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Attitudes & Acculturation: A Qualitative Case Study Of EFL Teachers In Saudi Arabia

Christopher James Hastings

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ATTITUDES & ACCULTURATION:
A QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY OF EFL TEACHERS IN SAUDI ARABIA

by

Christopher James Hastings

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DEDICATION

Mom and Dad, thank you for your endless patience and support. Now, you can finally say "My son, the doctor." To my wife and partner, Josephine, tayibina habibti. I love you all.

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ABSTRACT

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L2 motivation has evolved since Gardner and Lambert introduced the socio-educational model and highlighted the importance of attitudes and affect to the SLA process. Though the field expanded focus, little work has been done into L2 teacher motivation; instead, most studies have focused on student attitudes and motivation. This research addressed that need by examining teacher motivation in Saudi Arabia.

This study explored the effects that living in Saudi Arabia, segregated from the host community by a high level of social distance, has on teachers' attitudes and motivation to teach, by asking four questions:

1. Do EFL teachers in Saudi feel isolated from the host culture?
2. Do teachers acculturate to Saudi society?
3. How do EFL teachers in Saudi Arabia perceive the social distance between students and teachers?
4. If teachers feel a great cultural distance, what effect does this have on foreign teachers' attitudes towards their students? What effect does this have on the teachers' motivation?

A qualitative design was deemed most appropriate. Operating in the exploratory-interpretive paradigm, it aimed to discover meaning as the participants interpreted it. Both the phenomenological orientation of understanding the essence of lived experiences and the ethnographic orientation of exploring shared behaviors, beliefs, and language were used.

Eleven English teachers, who shared a contextual location and a few characteristics, were purposefully selected to participate in two semi-structured

interviews, which were intended to elicit meaningful and culturally relevant responses, and provide unanticipated information.

The interviews revealed the following: money was teachers' primary motivation for working in Saudi Arabia; most teachers arrived wanting to learn Arabic; social distance prevented cultural experiences; the subjects reported low levels of job satisfaction and commitment; and the subjects were more motivated by extrinsic than intrinsic work factors.

These results contribute to an understanding of L2 teacher motivation and raise further questions about the role of foreign EFL teachers in Saudi Arabia. Limitations of the study and suggestions for further research were identified.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The US-based, global education organization, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc. (TESOL) currently boasts a membership of more than 12,000 professionals and students, as well another 47,000 members in its 101 affiliate organizations (TESOL, 2011). The UK-based British Council keeps an average of 1820 teachers on staff every month in over 100 countries (Georgiadis, 2010, p. 71). These organizations, and countless others, are working to meet the needs of English Language Learners worldwide, which Graddol (2006) predicts will peak at "around 2 billion in the next 10-15 years" (p. 14). English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers not only help students learn a second language (L2), they help students adapt to life in their new environment and face the acculturative and psychological challenges that come with overcoming linguistic and cultural differences on a daily basis. Meanwhile, as expatriates abroad, many English as Foreign Language (EFL) teachers find themselves in various stages of culture shock while coping with many of the same challenges ESL learners face on a daily basis.

Saudi Arabia is one country with a particularly large population of teachers and expatriate workers, and a great deal of effort has been put into shielding its foreign labor force from some of the shock of living in a new culture. Over 6 million foreigners, or roughly 22% of the total population, coming from various Arab and Muslim countries as well as Asian and Western nations, live and work in Saudi Arabia and make up a third of its total workforce. Most of the Western expats, coming primarily from the United States and Europe, as well as many South-Asian healthcare workers, live in housing compounds

that "follow the principle of spatial seclusion of social groups with different cultural and religious background" (Glasze & Alkhayyal, 2002, p. 321). These compounds are essentially cultural enclaves, designed to provide foreigners with a place where the rules of traditional Muslim culture do not have to be followed. In contrast to life outside the compound walls, businesses inside the walls can remain open during daily prayer times, women are free to leave their houses without *abayas* (a black, full-length, outer garment worn to protect women's modesty) and to drive cars, and men and women can meet in mixed company without fear of rebuke from religious police. The cultural segregation also protects local culture from the influence of "dissolute" foreigners.

While not all foreign laborers live in housing compounds, the very existence of such compounds demonstrates both the cultural distance that exists between the host culture and the cultures of foreign nationals, as well as the amount of effort that has gone into maintaining this distance.

Problem

While housing compounds provide EFL teachers and other foreign workers in Saudi Arabia with respite from the constraints of a conservative society and protect local culture from foreign influence, foreigners on and off the compounds often end up confining themselves to cohesive groups with little intergroup mixing outside the workplace.   In this living situation, there is a high level of what John Schumann refers to in his Acculturation Model as *social distance*. *Social distance*, or "the degree of similarity between two cultures," has a direct influence on second language acquisition (SLA) and acculturation, as "the degree to which a learner *identifies* with another culture, the more motivated he or she will be to acquire that culture's language" (Ricento,

2005, p. 897). While it can be argued that a language teacher does not need to know the L1 of his or her students or identify with their culture, the current situation creates a less than ideal living situation for EFL teachers and other foreign workers who *do* wish to learn Arabic, or learn about the local culture. Additionally, this increased social distance could be have a negative effect on teacher's attitudes and motivation as well as on *teacher immediacy*, communication styles that lessen the distance between teacher and students, which has been proven to be directly correlated to student success in the language classroom (Witt & Wheeless, 2001). One example of this is with "students' linguistic self confidence and anxiety" which have been proven to be directly related to the relationship with the language teacher (Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994).

Purpose

This study explores the effects that living in Saudi Arabia, both on and off compounds, segregated from the host community by a high level of social distance, has on EFL teachers' attitudes towards their host culture and students, as well as on their motivation to teach and acculturate. It intends to address "one of the most often overlooked areas of SLA … the motivation level of the teacher." (Praver & Oga-Baldwin, 2008, p. 1)

The researcher foresees the development of a theory that will broaden the current theoretical landscape in EFL teacher training to prepare teachers to adapt to and deal with cultural isolation they may encounter while working abroad. If it is found that expatriate English teachers in Saudi Arabia experience perceive a great cultural distance between teachers and students, then it will be incumbent upon teacher education programs to consider ways to bridge that gap.

Theoretical Framework

Motivation research in SLA has determined a link between *integrative motivation* *(*the desire to integrate into a culture), *instrumental motivation (*desire to learn for practical reasons), and identification with an L2 culture as having a symbiotic relationship with students' language learning success. Most studies in this field have focused on the attitude and motivation that the student brings to the classroom or learning environment, while little work has been done on the attitude and motivation that the language teacher brings to the classroom. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2010) assert:

> While the fields of educational psychology and teacher education may currently be experiencing a zeitgeist of interest in teacher motivation (Watt and Richardson, 2008a), this does not seem to have filtered through yet to the L2 teaching and language teacher education context where the literature on teacher motivation remains scarce. (189)

An exception to this trend is Martha Pennington's 1991 seminal report on teacher motivation, in which she circulated a job satisfaction questionnaire to TESOL members (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 189). The questionnaire concerned job related non-linguistic factors, such as teacher autonomy in the classroom, opportunities for advancement, company policies, recognition, and working conditions. However, not one facet was related to teachers' attitudes towards the language, their students, or their students' language. In the same report, Pennington (1989) lists the attitudes, knowledge and skills necessary to become a successful ESL teacher, with the attitudes being:

> a belief in the importance of language teaching and an attitude towards students of empathy and interest, confidence in one's own knowledge and classroom skills, positive attitudes about the language and culture being taught, positive attitudes about the language and culture of the students, openness to new ideas about language, learning, teaching approach. (p. 170)

Recognizing the importance of teacher empathy and positive attitudes towards students and their culture, as well as the relative dearth of research on the topic teacher motivation, I intend to place this research within the framework of motivation studies in SLA, and to add a new dimension to the current conversation while addressing teachers' motivation in Saudi Arabia.

Research Questions

1. Do EFL teachers in Saudi feel isolated from the host culture? If so, what are the conditions that cause this?

2. Do teachers acculturate to Saudi society? If so, to what extent? If not, why?

3. How do EFL teachers in Saudi Arabia perceive the social distance between students and teachers?

4. If teachers feel a great cultural distance, what effect does this have on foreign teachers' attitudes towards their students? What effect does this have on the teachers' motivation?

Methodology and Research Design

This study adopts an exploratory and interpretive qualitative approach to answering the research questions. A small group of English teachers was purposefully selected and asked to describe their experiences living and working in Saudi Arabia in two in-depth, semi-structured interviews. The discussion guides for these interviews, which were constructed from possible questions and topics, can be found in the appendix. This format was chosen to elicit diverse responses and allow the researcher to adapt the interview to new issues as they arose in conversation.

The initial round of interviews, which dealt with teachers' attitudes towards Saudi Arabia, their students, the Arabic language, and their perceptions of cultural distance, were analyzed to uncover recurring themes and patterns in teachers' descriptions of their

experiences, which were then used to develop the interview guide for the second round of interviews. These follow-up interviews examined teachers' motivation, career and job satisfaction, as well as their relationship with students. Addressing the interviews phenomenologically, focus was put on recognizing the importance of individuals' interpretations and on discovering meaning as the participants interpreted it.

Chapter Outline and Summary

This dissertation is composed of six chapters. Following the introduction, a review of relevant literature examines the context of the study and includes a brief history of Saudi Arabia, an examination of the role of western and foreign workers in the country, and a brief introduction to the Saudi educational system and the EFL in Saudi Arabia. To address and elucidate issues brought up by the first three research questions, the topics of social distance and Schumann's Acculturation Model are covered before moving into a brief survey of the development of L2 Motivation research. The chapter concludes by concentrating on the core subject of this dissertation, L2 Teacher Motivation.

