values that are highly regarded in Saudi Arabia such as, valuing Islam, “native-speakers” of English and “Westerners”, “white” people, tribalism and family <p>4 Contextual Realities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Those related to the specific

		<p>situations the participants found themselves in, in Saudi Arabia that are salient to place (like the institutions practice of keeping the participants' passports or withholding their salaries)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Saudi Arabia is well-connected to the rest of the world via transportation, telecommunication and information technology - the participants' relationships to physical places/people within and across the borders of Saudi Arabia.
<p>Intercultural Learning Process</p>	<p>L</p>	<p>1 Developing an awareness of the sociocultural self in relation to the Other</p> <p>_ Understanding one's own social background in the new context in relation to the other's (one's own position in the social hierarchy in the new milieu)</p> <p><u>Marianne</u></p> <p><i>M: Saudis are the top management...The thing is, here in Riyadh, they always prefer native speakers. Native speakers are those who are supposedly coming from the UK, Canada, the US and Australia. These were the bulk of the teachers and the management team.</i></p> <p><i>I: How do you feel about them being referred to as native speakers? What does that involve?</i></p> <p><i>M: Of course, there is a feeling of superiority [laughter], but I think, you know. How can I explain that? There is this feeling of superiority. I think it is mostly among people of particular European nations such as these who are</i></p>

	<p><i>white. Yea, the white from the UK and the US.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Understanding one's own cultural background in relation to the other's (values, beliefs and practices, prejudices, language) in the new context. <p><i>Ex: Esha:</i></p> <p><i>E: I was growing as a child here, yes I didn't have much contact with them [Saudis] as I was always in international schools or out studying, but no. Because I am also Muslim, I think that also helps. I know the subjects I must not touch. I understand and relate a lot to the culture because my background is similar to the Saudi background. We are tribal, you know, Pakistan is also tribal, where you from matters, who your family is matters a lot, so then being a Muslim helps.</i></p> <p>2 negotiating Othering situations using different strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - through commitment to dialogue <p><i>. Ameen:</i></p> <p><i>A: I did something I called walk and talk. I was exercising every day here in a certain place in Jeddah where everyone walks. I invited students to walk and talk with Mr Ameen. You want to practice your English, because you are always asking for conversation. I said fine, come walk with me. You walk with me, we'll talk.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - through using their points of strengths to get their rights <p><i>-James:</i></p> <p><i>The only reason I got my passport is because I told them, "Listen, I either get my passport tonight or you have</i></p>
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	<p><i>to deal with Queen Elizabeth.” Within one hour, I had my passport. I don’t like doing this. I hate getting arrogant. I don’t like pulling the nationality card. The only time I get my rights is when I stop treating them like Muslims and I start treating them as Arabs and I am a Canadian.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - through building and maintaining relationships with others a. actively building relationships with superiors and colleagues - James: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>J: I have an American boss ...and I didn’t start receiving my salary on time... I didn’t start getting my benefits until I explained to this man what was going on and he helped me out a lot.</i> b. actively building relationships with locals -Marianne: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>M: I am still in touch with a lot of my Saudi colleagues in the previous places where I worked..with most of them. I find it easy to go along with them and we still meet and have dinner in a restaurant together. We try to keep it on a monthly basis, but this is not always possible. We are still in touch.</i> c. actively building relationships with the expatriate community - James <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>I: How is your relationship to them [expatriate colleagues]?</i> <i>J: They’re helpful. If you need something like if I need to take my car to the mechanic, I can rely on them to pick me up or pick it up. We watch each other’s kids. There is that help. Most of my neighbours are the people I work with because the building we live in is a</i>
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	<p><i>company accommodation. We know each other fairly well. We help each other out. It's good. I like it.</i></p> <p>d. maintaining relationships with significant others at home for emotional support - Ali</p> <p><i>I: How do you keep in touch with family back in Canada?</i></p> <p><i>A: I have this VOIP, voice over Internet Protocol device called MagicJack, which allows me to call any number in North America, for free. I use that a lot. I telephone quite a bit.</i></p> <p>- through building cultural bridges a. identifying with the other (based on humanity, gender, religion, physical appearance, having a similar sociocultural background..etc.)</p> <p>- Marianne: <i>I: How do you think your students perceive you?</i></p> <p><i>M: Well, I can tell you they always say I look Saudi. I mean, physically, I look Saudi. This is what they said. I tell them, "You look Mauritian, as well." Because we really look alike, same skin tone, same traits. I told one student, "You look like my cousin" because I am from Pakistani/Indian background.</i></p> <p>b. showing interest and appreciation to the Other's difference .-Julie: <i>J: I think one of the things they [the students] appreciate is that I don't try to talk as if...I don't try to change their way of life. I am not in a position to do that and it's not my</i></p>
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		<p><i>right to do that. May be some people do. May be some people harp on women not being able to drive every five minutes and shops closing for prayers five times a day. May be some people do this, but I don't, it's not my place to suggest that things should be different, because they shouldn't. That's your society and people have every right to be like that.</i></p>
<p>Outcomes of Intercultural Learning</p>	<p>O</p>	<p>1 Continuity through generation of new experiences & knowledge (positive change)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - writing a book about the history and culture of Saudi Arabia <p><i>Ali: On my end, I'm nearing the completion of writing [book title]. I've another 3 or four stories to go. It's a collection of short stories glimpsing Arabia from the 1890s until the middle of World War I, through explorations of ancient traditions, cultural and religious beliefs, and historic events</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Managing to live in a state of thirdness <p><i>Ali: It's about not feeling quite right in where he was born, in Palestine, neither in the US. I think to some extent, that's true for many of us who are first generation immigrants with strong ties to our ethnic and cultural backgrounds if they lie outside Canada. For that reason, there's very much for me to explore culturally and geographically what lies abroad and what doesn't. For those reasons, I think, I like to travel and probably, I always will.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - becoming more confident <p><i>Esha: Did you change?</i></p> <p><i>Yes, I have become more social. I used to be very introverted, quite,</i></p>