The methodological approach for the study is presented in Chapter 3. It begins with a discussion of the merits of qualitative and quantitative approaches and justifies why a qualitative approach, with both phenomenological and ethnographical influences and an exploratory-interpretive orientation, was adopted to answer the research questions. Chapter 3 concludes with a description of the sample as well as the data collection process. The results of the two rounds of interviews are presented in Chapter 4. Both responses and emerging themes, including issues of cultural distance and teacher motivation, are covered. A discussion of the results follows in Chapter 5, which gives an

evaluation of participant responses, expected and unexpected results, conclusions drawn from the results, limitations of the study, and recommendations for further research. The dissertation ends with Chapter 6, which summarizes and concludes the study.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

…learning another language involves making something foreign a part of one's self. As such, one's conception of the 'self' and their willingness to open it up to change, as well as their attitudes toward the other community, or out-groups in general, will influence how well they can make this material part of their behavioural repertoires. (R. C. Gardner, 2001a, p. 8)

Gardner argues that learning a second language (L2) involves more than learning the grammar of the language or memorizing its vocabulary (2001). In addition to the linguistic challenges it presents, learning an L2 involves interacting with both the speakers and the culture of the target language (TL). Similarly, the teaching of an L2 or foreign language (FL) does not happen in isolation; the learning context plays "a crucial role in shaping the processes and outcomes of learning" (Richards, 2001, p. 213).

Likewise, it is essential to have an understanding of the context in which foreign EFL teachers in Saudi Arabia are living and working before exploring their motivation. To provide an overview of the environment, this chapter will begin with short summary and synthesis of background and contextual information related to life in Saudi Arabia, specifically the life of westerners and teachers in Saudi Arabia.

Next, a review of SLA and L2 motivation research literature will survey related theories of acculturation, L2 motivation, and teacher motivation that support and inform this research. Arguments for and against popular theories that have influenced the course of L2 motivation over the past 40 years will be identified. L2 motivation researchers have progressed from looking at students' relationship with and attitudes about L2 community and culture to looking at the individual context of the L2 learning and students' identities. Researchers have asserted that students' perceptions of their teachers

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can influence student motivation and achievement. In the past 15 years, teacher motivation researchers have examined how the L2 teaching environment can influence teacher motivation, yet they have not asked how teachers' relationships with their students and attitudes towards their students' cultures relate to the L2 classroom. This chapter will conclude by demonstrating that filling this gap in L2 motivation research will make a significant addition to current L2 motivation and teacher motivation theories.

Context of the Study

This section will provide the context of this study, English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teaching in Saudi Arabia, by giving a brief introduction of the history of Saudi Arabia and the discovery of oil in the Arabian Gulf, which led to rapid economic and social development in the region and brought the country and its citizens into contact with other nations and foreign workers, including scores of EFL teachers. It will then focus briefly on the Saudi Educational system and its attempts to progress, meeting the needs of the next generation of Saudis while still operating within traditional culture, and the challenges that this presents to educational institutions and educators in Saudi Arabia.

Saudi history and background. This study takes place in the important port city of Jeddah, which lies on the western coast of the Arabian Peninsula and has traditionally served as the gateway to two of Islam's most important cities, Mecca and Medina. Jeddah has historically seen a large number of foreign visitors and immigrants and, as a result, more than other cities in the Kingdom, Jeddah is considered to be quite cosmopolitan and has boasted a diverse population made up of multiple generations of immigrants (Abdallah & Abdallah, 1993, p. 18).

While the Arabian Peninsula boasts a long history, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), as a nation state, has only existed since the 1932, when King Abdulaziz bin Saud consolidated the Hijaz and Najd kingdoms after having spread his family's rule from the northeastern Najd region of the Arabian peninsula around Riyadh to the southwest Hijaz region, home of the Grand Mosque in Mecca. Gaining control of Islam's most sacred site was the logical progression of a power sharing agreement that the Saud family had held for nearly a half a century with the religious leaders of the region. In order to bring fighters to his cause and maintain control in the north in the late 1800s, Abdulaziz's father, Saud, needed the help and support of the religious leaders. Ever since, the royal family's wealth and power have been inextricably tied to Islam. Historically independent of Western control and cautious of its influence, KSA maintains the "distinction of being the most rigorous theocracy in the Islamic world" with the Holy Koran serving as its constitution and legal code (Rouleau, 2002, p. 78).

Oil & development. A new state needs more than the support of the community leaders. Financial backing is also a must. Luckily for Saudi Arabia, this came with the discovery of the world's largest oil depository, which became the lifeline for a new country. Though it took a couple of decades and the end of the Second World War for the oil to start flowing steadily into the world's markets, Saudi oil has provided a lifeline for the country since its discovery, serving to provide economic security for Saudi citizens and build the nation's infrastructure (Glasze & Alkhayyal, 2002, p. 321). It has changed the direction of the country's history, fueled development and modernization, and brought about rapid socioeconomic change. It has also brought a relatively isolated area of the world into the international spotlight and has connected Saudi Arabia with the rest

of the world. Peterson notes that this rapid growth and modernization have occurred in

the context of a conservative culture, thus juxtaposing the old and the new:

> In the few short decades since the beginning of oil's political and socioeconomic impact in the late 1940s on the peninsula region, the Arab Gulf states have undergone unprecedented transformation. Regimes have actively promoted and instituted a wide-ranging process of economic development while simultaneously seeking to preserve the traditional nature of society and, by implication, the traditional structure of politics." (Peterson, 1989, pp. 34–35)

Saudi's relationship with the US. Saudi Arabia and the United States have

maintained a diplomatic relationship since 1933, when Standard Oil of California began

prospecting for oil in the Kingdom. Since oil was discovered and US dependence on oil

grew, the two countries' relationship has rested "preeminently on economic grounds, in

particular the US stake in Saudi oil resources, described by the State Department in 1945

as 'one of the greatest material prizes in world history'" (Stork, 1980, p. 24). As a result,

almost the entire Saudi history has included Americans present on Saudi soil, with both

countries viewing their "bilateral ties as a 'strategic partnership' that had yielded positive

results for both sides for over six decades" (Subhan, 2003, p. 3885). Their economic,

political and military partnership has not been without its problems, and each country has

had to make concessions and accept what each might otherwise view as character flaws,

such as the US military presence throughout the region (Rouleau, 2002) and Saudi

Arabia's fundamentalist educational and cultural policies (Bremmer, 2004).

Westerners and foreign workers. Glasze has noted that "the discovery and

exploitation of oil on the Arab Peninsula by western oil companies in the late 1930s led

to an influx of western professionals to the Gulf region and created a surging demand for

housing" (Glasze, 2006, p. 84). The importation of foreign labor to the Saudi Kingdom

has not subsided; in fact, it has grown to other areas of the labor market to such an extent

that "expatriates are … a majority in the port of Jeddah" (Bombacci, 1998). Peterson points out that the limited population of the Gulf States has "necessitated dependence on expatriate labor" (Peterson, 1989, pp. 34–35). This has had two primary results: the growth of a large foreign population and desire to separate foreign influence in the conservative country through the use of housing compounds. Wanting to preserve traditional culture and maintain influence of Islam in the face of such rapid development, Saudi Arabia managed to keep its population relatively isolated by segregating the foreign population with labor laws mandating that "companies employing more than 50 people … build housing for their employees" (Bombacci, 1998).

Bremmer (2004) maintains that policies like the residential segregation of foreign workers have helped KSA brace itself against the tsunami of change that has struck its shores in the past century, stating that "Saudi Arabia is stable today primarily because it is a closed society" (p. 23).

The population of foreigners will come into play later on with the discussion of Schumann's Acculturation model, as it is hypothesized that a large population of immigrants maintaining enclosure equates to a high degree of social distance and a low levels of L2 acquisition by the immigrants.

Housing compounds. The presence of housing compounds in Saudi has meant a long history of socio-spatial segregation, as gated communities are, by design, meant to keep populations separate, protecting residents' possessions while eliminating "the need for interaction with non-residents" (Quintal & Thompson, 2007, p. 1036). Compounds are a little researched topic in business and social sciences that provide a "home away from home" for large numbers of expatriates and provide enclaves of western lifestyles

and "enable people with profoundly differing social backgrounds to live side by side" (Glasze & Alkhayyal, 2002, p. 326). Glasze (2006) comments that "paradoxically, the life behind gates and fences is associated with openness and freedom" as contrasted to life outside the compounds, which is considered closed and restricting (84). While compounds in Saudi Arabia allow westerners to have a more familiar lifestyle, they also keep westerners segregated, discourage acculturation, and alienate expatriate workers from the local culture.

In a career management study of 118 expatriates in Saudi Arabia, South America, Japan and Europe, Feldman and Thomas (1992) note that expats in Saudi Arabia were the least likely "to use social integration (proactively integrating with local culture) and psychic reappraisal (finding the positive side of local culture) as coping strategies than were expatriates in other countries" (p. 280). Glasze (2006) confirms that living in isolation from the local culture, "hardly any of the western expatriates learned to speak Arabic" (p. 84).   Lauring and Selmer (2009) draw attention to Allport's contact hypothesis, which states that increased social contact with another social group will encourage positive attitudes and integration; they point out other negative consequences in the compound living situation, namely that:

> Not being able to interact with the HCNs (host country nationals) in daily life outside work makes expatriates ignorant about local thinking and mentality. This may influence their ability to assess work situations and make them develop inaccurate assumptions about the people they are managing potentially resulting in groundless actions. Inappropriate behaviours are likely to result in negative outcomes, reinforcing expatriate's incorrect attributions about the culture of the host country and therefore to further withdraw from it. (p. 1453)

Saudi educational system.   As Saudi Arabia is a relatively young country, the national educational system is still in its developmental stage. Rugh (2002) characterizes of the educational system in Saudi as similar to that of other Gulf Arab countries, with all having:

> a rapid growth of access to educational institutions, and significant growth in literacy, for females as well as males; governmental control and financing of most education, with a new trend to some privatization; the emergence of some Western style educational institutions, and continuation of some religious-based ones; and limited study abroad. (p. 397)

In an issue of TESOL quarterly, where the Teaching Issues section was devoted to the challenges of TESOL in the Arabian Gulf, Zafar Syed (2003) describes the educational development in the Gulf states as "unprecedented" remarking that "in a single generation students have gone from small, ill-equipped huts to laptop universities" (p. 337). This is no doubt due to the massive government investment in education, with "25 percent of total expenditures to education" (Metz, 2006, p. 7).

Such rapid development juxtaposes traditional culture with modern society. While traditional education focused on Islamic education, current trends are toward including more secular topics, which include preparing Saudi students for the job market with English and technical education. Though they have traditionally been behind in women's education, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states have seen tremendous increases in women's access to education and performance. Prokop (2003) notes that, "Women now represent more than 50 per cent of all university students" (p. 77).

As Saudi has not given up on its traditional culture in this period of change, much of its education "continues to be based on the rote learning of patriotic and religious texts, students entering university are ill prepared for courses that demand technical

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competence" (Bremner, 2004, p. 23). The need for further focus on practical education is a recurring theme in the Saudi media. Reporting from a regional business conference, Rugh (2002) said that "Arab business leaders are concerned that Arab educational institutions are not providing graduates with the skills needed to work effectively in the private sector" and mentioned the fact that "only about 10% of the private sector workforce in Saudi Arabia were Saudi nationals was a 'tremendous problem'" (p. 398). This problem is further compounded by the fact that "65 percent of the Saudi population is now under 25 years of age" (Rouleau, 2002, p. 78).

It is in this environment that the prevalence of English education has risen dramatically, and meeting the needs of this rapidly growing population has meant the importation of large numbers of foreign teachers, including English teachers.

EFL in Saudi Arabia. The previous sections have attempted to paint a picture of the environment that EFL teachers in Saudi Arabia are working in by looking at Saudi history, the substantial population of foreign workers in the kingdom, and the development of the educational system. Now, focus is shifted to an impressive development in Saudi education: the fact that in an extremely short period of time, Saudi Arabians have gone from a high level of illiteracy in their first language (L1) and a non-compulsory educational system to an impressively large number of students studying in an L2. In this context, it is important to ask a few questions concerning: the characteristics of Saudi students and their teachers, the challenges that teachers face in Saudi classrooms, and the methods used to teach English in the Kingdom.

We will see later that SLA researchers have begun to realize the effect of Global English on L2 motivation studies. If students are studying English as a lingua franca

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(ELF), as Graddol (2006) puts it, L2 motivation can no longer be seen as a choice between being interested in a culture, integrative motivation, and a pragmatic motivation such as gaining admission to a university, instrumental motivation. Saudi Arabia and its neighbors are multicultural states, with large numbers of expatriate workers living among the local population. Locals are aware that "that as long as immigrant workforce is required a number of foreign languages will continue to be used, and that English will play an increasingly vital role in the national and international communication" (Moody, 2009, p. 99). Moody (2009) tells us that English in Saudi Arabia should be considered both a second and a foreign language, as it "is used to some extent in institutional or national communication, a feature of the outer circle, it is taught as a foreign language" (p. 99).

Further complicating the issue is the recruitment of English language teachers from outside Saudi Arabia to meet teacher shortages. Syed (2003) reports that the "single most striking feature of English language teaching (ESL) in the Gulf is the number of expatriate teachers, midlevel administrators, and consultants who staff the various institutions," with non-Saudi Arabs usually recruited to teach at the primary and secondary levels and native English speakers brought in to teach at the college level, which results in "wide gaps in the expatriate educators' (especially non-Arabs') knowledge of local sociocultural communities and languages. Linguistic and cultural distance between learners and teachers is a serious factor in the gold EFL classroom" (p. 338-9). Rugh (2002) observes that even Arabic speaking teachers suffer from a high level of social distance from Saudi society and that the government is working to "reduce

dependence on foreigners, but that dependence is likely to continue for some time" (p. 398).

While the government has spent and is continuing to spend large amounts on English language education, results have not been as good as expected, which begs the question: what are the barriers to student learning? It has been found that these barriers include linguistic barriers, learning styles motivation and attitude.

Khan (2011) identifies several learning barriers as important factors in the Saudi context: "linguistic barrier, motivation of the students and teachers, dedication and commitment, teachers' role and characteristics preparedness, teaching strategies, training and professional development," with motivation being the most important (p. 243). Syed (2003) agrees and adds other factors such as "reliance on rote learning and memorization and dependence on high stakes testing" (p. 337).

In addition to student and teacher barriers to learning, Moody (2009) identifies issues with the materials, stating that most textbooks used in the Gulf "are actually intended for ESL students in the inner circle English speech communities who are integratively motivated either as visiting foreign students or as recently arrived residents who need English to function in their new societies" (p. 99). As a result of the profound mismatch between students' linguistic needs and what the textbooks offer, students are likely to be less interested in the subject matter. With researchers reporting that "pedagogy in most Arab schools and universities is typically based more on rote learning than it is on critical thinking" or communicative language teaching (CLT), we begin to get the picture of a demotivating environment for English students in the Gulf (Rugh, 2002, p. 398).

Having looked at some of the characteristics of EFL in Saudi Arabia, including students and their teachers, and some of the barriers to learning, like the teaching methods and mismatch between textbooks' perceived and actual audience, we will now consider the question of how students and teachers relate to each other's languages and cultures by exploring the subject of culture and acculturation.

Culture and SLA

In examining SLA, Ellis (1994) distinguishes between external factors, internal factors, and individual learner variables (p. iii). Among the external factors he identifies are social context, input, interaction, and the TL culture. Here, attention is drawn to both the culture of the language learner and the TL community, and the social distance that exists between the two. Internal factors can include aspects like transfer issues, cognition, and motivation. Motivation is a particularly intriguing topic because although it is an internal factor in the language learning process, it is affected by external factors, such as the context of the language learning.

Language and culture exist in a symbiosis; living in another culture or learning an L2 requires a learner to contend with both linguistic and social challenges. Acquiring a new language involves dealing with and adapting to another culture, which Brown (2007) defines as "the ideas, customs, skills, arts, and tools that characterize a given group of people in a given period of time" (p. 380). Drawing from various definitions, Díaz-Rico and Weed (2006) offer a less facile definition of culture as the:

> explicit and implicit patterns for living, the dynamic system of commonly agreed upon symbols and meanings, knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, behaviors, traditions, and/or habits that are shared and make up the total way of life of a people, as negotiated by individuals in the process of constructing a personal identity. (p. 232-33)

Schumann's acculturation model. Schumann considers culture paramount to the SLA process; in fact, he places acculturation ahead of language acquisition in importance. Schumann (1978) proposes that "SLA is just one aspect of acculturation and the degree to which a learner acculturates to the TL group will control the degree to which he acquires the second language" (p. 34). He defines acculturation as "the social and psychological integration of the learner with the TL group" (1978, p. 29). Simply put, it is the way an individual adapts to a new culture.

Schumann's Acculturation Model for SLA states, "various social and psychological factors govern the extent to which learners are able to adapt to the target language culture and, thereby, acquire the L2" (Ellis, 1997, p. 137). Discussing the social models of L2 acquisition in a chapter on external factors of SLA, Ellis (1994) points out that Schumann's Acculturation Model demonstrates the importance that social and psychological distance play in learning a second language (p. 230). Schumann (1978) looked at the fossilization of language learners and posited that simplified speech "shows that social and psychological distance exists and the speech of the second language learner is restricted to the communicative function" (p. 76).

Schumann's model becomes relevant to this research when we consider that he defines the ideal L2 learning situation as one where an immigrant living in a TL culture feels a low level of social and psychological distance between his or her home culture and the TL culture and TL speakers. The compound housing situation for expatriates in Saudi Arabia is the antithesis to this learning situation, as it purposely segregates foreigners from TL speakers and culture.

Schumann's research into acculturation began as a part of a longitudinal study of US immigrants' acquisition of English, when he "conducted a ten-month observation of the untutored acquisition of ESL by Alberto, a 33-year-old working-class Costa Rican" (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1994, p. 251). Alberto was the least successful English language learner in the study, and "Schumann's study gradually became an attempt to explain why Alberto's acquisition of ESL was so limited" (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1994, p. 252). Eliminating other factors such as age and intelligence, Schumann ultimately determined that it was the social and psychological distance from the US culture that stunted Alberto's linguistic development.

Social distance. The foundation of the acculturation model is the concept of social and psychological distance between the TL community and the learner. Ricento (2005) informs us that in this model, distance "was used in an abstract (even metaphorical) sense to indicate the degree of similarity between two cultures" (p. 897). Social distance is an individual's position or perceived position in relation to the TL community, and the degree to which they integrate with that group.

"According to the precepts of this model, acculturation (made up of social and affective variables) is the causal variable of SLA" and, as such, it can be assumed that living in the TL community will positively affect the L2 learner by reducing the social distance (Gass & Selinker, 2008, p. 404). Demeter (2005) cites a number of studies "(Brown, 2000; Gardner, 1980; Hofstede, 1986; Schumann, 1976, 1978)" supporting Schumann's theory about social distance, as well as research flatly rejecting "any type of significant relationship between social distance and the learning of English, especially in a FL learning situation (Gradman & Hanania, 1991; Savignon, 1972)" and others "(Ellis,

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1995; Hinenoya & Gatbonton, 2000; Pierson, Fu, & Lee, 1980)" that recognize a relationship between SLA and social distance but see "no definite influence" (2005).

Social and psychological variables. Schumann's (1978) model includes eight social variables (social dominance, integration pattern, enclosure, cohesiveness, size, cultural congruence, attitude, and intended length of residence) and four psychological variables (language shock, culture shock, motivation, and ego permeability) that will affect the distance that language learners feel when living in the TL culture.

He explains the first factor, dominance, this way: "If the 2LL group is politically, culturally, technically or economically superior (dominant) to the TL group then it will tend not to learn the target language," however, if the groups are social equals, there will be more social contact and, as a result, more SLA (J. H Schumann, 1978, p. 30). The second factor, integration pattern, refers to the choice an immigrant makes to assimilate (give up his/her cultural identity to adapt to the TL group), preserve (maintain cultural identity and reject that of the TL group), or adapt (a compromise between assimilation and preservation). Directly influencing the amount of contact a learner will have with the TL group, "Enclosure refers to the degree to which the 2LL group and the TL group share the same churches, schools, clubs, recreational facilities, crafts, professions and trades"(J. H Schumann, 1978, p. 30).