		<p><i>shy person up to college, then I started opening up but I think work has really changed me, I know what I want now better, I have become very confident, very social and yeah it is nice.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - becoming more empathetic with the people in Saudi Arabia <p><i>Julie: Quite often people would tell me, "Oh, how can you live in Saudi Arabia? It's this, this and this", and I would say, "Actually, you don't know. You haven't been there". I am able to tell them a balanced view because I have been here, so they actually, don't know what they are talking about.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - growing (professionally and personally) <p><i>I: Looking back at your experience in Saudi Arabia, how do you evaluate the overall experience?</i></p> <p><i>Julie: The overall experience, on the whole, it's been positive, very positive for a number of different reasons, but mainly for the experience I had of being able to go somewhere completely different.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - managing to grow (professionally) <p><i>Julie: It [experience in SA] made me reconsider the teachers' point of view and that's a good thing for me as a manager. It made me also reconsider things like the students' needs, the teaching methodology...etc. so that was positive, as well.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - getting a PhD <p><i>Marianne: I started researching writing assessment at that time, and this was what led to my PhD. It was something I took positively at the end of the day because it was something that bothered me and I looked into it.</i></p>
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	<p>2 Arrest to the development of new experiences & mis-education (negative transformation)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - becoming dependent <p><i>Marianne: I am the one depending on my husband. This has changed me a lot. I feel now, when we go on vacation, I would still depend a bit on my husband. I usually drive around but ask him to come with me. I feel it is necessary to have him present. If I am going to visit a relative, I would ask him to come along to be with me in the car. Yes, I have changed. Good questions!</i></p> <p><i>Eleanor: I was a very, very independent woman, actually too independent. One of the things that is very good here is that you can hide behind your husband.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - becoming cynical <p><i>I: Do you feel you have changed?</i></p> <p><i>James: I have become more cynical. I am not that trusting anymore and that's because of my sponsor. It's because of the company that I work for.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - becoming racist <p><i>I: Are there any changes people note about you when you go back home?</i></p> <p><i>Eleanor: I have become quite racist! I don't like to admit it, but I have.</i></p>
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Appendix XI: Titles Assigned for Each Individual Narrative Account

Pseudonym	Title
Ali	Ali: The Canadian Nomad
Ameen	Ameen: I can write a book!
Eleanor	Eleanor: I don't like who I have become!
Esha	Esha: I am not a typical Pakistani teacher
James	James: I have become cynical!
Julie	Julie: You have to have a very, very open mind wherever you go.
Marianne	Marianne: The positive lady

Appendix XII: Certificate of Ethical Research Approval Form



Graduate School of Education

Certificate of ethical research approval
DISSERTATION/THESIS

To activate this certificate you need to first sign it yourself, and then have it signed by your supervisor and finally by the Chair of the School's Ethics Committee.