The fourth factor, cohesiveness, is a measure of the solidarity of the L2 group. An individual in a tight-knit immigrant community will have less need for intergroup contact than one without a home community to fall back on. Size is also a factor, as the larger the L2 group, the less need for intergroup contact. Cultural congruence, or the similitude of the L2 group culture and the TL culture, encourages contact and reduces social

distance. Gass and Selinker (2008) highlight the role of the seventh factor, attitude, asserting, "there are many instances in which a second language learner (SLL) does not feel an affinity with the target language community. In such instances learners create both a psychological distance and a social distance from speakers of the second language community. An immediate consequence is that this results in a diminished amount of input." (p. 403). The last social variable proposed by Schumann is Length of Stay, which plays a role in determining a learner's desire for more local contacts.

The Acculturation Model's four psychological variables include: language shock, culture shock, motivation, and ego permeability. Language shock refers to the learner's fear of looking silly in front of TL speakers. It is ultimately a fear of embarrassment. Dealing with new culture means a new set of norms and loss of familiar coping mechanisms. Culture shock is the anxiety and irritation that come with the uneasieness felt from being in this situation.

Dörnyei (2001a) informs us that the third psychological variable, motivation, is a "central determinant of psychological distance" (p. 74). As we will see in the review of L2 motivation research, one's reasons for attempting to acquire a new language determine the amount of psychological distance. The last variable that Schumann includes is ego permeability, which relates to the presence or lack of language inhibitions that result from being open to new culture or attached to one's identity.

While Schumann demonstrated that Alberto's failure to acculturate was the result of a poor combination of social and psychological variables, Ellis (1997) shows how the factors could combine to create an ideal learning environment:

where there is little social distance because the target language group and the L2 group view each other as socially equal, both groups wish the L2 group to assimilate, the target-language group and the L2 group share the same social facilities, the L2 group lacks cohesion (i.e. has many contacts with the target-language group), the L2 group is small, both groups display positive attitudes towards each other, and the l2 group is relatively permanent. (p. 40)

Support for the acculturation model. SLA researchers have long recognized the importance of understanding the culture connected to an L2 being studied, that performance requires more than linguistic competence (Krasner, 1999). Schumann seems to take this a step further in positing that a student's relationship with the culture affects L2 language proficiency, and Brown (2007) agrees that the social distance between two cultures is inversely proportional to ease of acculturation and SLA.

One obvious result of cultural proximity is the increased opportunity for contact with the TL group, which in turn results in more L2 practice and increased proficiency. It is with this understanding in mind that students travel abroad for language study. One researcher who proves this is Yager (1998), who "shows that time spent in Spanish speaking countries is the variable most highly correlated with adults achieving more native-like Spanish grammar and pronunciation" (p. 898). In addition to the linguistic improvements made during study abroad programs, students have also demonstrated gains in cross-cultural understanding and open-mindedness as a result of having "had their traditional understanding of their own culture challenged" (Citron, 1995). Decreased social distance can also result in a lessening of cultural stereotypes, which are often the result of a lack of knowledge and misinformation and have been demonstrated to be a significant affective factor in SLA (Pierson, Fu, & Lee, 1980).

Criticisms of the acculturation model. While there has been support for Schumann's Acculturation Model, many researchers, including Schumann himself, that have critiqued it as being limited in perspective. Gradman and Hanania (1991) rejected any significant correlation between "students' attitudes toward the foreign language they were learning and their achievements in the respective language" (Demeter, 2005). Kelly (1982) also refuses to accept any link between SLA and acculturation (J. H Schumann, 1986).

The Acculturation Model has been criticized and labeled as incomplete because it refers more to L2 study than foreign language (FL) study; acculturation should not be considered the causal variable of SLA; the model fails to recognize the dynamic aspect of language learning; and finally, it fails to provide tools for measuring social distance. However, before we look at these critiques, it is important to recognize that, "the variables discussed in the model are extremely important to understand the significance of the socio-psychological aspects of second language learning and acquisition" (Chizzo, 2002, p. 1). Addressing the criticisms that it is primarily applicable to SL learners, rather than FL learners, Schumann (1978) is the first to recognize that his "model does not apply to non-immigrants or to people not traveling to other countries" (p. 47).

Gass and Selinker (2008) inform us that social and psychological distance provides setting for learning but is not the cause of it, asserting that, "It is more accurate to consider distance and other variables discussed in this chapter as providing an impetus for learning, or perhaps even setting the stage for learning, but not as causing learning" (p. 405).

Foreseeing what L2 motivation researchers would later discuss in socio-dynamic models of motivation, Schumann (1978) addresses another shortcoming of the Acculturation Model in asking, "does the model handle personality, cognitive style, biological and personal factors?"(p. 48). He also acknowledges developing criticism about the model's lack of attention to the dynamic, individual nature of SLA, "Kelley suggests that 'it is the dynamic varying, and complexly individual nature of affect which makes the idealized version of the acculturation model difficult to either prove or disprove using one-time results from a quantified questionnaire' (p. 69)"(J. H Schumann, 1986, pp. 386–87).

The most persistently noted fault of the model is that social distance is a subjective construct that eludes precise measurement. Ricento (2005) comments:

> although Schumann's model provided language educators with useful metaphors to guide their practice and seemed to comport with many of their intuitions about the whys and wherefores of successful SLA, it has not stood up to the empirical scrutiny, in part because it attempts to control for dynamic, interactive processes that are not easily isolated or measured. (p. 897)

Acton. Acton offered a solution to this dilemma by recognizing that actual distance would be difficult to judge, but perceived social distance was in fact possible. To quantify perceived distance, Acton created the Professed Difference in Attitude Questionnaire to assess three features of perceived distance:

> (1) distance between themselves and their countrymen in general, (2) distance between themselves and the members of the target culture in general, and (3) distance between their countrymen and members of the target culture. Acton claims that the Questionnaire results are very successful at identifying the good language learners within a group." (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1994, p. 181)

Through his research in perceived distance, Acton found that successful language learners did not, as Schumann suggested, become totally integrated into the TL group, but

rather purported having an optimal distance where they maintained their cultural identity. Acton theorized that "if learners perceived themselves as either too close to, or too distant from either the target culture or the native culture, they would have difficulty learning the new language" (Citron, 1995, p. 110). Citron's (1995) theory of ethno-lingual relativity, which "defines a perspective that is not limited by one's own cultural and linguistic experiences, but rather is open to the contrasting cultural and linguistic patterns of other peoples" is in line with the idea of an optimal distance, as it would apply to a learner who comfortable with both his/her L1 and L2 identity (p. 105).

Investment and cultural capital. While Acton's questionnaire was an improvement on Schumann's model, it did not fully address the dynamic nature of cultural identities, which are "always in motion, not frozen for inspection" and cannot be statically assigned to all speakers of any specific language (Rosaldo, 1993, p. 217). With this in mind, Bonny Norton proposed the concept of a language learner's investment in an L2. With somewhat capitalist rhetoric, she proposed that language learners *invest* in an L2 with the hopes of earning *cultural capital*, "if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital" (1995, p. 17).

While her ideas may sound like a return to behaviorist psychology, Norton asserts that these concepts are much more dynamic in nature and address "relationship of the language learner to the changing social world…Thus an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space" (Bonny Norton Peirce, 1995, pp. 17–18).

Discussing issues of acculturation and cultural capital is somewhat troublesome, as concrete definitions and means of measurement can be elusive at best. The subjects of motivation and L2 motivation are equally problematic although language learners and language teachers intuitively understand them. Both topics, acculturation and L2 motivation, while difficult to define, are tied together in a symbiotic relationship, with each positively affecting the other. Gardner (1985) offers the framework of a definition, stating "Motivation involves four aspects, a goal, effortful behaviour, a desire to attain the goal and favourable attitudes towards the activity in question" (p. 50).

Acculturation studies have shown that an individual's proximity to another culture or his/her desire to acculturate or invest in that culture can directly affect his/her motivation to learn that language. In the context of expatriate English teachers in Saudi Arabia, we will see how the social distance and the lack of aspiration to acculturate have resulted in few expats having the L2 motivation needed to maintain sustained effort needed learn Arabic as a Second Language. Before delving into this, it is important that we discuss the topic of L2 motivation research and understand how it has developed.

L2 Motivation Research

Research in second language (L2) motivation has gone through 4 distinct phases since the late 1950s: the *social psychological* period from the 50s until the 90s; the *cognitive-situated* period in the 90s; the *process-oriented* period at the beginning of the 21st century, and the current *socio-dynamic period* (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, pp. 49–50). Closely related to behaviorist trends in psychology, L2 motivation research began with beliefs that are now considered outdated: that L2 motivation could be viewed as the response to an environmental stimulus; that language learning occurred in an environment where individuals were caught in transition between two cultures, which were possible to characterize in stereotypes (Ricento, 2005, p. 898). As psychologists adapted the cognitive approach, motivation studies began to focus more on the needs that drive learners' decisions, "the choices people make as to what experience or goals they will approach or avoid, and the degree of effort that they will exert in that respect" (Keller, 1983, p. 389). This was followed by the adoption of the constructionist view in both psychology and L2 motivation research, which "places even further emphasis on the social context as well as individual choices" (Brown, 2000, p. 161).

While the phases of L2 motivation research are closely related to learning motivation research in psychology, Dörnyei & Ushioda (2010) inform us that "the study of L2 motivation has evolved as a rich and largely independent research field, originating in a concern to address the unique social, psychological, behavioural and cultural complexities that acquiring a new communication code entails" (p. 49). Current research recognizes the role of the individual identity in an ever-changing social environment. In addition to considering the motivation of L2 learners, the authors tell us that current

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motivation studies recognize the "interactive relationship between teacher and student motivation" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 204).