For further information on ethical educational research access the guidelines on the BERA web site: <http://www.bera.ac.uk/publications/guidelines/> and view the School's statement on the GSE student access on-line documents.

READ THIS FORM CAREFULLY AND THEN COMPLETE IT ON YOUR COMPUTER (the form will expand to contain the text you enter). **DO NOT COMPLETE BY HAND**

Your name: Manal Sabbah

Your student No.: 600042633

Return address for this certificate: Karic Midhat-Mitke 6, 71000 Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Degree/Programme of Study: Doctorate in Education (TESOL)

Project Supervisor(s): Dr. Sarah Rich and Dr. Fran Martin

Your email address: mjs227@exeter.ac.uk, manaljy@gmail.com

Tel: +38761491000, 07593264797

I hereby certify that I will abide by the details given overleaf and that I undertake in my **dissertation / thesis** (delete whichever is inappropriate) to respect the dignity and privacy of those participating in this research.

I confirm that if my research should change radically, I will complete a further form.

Signed: Manal Sabbah..... **date:** 12/5/2012.....

NB For Masters dissertations, which are marked blind, this first page must **not be included** in your work. It can be kept for your records.

Certificate of ethical research approval DISSERTATION/THESIS

Your student no:

600042633

Title of your project:

Exploring The Intercultural Lived Experiences of ESL Global Educators: An Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis

Brief description of your research project:

As the world is increasingly becoming globalized, the need to equip English as a second language (ESL) teachers with new global cultural understandings to tackle the challenges of preparing their students for the 21st century grows. Though there seems to be a global consensus that teachers need to be qualified to this end, amongst teacher educators and policymakers, there is a growing sense that teacher education programs have failed to prepare teachers for the realities of the classroom. Because of the spread of English as a global language, the number of ESL teachers teaching in foreign countries is increasing. As a result, responsive teaching becomes crucial. ESL teachers should have knowledge of what their students bring to school, the ability and skills to interact with students with limited English proficiency, and an understanding of the impact of their students' home and community culture. The purpose of this research is to touch upon the cultural aspect of the complex process of globalization and its impact on learning and teaching culture in the language classroom of the twenty-first century. It will look more closely at the cultural insights the global ESL teachers arrive at when they experience teaching students on foreign landscapes. This study attempts to explore these insights assuming a bottom-up approach grounded in the ESL teachers' lived experiences as global educators. It will be informed by an interpretive theoretical perspective. It will follow the methodology of interpretive phenomenological analysis. A qualitative approach to data collection will be used. This study is likely to have implications for policymakers, teacher educators and teachers.

Give details of the participants in this research (giving ages of any children and/or young people involved):

The participants are eight English teachers who teach in higher education, 4 male teachers and 4 female teachers. They have been teaching (taught) in Saudi Arabia for three years or more and come from countries other than Saudi Arabia. There are no children or young adults participating in this study.

Give details (with special reference to any children or those with special needs) regarding the ethical issues of:

I will observe the Code of Ethics and Conduct set out by the British Psychological Society (BPS, 2009). I will closely adhere to ethical issues related to respect and informed consent, confidentiality and safeguarding as follows:

- a) **informed consent:** Where children in schools are involved this includes both headteachers and parents). Copy(ies) of your consent form(s) you will be using must accompany this document. a blank consent form can be downloaded from the GSE student access on-line documents:

I will obtain the informed consent of the participants. Records of how, when and from whom these consents are obtained will be kept. I will explain in detail to the participants how

Chair of the School's Ethics Committee
updated: April 2011

the data and the findings will be used. The fact that participants have the right to withdraw at any given point will be stressed out. I will inform the participants that in case they decide to withdraw, the data provided by them will be destroyed.