Socio-educational model. Ellis, Clément, Dörnyei, Oxford, Tremblay, Ushioda, and various others begin their overviews of L2 motivation research with a discussion of the Socio-Educational Mode*l* (Ellis, 1994, p. 509). The Socio-Educational Model of L2 Motivation, also referred to as the Socio-Psychological Approach, dates back to the 1950s, to the work of Robert C. Gardner. In the 50 years since its inception, the model has undergone many revisions by Gardner and his many associates (Clément, Day, Evers, Lambert, Lalonde, Lysynchuk, MacIntyre, Masgoret, Metford, Moorcraft, Pierson, Smythe, Tremblay, and others) in numerous studies, 75 of which are reviewed by Masgoret and Gardner (2003). Dörnyei and Ushioda (2010) explain that Gardner's first work was with Wallace Lambert; both researchers "considered motivation to learn the language of the other community to be a primary force responsible for enhancing or hindering intercultural communication and affiliation" (p. 50). This model asserts that successful SLA is more than simply memorizing or learning new information; rather, it is a process of "acquiring symbolic elements of a different ethno-linguistic community" (Giles & Clair, 1979, p. 179).

Gardner and Lambert (1959) put forward the notion of *integrative* and *instrumental motivations*, with the former being defined as the motivation to learn with the intent to interact and integrate with the speakers of a language, while the latter could be seen as more of a utilitarian motivation. After thirty years of revision, Gardner and associates made the distinction between motivation and orientation, with orientation referring to the context of the language learning and motivation occurring within that

context. Brown (2000) notes that, "the importance of distinguishing orientation from motivation is that within either orientation, one can have either high or low motivation" (p. 163).

Oxford (1996) points out that integrative orientation is only one of three factors that make up the Socio-Educational Model, with the other two being: a) attitudes toward the learning situation and integrativeness, and b) motivation (p. 3). Gardner (1960) defines *integrativeness* as "the willingness to become a member of another language group" (p. 12). Additionally, integrativeness includes a learner's general interest in foreign languages and in interacting with people from different language backgrounds (R. C Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993). More than a general inclination to join another cultural group, integrative orientation would eventually come to be seen as "an openness to, and respect for other cultural groups and ways of life. In the extreme, this might involve complete identification with the community… but more commonly it might well involve integration within both communities" (R. C Gardner, 2001b, p. 5). Various theories, including Giles and Byrne's Speech Accommodation Theory and Schumann's Acculturation Model, support the idea of integrative motivation (Oxford, 1996, p. 4).

As the Gardner and Lambert's research was conducted in language classrooms in Canada, the U.S., and the Philippines, *attitudes towards the learning situation* translated into students' perceptions of their teachers and the courses they were taking, unlike Schumann's Acculturation Model, which was concerned with the language learner in a naturalistic SL situation. The third and final component of the model was motivation, which is seen as the culmination of "effort, desire, and attitude towards learning" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 52). According Gardner's model, a motivated language

learner would have all three factors: the energy to learn the L2, the drive to continue and a positive attitude toward the L2 community.

While *integrative* and *instrumental* motivation are the most frequently cited aspects of his research, the main concern of the Gardner and associates model was to explore the "various individual characteristics of the student in his/her learning of a L2" and to propose "that there is some kind of interrelatedness between four types of variables (External Influences, Individual Differences, Language Acquisition Contexts, and Outcomes) that are quite influential in the language acquisition process" (Shoaib, 2004, pp. 32–33).

One version of the Socio-Educational model, shown below in Figure 1, demonstrates that motivation is affected by attitudes and integrative orientation, as well as instrumental orientation; but it is motivation and aptitude that combine to help a learner achieve success in SLA (R. C Gardner, 2001b, p. 5).
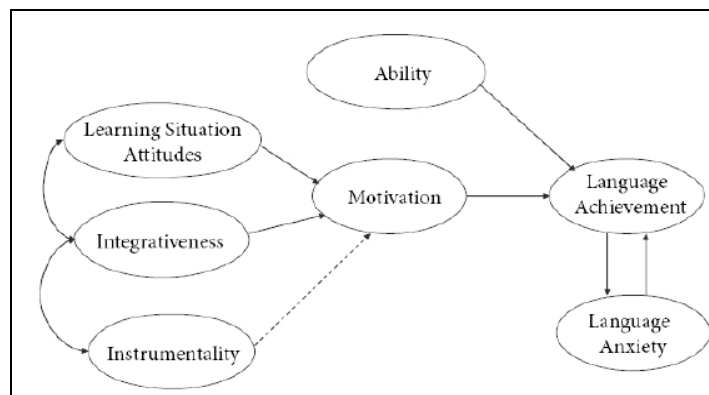
Figure 1. Socio-Educational Model.

In later revisions of Socio-Educational Model, Gardner proposes "that motivation is composed of four elements: a goal (orientation, found in the first and second levels), a

desire to attain the goal (the third level), positive attitudes toward learning the language (the third level), and effortful behavior to that effect (the third level)" (Oxford, 1996, p. 3). Gardner asserts that it is the student who is the main factor in determining his/her level of motivation and success, followed by his/her background, and external factors, such as the learning context. Ultimately, "learning a second language involves making part of another cultural group part of one's self"(R. C. Gardner, 2001a, p. 17).

      Critiques of the social educational model. Gardner's Socio-Educational Model has not gone without criticism; Gardner himself can be counted as one of its critics. The model has been criticized: for incorrectly leading readers to believe that integrative and instrumental motivations are mutually exclusive (Dörnyei, Oxford and Shearin) because the overwhelming majority of his research involved only integrative motivation (Gardner and Tremblay), and because it might be unreasonable to separate the two types of motivation (Muchnick and Wolfe), Despite these criticisms, Gardner can be credited with starting the discussion of attitude and motivation in SLA, and adding another dimension to the two-dimensional focus of learner aptitude.

      The cognitive situated period. Gardner's *Socio-Educational Model* dominated the SLA discussion on motivation until the 1990s when researchers, including Crookes and Schmidt in "Motivation: Reopening the Research Agenda" began to a call for the field of L2 motivation to be imbued with new life and vitality. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2010) inform us that these researchers brought about an important shift in direction "the desire to move from the broad perspective of ethnolinguistic communities and learners' general disposition and attitudes to language learning, and sharpen the focus on a more situated analysis of motivation in specific learning contexts" (p. 56). As such, the 90s are

referred to as the *cognitive situated period* in L2 motivation research, a time when the well-established Socio-Educational Model was challenged and researchers began to propose new theories reflecting developments in cognitive psychology and SLA.

While broader perspectives were not discarded, L2 motivation researchers acknowledged the importance of the classroom setting to learner motivation and began to generate models that "encompassed the following: need theories (personal needs, job satisfaction needs, need for achievement), expectancy-value theories, equity theories, reinforcement theories, social cognition theories, achievement goal theory, Piaget's cognitive developmental theory, and Vygotsky's sociocultural theory" in addition to others (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 60).

Deci & Ryan's self determination theory. Deci and Ryan proposed the Self Determination Theory (SDT) in reaction to claims that the Socio-Educational Model had treated intrinsic and extrinsic motivation as mutually exclusive. In fact, in a survey of research on the effects of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, Brewer et al. (1988) claimed that both motivations affected learners' L2 motivation concurrently.

SDT is a motivation theory that is "concerned with supporting our natural or intrinsic tendencies to behave in effective and healthy ways" (Deci, n.d.). Gheralis (2003) informs us that the SDT was proposed to restore the intrinsic/extrinsic dichotomy" by recognizing that intrinsic and intrinsic motivations coexisted (p. 31). Intrinsic motivation was redefined as motivation coming from the learner and extrinsic motivation was as that coming from the learner's environment; and all L2 learners could be placed on a self-determination continuum (Noels, 2003, p. 99). Dörnyei and Ushioda (2010) inform us that SDT received a boost from Noels and colleagues who "set out to develop a

new L2 specific instrument for assessing L2 learners' orientations from a self-determination perspective (i.e. a questionnaire that measures various types of intrinsic and extrinsic orientations in L2 learning)" (p. 67). Research on the SDT placed increased focus on the classroom setting and introduced the concept of *amotivation,* which "does not refer to lack of motivation caused by a lack of initial interest but rather by the individual's experience of feeling incompetent and helpless when faced with an activity" (Gheralis-Roussos, 2003, p. 31). Another consideration raised in the SDT by Deci and his colleagues is *relatedness,* the connectedness that a learner feels with others, which is considered one of the basic psychological needs along with autonomy and competence.

Attribution theory is another important theory that influenced L2 researchers in the cognitive situated period. It hinges on "the belief that retrospective causal attributions have bearing on present and future motivation (Weiner, 1972)" ("Attribution Theory," 2005). According to attribution theory, learners can attribute their success or failure in a language to internal or external factors, which may be stable or unstable, and controllable or uncontrollable; ultimately it is a learner's perceptions of these factors that will determine his or her motivation. "Skehan (1989) was perhaps one of the first scholars to call for more research on applying attribution theory to language learning" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 65).

As we can see, this shift from the Socio Educational Model to Cognitive Situated perspectives on L2 motivation represents a move from a macro to the micro perspective, one that looks at the individual learner in the learning context, rather than by focusing on character traits applied to cultural stereotypes.

The process oriented period. In 2000, Dörnyei began the *process oriented period* with "Motivation in action: Towards a process-oriented conceptualisation of student motivation." In this article, Dörnyei (2000) draws attention to "the temporal dimension of student motivation…motivation processes as they happen in time" by recognizing the "dynamic development of motivation in prolonged learning processes such as the mastery of school subjects" (p. 519). By considering "the dynamics of L2 motivational change at either the micro level (e.g. task motivation) or the more macro level (e.g. during a course of study, over a person's learning history or across the lifespan)," this change in focus represented a further adjustment of research perspective (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 71).

Williams and Burden (1997) were among the first researchers to focus on this temporal aspect of L2 motivation by considering the tasks that took place in different stages of SLA. In addition to highlighting the context of learning, they brought attention to "the conceptual distinction between motivation *for* engagement (choices, reasons, wishes, intentions, decisions), and motivation *during* engagement (how one feels, behaves and responds during the course of learning)" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 71). This was important because it urged SLA researchers to consider the individual processes in the language learning process. After this important distinction was made, Dörnyei and Ottó (2010) offered the process model for L2 motivation that, "organizes the motivational influences of L2 learning along a sequence of discrete actional events within the chain of initiating and enacting motivated behavior," including the *pre-actional phase,* the *actional phase*, and the *post-actional phase* (p. 74). The pre-actional phase relates to Williams and Burden's reasons for engagement, and can be further divided into "goal

setting, intention formation and the initiation of intention enactment" (Dörnyei &

Ushioda, 2010, p. 75). The actional phase includes the processes that are involved in the

language learning process, such as goal setting, assessment of progress and the learning

environment, and strategies to maintain motivation, while the final phase of Dörnyei and

Ottó's Process Model, the Post-actional phase, calls for a re-examination of progress

made (Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998). Always one for complex diagrams of mental processes:

Dörnyei offers the following illustration of the Process Model, seen in Figure 2:

P R E A C T I O N A L   P H A S E

Motivational Influences on Goal Setting (Table 1)

Motivational Influences on Intention Formation (Table 2)

Motivational Influences on the Initiation of Intention Enactment (Table 3)

Wishes & Hopes

Desires

Goal Setting

Opportunities

Goal (Assigned Task)

Action Plan

Intention Formation

Commitment (Compliance)

Intention

Means & Resources

Initiation of Intention Enactment

Start Condition

Action-Launching

I N S T I G A T I O N   F O R C E   *Crossing the "Rubicon" of Action*

A C T I O N A L   P H A S E

Executive Motivational Influences (Table 4)

Subtask Generation & Implementation

Appraisal

Action

Action Control

Actional Outcome

Modify or Continue Action

Modify Goal

−   +

Terminated Action   Achieved Goal

POST-AC-TION-AL PHASE

Motivational Influences on Postactional Evaluation (Table 5)

Forming Causal Attributions

Postactional Evaluation

Elaborating Standards & Strategies

Dismissing Intention & Further Planning

Figure 2. Dörnyei's Process Model.

Dörnyei (2005) accepts certain criticisms of the process model, and calls attention to its deficiencies: the model assumes that the actional phase is "well-definable and has clear cut boundaries" and can be separated from other processes occurring concurrently. (p. 86). Additionally, Dörnyei (2010) notes another shortcoming of the Process Model,

stating, "although it reframed motivation as a dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person, it was still conceptualized within a process-oriented paradigm characterized by linear cause-effect relations" (p. 80).

      Socio-dynamic model. The pace of research in L2 motivation has increased exponentially in the past decade as L2 motivation researchers have moved from the process oriented period to the current *socio-dynamic phase* "characterized by a concern with the situated complexity of the L2 motivation process and its organic development in dynamic interaction with a multiplicity of internal, social, and contextual factors" and to recognize "the broader complexities of language learning and use in the modern globalised world" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 82). This shift includes researchers looking at the notion of self in the language learning process and how a learner's perceived identity interacts with his/her motivation. It also represents a decline in the prominence of the integrativeness construct as proposed by the socio-educational model (Ushioda, 2006).

      L2 motivational self. In reviewing past models of L2 motivation, Dörnyei (2005, 2009a) proposed the *L2 Motivational Self System,* which he considers to have evolved from previous models of L2 motivation and self theories in psychology. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2010) propose that, "there are three primary sources of the motivation to learn a foreign/second language – the learner's vision of oneself as an effective L2 speaker, the social pressure coming from the learner's environment and positive learning experiences" (p. 97). The first of Dörnyei's sources of motivation provides us with the concept of an *Ideal L2 self,* the vision that a language learner has of themselves as a fully realized L2 speaker. When considering this, L2 motivation becomes redefined as the "desire to

achieve one's ideal language self by reducing the discrepancy between one's actual and ideal selves" (Csizer & Dörnyei, 2005, p. 30). The second source of L2 motivation that Dörnyei proposes is that of the *Ought-to L2 self*, the idea that a learner must learn in order to live up to society's expectations. In the ideas of self that Dörnyei proposes, we see one of Gardner's theories rejected, the idea that an integratively motivated L2 learner is adopts a new culture and gives up their L1 culture. Instead, the ideas of self present a the idea of "process of transformation rather than one of replacement, in which the ultimate outcome represents an identity that is not exclusively anchored in one culture/language, to another" (Ricento, 2005, p. 904). It also addresses the disproven idea that we can pigeonhole L2 learners and language speakers into clear-cut cultural groups, and encourages us to look to cultural gray areas, which Rosaldo (1993) suggests "are always in motion, not frozen for inspection" (p. 217). Ushioda (2009) takes a relational view to cultures and language contexts, seeing them as defined by the individuals in ever-changing situations with L2 motivation "as an organic process that emerges through this complex system of interrelations" (p. 220).

L2 motivation research has evolved from macro-contextual views, viewing language learners and cultures as static entities that can be characterized and defined and seeing the SLA process as one of moving from one culture to the next, to increasingly micro-contextual views. The scope narrowed to consider the situations in which L2 learning was occurring and eventually the individual processes as they occurred. Currently, the perspective is becoming much more focused and, as a result, is viewing the complexity of L2 learners and the contexts within which SLA happens.

Teacher Motivation

While Dörnyei and Ushioda (2010) inform us that a "teacher's level of enthusiasm and commitment is one of the most important factors that can affect learners' motivation to learn," they quote psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi as saying in 1997 that "he was not aware of a single study relating teacher's motivation to the effectiveness of his or her teaching and to the motivation of his or her students" (p. 170). They examine the limited work done in teacher motivation, stating that most research is done on teachers' career choice, "complexities during the teaching process," factors contributing to teacher stress and burnout, and student and teacher development" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 170).

Clearly, as the transition in focus has been made in L2 motivation research from the macro level (societal attitudes and conditions that create social distance) to the micro level (the individual learner in the language learning context), and eventually to the learner's identity in social interactions, a need has developed to understand the role of L2 teachers in the classroom, the ones with whom learners have a great deal social contact, and how that relates to student motivation and success. Attention can then be drawn to the role that teacher motivation plays in this process. Dörnyei (2003) concurs with this assertion, stating that "teacher motivation is an important factor in understanding the affective basis of in structured SLA, since the teacher's motivation has significant bearings on students' motivational disposition and, more generally, on their learning achievement" (p. 26).

Watt and Richardson (2008) explain that limited work on teacher motivation has explored "career choice among teachers, the complexities during teaching, and important

factors that impact on the development of teachers and their students" (p. 405). Other topics, such as teachers' relationships with their students, as well as teacher and student identity, still remain relatively uncharted. The need for research into these issues has been identified, and Praver & Oga-Baldwin (2008) have noted that **"**Especially important to the issue of EFL/ESL teacher motivation is the recognition and appreciation of the teacher's home culture and value for her or his skill as a teacher".

Up until this point, we have been examining how language learners are inspired to learn and what fuels and maintains this inspiration. Ryan and Deci (2000) highlight the importance of preserving this inspiration, noting that, "Unlike unmotivated people who have lost impetus and inspiration to act, motivated people are energized and activated to the end of a task" (p. 54). Dörnyei (2001b) defines motivation as the force responsible for "why people decide to do something, how long they are willing to sustain the activity and how hard they are going to pursue it" (p. 8). The concepts applied to language learners with regard to L2 motivation are equally applicable to L2 teachers, and that the "factors that motivate teachers are the same as those that motivate students" (Oga-Baldwin & Praver, 2007, p. 881).

Work motivation. An important difference does exist between teacher motivation and student motivation, namely that, for teachers, teacher motivation is synonymous with work motivation. In the larger field of motivation studies, work motivation is "a broad construct pertaining to the conditions and processes that account for the arousal, direction, magnitude, and maintenance of effort in a person's job" (Katzell & Thompson, 1990, p. 144). Scholars researching motivation in educational contexts first turned to the work motivation theories of Maslow and Herzberg for

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perspective (Gheralis-Roussos, 2003, p. 65). Herzberg identifies two factors that affect

motivation to work, motivators, which are synonymous with intrinsic motivating factors,

and hygiene factors, which are not part of the essential nature of the job and include the

environment, interpersonal relations and working conditions; according to this theory,

"satisfaction depends on motivators while dissatisfaction results from the absence of

sufficient hygiene factors." (Shoaib, 2004, p. 46). It is interesting to note, however, that

unlike other jobs, interpersonal relations are inherent to the teaching profession, as

teachers must interact with both coworkers and their pupils (Nias, 1981). Researchers,

including Barnabé and Burns, have noted other differences between business work

environments and the teaching environment, including organizational structure and

assessment practices (1994). So, while work motivation research could provide some

insight into teacher motivation, the need arose to examine teacher motivation in its own

context.

  Teacher motivation as a topic in L2 motivation studies. Numerous motivation

researchers to explain that teacher motivation can be conceptualized and understood by

considering various other motivation theories:

> teacher motivation can be best understood in the light of expectancy-value
> theories (e.g. McKeachie, 1997; Mowday and Nam, 1997; Watt and Richardson,
> 2008b), self-efficacy theory (e.g. Ashton, 1985), goal-setting theory (e.g. Latham
> et al., 1997), goal-orientation theory (e.g. Butler and Shibaz, 2008; Malmberg,
> 2008), and self-determination theory (e.g. Csikszentmihalyi, 1997; Deci et al.,
> 1997; Kunter et al., 2008; Roth et al., 2007). (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, pp. 171–
> 172)

They continue by explaining that four motivational aspects distinguish teacher motivation

from other L2 motivation studies: the intrinsic component, contextual factors, a temporal

axis, and fragility (2010, p. 178). More than many other careers, teaching is a profession

whose practitioners are paid more in intrinsic rewards than financial ones. In some cultures, teachers are regarded with great respect, while in others they are subject to a considerable amount of criticism; however, teachers are almost universally paid less than other professionals with similar educational qualifications, a problem that both keeps many qualified professionals from entering the profession and forces many to leave it (Macdonald, 1999, pp. 842–43). Those who choose teaching usually understand this and accept it when making the decision to pursue a career in education.