I will respect individual, cultural and role differences, including (but not exclusively) those involving age, disability, education, ethnicity, gender, language, national origin, race, religion, sexual orientation, marital or family status and socio-economic status. In addition, I will respect the knowledge, insight, experience and expertise of the teachers involved in the study, relevant third parties, and members of the general public. I will strive to avoid practices that are unfair or prejudiced, and I will be willing to explain the bases for my ethical decision-making.

The consent form I will use is attached.

b) anonymity and confidentiality

The confidentiality and the anonymity of the participants will be closely observed. All data collected will be stored in a secure and safe place. Anonymity will be observed by coding the information and giving the participants pseudonyms.

Give details of the methods to be used for data collection and analysis and how you would ensure they do not cause any harm, detriment or unreasonable stress:

Open-ended, semi structured interviews will be used to collect data. These interviews will be recorded using an MP3 player then the recordings will be transcribed. They will be analyzed following Radnor (2001). The interviews will be coded. General themes will be derived from the interviews. I will try to establish rapport with the participants. I will be flexible in setting the dates and times of the interviews to suite the participants. The interviews are not expected to cause any harm, pressure or stress to the participants as the participants will choose the times, dates and duration of the interviews.

Give details of any other ethical issues which may arise from this project (e.g. secure storage of videos/recorded interviews/photos/completed questionnaires or special arrangements made for participants with special needs etc.):

All data collected will be stored in a secure and safe place. This includes transcripts and any audio recordings. Electronic information will be safeguarded by a password known only to the researcher. Electronic information will be stored on a secure system in a secure building. Collected data will be stored on a secure system. Paper will be locked up in a secure place in a safe building. Once the data is no longer needed, it will be deleted if it is digital (audios) and shredded if recorded on paper.

Give details of any exceptional factors, which may raise ethical issues (e.g. potential political or ideological conflicts which may pose danger or harm to participants):

I do not anticipate any exceptional factors which will cause ethical issues.

This form should now be printed out, signed by you on the first page and sent to your supervisor to sign. Your supervisor will forward this document to the School's **Research Support Office** for the Chair of the School's Ethics Committee to countersign. A unique approval reference will be added and this certificate will be returned to you to be included at the back of your dissertation/thesis.

***N.B.** You should not start the fieldwork part of the project until you have the signature of your supervisor*

This project has been approved for the period: June 2012 **until:** October 2012

Chair of the School's Ethics Committee
updated: April 2011

By (above mentioned supervisor's signature):
.....*Sarah Pugh*.....date: *25/6/2012*.....

N.B. To Supervisor: Please ensure that ethical issues are addressed annually in your report and if any changes in the research occur a further form is completed.

GSE unique approval reference:.....*211/12/61*.....

Signed:.....*[Signature]*.....date: *27/06/12*
Chair of the School's Ethics Committee

This form is available from <http://education.exeter.ac.uk/students/>

Chair of the School's Ethics Committee
updated: April 2011

Appendix XIII: Sample Consent Form



GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

CONSENT FORM

I have been fully informed about the aims and purposes of the project.

I understand that:

there is no compulsion for me to participate in this research project and, if I do choose to participate, I may at any stage withdraw my participation

I have the right to refuse permission for the publication of any information about me

any information which I give will be used solely for the purposes of this research project, which may include publications

If applicable, the information, which I give, may be shared between any of the other researcher(s) participating in this project in an anonymised form

all information I give will be treated as confidential

the researcher(s) will make every effort to preserve my anonymity

(Signature of participant)

(Date)

(Printed name of participant)

One copy of this form will be kept by the participant; a second copy will be kept by the researcher(s)

Contact phone number of researcher(s): my phone number

If you have any concerns about the project that you would like to discuss, please contact:

Manal Sabbah on the above-mentioned phone or on my emails: [email 1](#), [email 2](#)

Data Protection Act: The University of Exeter is a data collector and is registered with the Office of the Data Protection Commissioner as required to do under the Data Protection Act 1998. The information you provide will be used for research purposes and will be processed in accordance with the University's registration and current data protection legislation. Data will be confidential to the researcher(s) and will not be disclosed to any unauthorised third parties without further agreement by the participant. Reports based on the data will be in anonymised form.