When considering the decision to pursue a career in education, contextual factors and other extrinsic components usually take a back seat to the intrinsic components. Pennington (1995) asserts, "Most people go into teaching for intrinsic rewards in the way of intellectual satisfaction in their subject area, work process, and human interaction" (p. 89). Oga-Baldwin & Praver (2008) add to this, stating, "Teachers generally believed their jobs to be stimulating and fun. Additionally, most reported that they had a good relationship with their students and were able to help them to enjoy the subject" (p. 887). If the value of knowledge is inherently accepted by teachers' intrinsic motivation to pass on that knowledge, it would be fair to assume that, or at least to question if, teachers are intrinsically motivated to learn. Likewise, we can assume that language teachers enter the profession with a similar respect for knowledge and intrinsic motivation to share it.

After citing Deci and Ryan as associating autonomy, relatedness, and competence to intrinsic motivation while claiming teachers' sense of efficacy to be paramount, Dörnyei and Ushioda (2010, p. 175) synthesize the characteristics of the intrinsic motivation to teach as "the inherent joy of pursuing a meaningful activity related to one's subject area of interest, in an autonomous manner, within a vivacious collegial

community, with self-efficacy, instructional goals and performance feedback being critical factors in modifying the level of effort and persistence" (p. 175).

Dissatisfaction in teaching. In a study of secondary teachers' perceptions of working conditions in five countries, Menlo, Marich, Collet, Evers, Fernandez, and Weller Ferris (1990) determined that, "the development of warm, personal relationships with students is the second-strongest influence on professional life quality for US teachers" as well as for teachers in almost all of other countries studied (p. 245). In researching the job satisfaction of ESL/EFL teachers, Martha Pennington (1995) agreed that intrinsic motivation and interpersonal relations provided teachers with the bulk of their support, but that teachers almost universally complained of pay and other extrinsic elements of their work (p. 80). Poppleton and Riseborough (1990) explain that compensation is a factor of job satisfaction that affects all other aspects of the job, stating, "Pay does not have absolute importance in relation to job satisfaction but, if it is perceived to be good…all other aspects appear to have relatively less significance" (p. 219).

Remuneration is not the only demotivating factor negatively affecting teachers' satisfaction and motivation. A study by Dinham and Scott asserts that declining teacher satisfaction is a worldwide problem in education (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 180). Among the negative influences on teacher motivation that that systematically undermine and erode the intrinsic character of teacher motivation" are stress, a lack of autonomy in the classroom, a sense of efficacy, and a career structure providing opportunities for professional development and advancement (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 180). Pennington (1995) identified:

a pattern among teachers of high satisfaction in terms of the intrinsic rewards of the work itself and relationships with co-workers, and low satisfaction in terms of the extrinsic factors of pay and promotion, as well as some other aspects of employment which are extrinsic to the work and which can interfere with job performance and the achievement of psychological satisfactions. (p. 67)

Dörnyei and Ushioda's summary of the teacher motivation construct built upon Pennington's foundation by adding intrinsic aspects of teaching that decreased teachers' job satisfaction and consequently their motivation to teach. It should be noted that the factors they identified did not include any mention of relationships with students. The six factors Pennington (1995) highlighted were:

- the exceptionally high stress level;
- the increasing restrictions of teaching autonomy (by externally imposed curricula, tests, methods and other directives);
- the fragile self-efficacy of practitioners, most of whom are undertrained in areas concerning group leadership and classroom management;
- the difficulty of maintaining an intellectual challenge in the face of repetitive content and routinised classroom practices;
- an inadequate career structure to generate effective motivational contingent paths;
- the economic conditions that are usually worse than those of other service professions with comparable qualifications (e.g. lawyers and doctors). (p. 187)

With all of these factors at play, it should come as no surprise that Kottler, Zehm, and Kottler (2005). warn that "burnout is a professional hazard," as many of the negative aspects of the teaching profession can lead to a loss of motivation and job satisfaction (p. 111). This loss of motivation can manifest itself in many ways, such as depersonalizing the relationships with students and coworkers or becoming cynical about the job. Additionally, burned out teachers suffer from emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and dissatisfaction with their own personal accomplishments (Suslu, 2006). Pennington (1995) warns of the consequences of stress and burnout on teachers; citing a study by Travers and Cooper, she claims that, "Rather than being comparable to the psychological profile of other professionals, the mental health profile of U.K. school teachers appears

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more comparable to that of individuals suffering medically diagnosed psychological disorders" (p. 102–3).

One of the most notable results of this burnout is that "academic performance and achievement, both their own and the students', are affected" (Pennington, 1995, p. 90). Whether it is stressed out teachers who demotivate students or vice versa, as Shoaib (2004) would suggest in saying "teaching students who lack motivation is one of the main sources of stress facing teachers today," the two elements seem to exist in a symbiotic relationship, each feeding the downfall of the other (p. 61). Various studies "(Pennington, 1991, 1995, Pennington & Ho, 1995; Doyle & Kim, 1999, Kim & Doyle, 1998 and, Kassabgy et al., 2001)" have demonstrated that language teachers are no different from other teachers in terms of motivation and are just as likely to suffer from stress and burnout (Gheralis-Roussos, 2003, p. 97).

L2 teacher motivation. While there is a lack of research on teacher motivation and a paucity of research on L2 teacher motivation, three studies directly relate to the topic of this dissertation. The first, by Martha Pennington was an attempt to accurately describe teacher satisfaction and the working conditions of ESL teachers, primarily in US and British contexts. Her work was the result of two studies by Pennington and Riley, where random members of TESOL were sent the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ) and others were sent the Job Descriptive Index (JDI). They reported some benefits unique to ESL teaching, namely "travel opportunities, interaction with people from other cultures and teaching creatively" (Shoaib, 2004, p. 83). The results of the surveys showed that, as with other content area teachers, ESL teachers were "satisfied with the intrinsic nature of the job. Conversely, they claimed to be dissatisfied with the

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external factors, namely their pay and advancement prospects, as well as with supervisory, policy and procedure matters" (Gheralis-Roussos, 2003, p. 97). Pennington also reported that "like others in education fields but in contrast to certain non-professionals, those who work in ESL do so to satisfy higher level psychological needs that are often not well compensated financially" (Pennington, 1995, p. 136).

Pennington (1995) made five recommendations to alleviate the stress created by negative external work factors:

- an orderly and smoothly functioning environment;
- clean, adequately lit, sufficiently large, and well-equipped work spaces, including offices and classrooms;
- textbooks, teaching equipment and other teaching resources which are plentiful, in good condition and up-to-date;
- reasonable work responsibilities in terms or workload and nature of teaching assignment;
- moral and work support from administrators. (p. 109)

It should be noted that none of these recommendations addressed issues with interpersonal relations between teachers and students or between teachers and their coworkers, as it was reported that the intrinsic nature of teaching was what provided the most job satisfaction. In fact, her final recommendation for "the use of employment action plans to improve teacher motivation through serious attention to teacher development, career structure, and academic structure" only applied to extrinsic factors in ESL work (Doyle & Kim, 1999, p. 35).

Another related study into teacher motivation and satisfaction was done by Terry Doyle and Young Mi Kim and was concerned with ESL teachers in the US and EFL teachers in South Korea. Rather than solely relying on questionnaires, Doyle and Kim used a combination of surveys, written comments and semi-structured interviews. While they credited Pennington with laying the groundwork, they criticized her work for not

examining "the underlying social, cultural, and political factors which diminish teacher motivation and cause dissatisfaction and low morale," stating that "a critical approach is necessary" to do so (Doyle & Kim, 1999, p. 35). Again, as with Pennington and others, Doyle and Kim found out that the factors that curbed teacher satisfaction primarily related to extrinsic aspects of the work. Viewing the occupation through a critical theory perspective, they concluded that the negative factors "pertained to the *political nature* of the curriculum and the state-mandated tests, which some teachers felt to be limiting their autonomy and consequently their motivation" while teacher satisfaction primarily could be accredited to the intrinsic factors of teaching (Gheralis-Roussos, 2003, p. 100).

The third study that most directly correlates to this dissertation is that of Amel Shoaib, who addresses the topic of EFL teacher motivation in Saudi Arabia through semi-structured interviews with thirty female Saudi EFL teachers. In attempting to "map out the teacher motivation terrain" in Saudi Arabia to make recommendations to Saudi institutions for improving teacher motivation, "she distinguishes three main levels where motivational change can be made: *the teacher level, the managerial level* and *the ministerial/institutional level*" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 192). Within these three levels, Shoaib (2004) identified different motivational strategies:

Teacher Level
1. Applying self-regulatory strategies
2. Attending formal/professional activities
3. Aiming for a further degree

Managerial Level
1. Developing a system for collaboration and team work between language teachers
2. Providing appropriate specialised in-service training for language teachers
3. Recognizing and appreciating language teachers' efforts and hard work

Ministerial / Institutional Level
1. Allocating more funds to the educational system
2. Restricting the regulative nature of the system
3. Allowing the participation of teachers in curriculum design. (p. 269)

Again, the most noticeable characteristic of her recommendations was the fact that, aside from the first recommendation to teachers to self-regulate or self-motivate, none of her advice dealt with intrinsic aspects of teaching. Rather, all suggestions of the advice related to extrinsic factors in teaching, again suggesting what other researchers have found, that teachers, language and others, find their motivation in the classroom when dealing with students and their subject material.