Appendix XIV: Additional Studies Review

Author	Year	Topic	Conceptualization of culture	Participants & Setting	Methodology	Methods	findings
Devitt, P. J.	2014	Expatriate teachers' understanding of the term "Cultural Intelligence" (CQ) and its characteristics based on their experiences in UAE	Unlike my study, this study employs an essentialist conceptualization of culture as a discrete entity that is closely associated with national belonging. The reporting was done on the basis of cross-cultural experience rather than an intercultural one. Also, the role of power in this experience was not discussed in the results.	10 white "Native-speaker" expatriate teachers with 5 years plus overseas teaching experience, who are 38-52 years old and work at Women's tertiary college in the UAE. The rationale for these sampling criteria is not provided.	Interpretative (phenomenology) Although the researcher is an insider to the participants, he chose to "bracket" his beliefs rather than reflect on his own experience as an expatriate TESOL educator as I did in my study.	Individual semi-structured interviews derived from the Cultural Intelligence Scale questionnaire and focus groups, which were suitable for the inquiry.	Metacognitive CQ, cognitive CQ, motivational CQ, and behavioural CQ . results suggest that these factors are present in the participants' constructs of cultural intelligence. The researcher identifies cognitive and relational aspects of CQ, which were emphasized in my study's conceptualization of intercultural learning as well. My study, however, stresses the role of positioning and power on intercultural learning. My study also assumes a bottom-up methodology rather than using a previous instrument to measure their learning.

Rich, S.	2011	The relationship between an extended period of a sojourn in a UK university and learning international students obtain, including intercultural learning.	experiential/dialogic and Non-essentialist/cosmopolitan. This conceptualization of learning in intercultural encounters is the most relevant to my study. My study, however, conceptualized interculturality using third space and transnational positionalities theories rather than cosmopolitanism. I saw that these provide a more realistic reflection of intercultural learning.	14 International students taking a one year master in the UK (some with many years of experience as teachers. This is why the study is reviewed here). The students have different backgrounds. The selection was justified well.	Interpretative / Narrative inquiry. I also draw upon an interpretative theoretical perspective but used a study design.	individual interviews/ group interviews/ portfolios and reflective papers and additional field texts. All these provided comprehensive understanding of the international students' intercultural experiences.	The participants' accounts generated many forms of learnings. One of these was, "learning about the self in relation to linguistic and cultural other". This type of learning comprised learning to be more open and learning about the cultural and linguistic other. The study also suggested that there needs to be a more situated accounts of the learnings that are generated by intercultural encounters. My study strongly confirms these finding although my study is related to expatriate TESOL teachers in Saudi rather than to international students. However, my study findings reveal that positioning rather than experience is the most relevant to intercultural experiences. I also identified four facets that affect these experiences and introduced an experiential model of intercultural learning.
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Menard-Warwick	2008	two experienced transnational ESOL teachers' perspectives on the connections between their transnational life experiences and intercultural competence,	Essentialist understanding of culture and completely omitting the role of power in intercultural encounters	The two teachers were speakers of English as an additional language, one from Chile and one from Brazil. The teachers worked in the US before they returned home. They self-identified as transnational and this is why they were chosen as participants.	comparative case study design between the two teachers	Interviews and class observations	The two teachers identified themselves as bicultural and were using different strategies to teach culture in their classrooms. One teacher was comparing the many individual national cultures in her classroom. The other teacher was emphasizing the cultural changes that she and her students have undergone as a result of globalization. This study acknowledges the importance of transnational experiences to learning about the other.
Cheng	2012	beliefs about intercultural competence and their effects on classroom practices	Unlike my study, this study employs an essentialist understanding of culture that is based on cognitive psychological adaption theories.	four experienced Taiwanese EFL teachers' and one American teacher who work in Taiwan	Qualitative case study design	The study employed interviews and analysis of teaching materials in higher education institutes of technology	Related findings suggested that cultural self-awareness did not appear in the teachers' teaching, though the teachers acknowledged its importance in EFL. Also, the study pointed to the need to develop intercultural competence in EFL teaching to meet the demands of globalization although the ways in which this done were not discussed.