In establishing L2 teacher motivation as a topic worthy of research, it is important to recognize teacher motivation as "one of the most important factors that can affect learners' motivation to learn. Broadly speaking, if a teacher is motivated to teach, there is a good chance that his or her students will be motivated to learn" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 170). Noels turns to Gardner's research that "has demonstrated that students' positive attitudes toward their L2 teacher are generally linked to motivation and achievement" and the resulting positive rapport between teachers and students leads to improvements in students' "linguistic self-confidence" (Noels, 2003, pp. 103–104). Exploring this phenomenon, Knowles (2007) turns to research by Deci and Ryan that shows that motivated, stress-free teachers "are more likely to allow their students more autonomy. In turn, the more autonomous students are, the more intrinsically motivated they have been found to be" (p. 3).

It has been established that teacher motivation and student motivation exist in a mutually beneficial relationship, where healthy interactions are to the benefit of everyone involved, both for the teachers to derive enjoyment from their work and students to

succeed in their studies. Since it has been demonstrated teachers' primary sources of job satisfaction come from the intrinsic nature of their work, working with students, it is logical that we might examine how teachers build rapport with their students.

In this context, I will look at how different aspects of teacher motivation of expatriate English teachers in Saudi Arabia. Certain factors are relatively unique to EFL in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Arab states. The first of these characteristics is the cultural distance between the culture of the students and those of the teachers, as efforts have been made to maintain cultural distance and control the influence of one community on the other. Another interesting feature of the work situation in Saudi Arabia is that, by and large, teachers are given many of the extrinsic motivators, such as housing and generous emoluments that they could not earn elsewhere in the world. As we examine the cases of expatriate English teachers in Saudi Arabia, we will begin to ask what happens when many of the extrinsic factors that teachers usually do without are provided.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This study explores the effects that living in Saudi Arabia has on the attitudes and motivation of English teachers. It is an investigation of what role teachers' living situations play in their motivation to acculturate and/or socialize; the social distance between teachers and the Saudi culture; and the attitudes and motivation they bring to their classrooms.

The nature of these questions lends itself to a qualitative approach, as the topics of motivation, attitude and acculturation are somewhat abstract and are not easily divided into discreet and measurable variables. The goal of this investigation is exploratory and interpretive, rather than confirming of a proposed hypothesis. In an effort to capture the complexity of the teaching situation in Saudi Arabia, interpretive narratives are constructed from foreign English teachers that emphasize their language and individual perceptions, while discovering meanings from their experiences. Observing the specifics of each subject's situation, an attempt is made to increase understanding of the broader phenomenon of expatriate English teachers in Saudi Arabia. An inductive form of analysis is employed, as observations are generalized to a class, and then theories are presented from careful consideration of the evidence presented.

The following chapter presents a discussion of the methodology and research design utilized by the researcher to address the research questions. A qualitative design was put forth to deal with the research questions and an examination of that design follows. The subsequent section is an analysis of the data collection procedures, including a description of the sample, the instruments used for data collection, and the

steps in the collection process. The chapter ends with a summation of the previous

sections.

Methodological Approach

As one cannot simply identify a set of variables that results in the causation of

motivation, the study of L2 motivation becomes somewhat complicated for SLA

researchers. Dörnyei identifies the intrinsic problems that accompany L2 motivation

research, stating that the study of L2 motivation is challenging because "(1) motivation is

abstract and not directly observable; (2) motivation is a multidimensional construct; and

(3) motivation is inconsistent (it 'changes dynamically over time')" (Dörnyei, 2001a, pp.

185–6).

Qualitative Methods in L2 Motivational Research

Dörnyei informs us that although qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-method

approaches are all useful to the study of L2 motivation, with qualitative methods used to

discover new relationships between variables and quantitative methods being used to test

theories about these relationships, "because of the strong initial influences of quantitative

social psychology on L2 motivation research, qualitative studies have traditionally not

been part of the research repertoire in the field" until Ushioda began to promote

qualitative approaches "arguing that quantitative framework is necessarily limiting with

regard to this dynamic construct" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 254). Ushioda (1994)

noted that early L2 motivation research, which utilized quantitative methods like surveys

to explore such macro level topics as classifying learners' motivation as instrumental or

integrative based on their societal attitudes, could "overlook subtle differences in how

individual learners prioritise future goals as such in their overall motivational rationales"

(p. 81). As a transition in focus has been made in L2 motivation research from the macro

level to the micro level, such as the individual learner in the language-learning context

and the learner's identity in social interactions, more researchers will turn to qualitative

approaches to answer their evolving line of inquiry. In advocating case study

approaches, Duff (2007) notes a similar trend in Applied Linguistics research that is

leading researchers to look at more qualitative aspects of language production:

> Many current L2 researchers influenced by postmodernism, poststructuralism, and
> critical theory* (e.g., Norton, 2000) would argue for the importance of looking
> beyond just the linguistic details of a learner's or speaker's competence or
> production, and beyond the traditional categories and dichotomies that researchers
> use. They might focus on the interview content as opposed to linguistic
> dimensions, such as the as the changing social identity of the research of the
> research subject, his social networks and sense of power and agency within them,
> or his investment in English language learning pre- and post-immigration. They
> would include more contextual and personal aspects of the research participant's
> experience, such as the social and political conditions under which speakers learn
> and produce language, or how the interaction between interviewer and
> interviewee constructs particular kinds of discourse and meanings or positions the
> language learner/user. (p. 17)

Qualitative vs Quantitative Approach

To understand why L2 motivation researchers like Dörnyei, Ushioda, and others

have promoted more integration of qualitative methods into their field, it is important to

define the term. John Creswell (1998) defines the qualitative research as:

> an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of
> inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The research builds a complex,
> holistic pictures, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and
> conducted the study in natural setting. (1998, p. 15)

Qualitative research is holistic, recognizing the importance of participants

interpretations and priorities, and emergent in nature, with the specific focus, design, and

interpretations evolving throughout the process; it is useful when researchers are

interested in the structure of events rather than their overall distributions, when the goal is to explore new linkages.

Because this research deals with individuals, it is important for the researcher to enter the setting with an open mind, prepared to be fully immersed in the complexity of the situation through interaction with the participants. Dörnyei (2001a) draws attention to the benefits of qualitative research methods in asserting that "in contrast to the quantitative tradition, whose strength lies in detecting general trends across learners, qualitative interviewing is more appropriate to uncover the complex interaction of social, cultural and psychological factors within the individual learner," noting that qualitative approaches can demonstrate how key L2 motivational theories "are reflected in actual people's lives; what patterns emerge as a result of the dynamic interplay of (a) motivational forces, (b) time and (c) personal priorities; what other, thus far undetected or underrated, confounding factors shape student motivation (and demotivation)" (2001a, p. 254). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) report that different disciplines and traditions hold varying definitions as to what qualitative research entails, however they suggest that a:

> generic definition can be offered. Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (p. 3)

Exploratory-Interpretive Orientation

In considering applied linguistics research methodology, Grotjan "argues that the qualitative-quantitative distinction is an oversimplification and that, in analyzing actual

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research studies, it is necessary to take into consideration the method of data collection (whether the data have been collected experimentally or non-experimentally); the type of data yielded by the investigation (qualitative or quantitative); and the type of analysis conducted on the data (whether statistical or interpretive)" (Nunan, 2003, p. 4). One of the possible combinations of the aforementioned factors results in the 'exploratory-interpretive' paradigm, "one which utilizes a non-experimental method, yields qualitative data, and provides an interpretive analysis of that data" (Nunan, 2003, p. 4). This research was planned with the exploratory-interpretive paradigm in mind, with the goal of generating theory, rather than proving or disproving any preexisting theory. Within the interpretive paradigm, it becomes the goal of the researcher "to describe and interpret the phenomena of the world in attempts to get shared meaning with others" rather than look for a reality that can be objectively discovered, as in positivist research (Bassey, 1990, p. 42).

Early research in L2 motivation focused on identifying the role that variables such as integrative or instrumental orientation played on individuals' L2 motivation and, ultimately, their success or failure in learning an L2. However, as the field has evolved, researchers have shifted away from looking at causal relationships and are focusing more on the identities and goals of L2 learners. Relating the exploratory-interpretive paradigm to L2 motivation research, it becomes to aim of the researcher to discover how L2 learners and teachers develop and maintain their motivation study and learn, respectively, and how they view their role in the process.

Phenomenological Influence

Recognizing the role of the individual in L2 motivation research, rather than external variables that contribute to his or her L2 acquisition, it becomes important to focus on the perspective of those involved in a process. With this as a goal, phenomenology, "a research method that attempts to understand participants' perspectives and views of social realities" becomes a valuable tool in L2 motivation research (Leedy, 1997, p. 161). This study conforms to the phenomenological approach as it attempts to study individual teachers in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Focusing on the lives of a small, purposefully selected population of teachers with in-depth, semi-structured interviews, it seeks to discover recurring themes and patterns in teachers' descriptions of their experiences.

Ethnographical Influence

As phenomenology attempts to understand the nature of a lived experience, ethnography concentrates "on (a) discovering cultural patterns in human behavior, (b) describing the perspective of members of the culture, and (c) studying the natural settings in which culture is manifested"(Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996). Influenced by ethnography, this study focuses on "both descriptions and interpretations of cultural behavior" and discussing "the people who make up a cultural unit and the social practices in which they engage"(Lazaraton, 2003, p. 3) while examining the "social meaning of language within the context of particular groups (cultures)" (Davis, 1995, p. 428).

To summarize, this study utilizes a qualitative design to explore the lives and motivation of English teachers in Saudi Arabia. Operating in the exploratory-interpretive paradigm, it sets forth to discover meaning as it is interpreted by the participants. Both

the phenomenological orientation of understanding the essence of a lived experience and the ethnographic orientation of exploring the shared behaviors, beliefs, and language of the participants are used.

Data Collection - Description of the Sample

The qualities studied are dependent upon individuals' personal involvement in the setting; so, rather than sampling a large number of people and making generalizations, candidates were purposely selected who typified a shared contextual location and a few characteristics.

In an effort to understand the experience of EFL teachers in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, multiple cases were considered preferable, so that conclusions would not be drawn based on a single person's experience. Because the study is limited to a subgroup of the expatriate population in Jeddah, snowball sampling was employed to find subjects who represented the population of EFL teachers in Jeddah, with the participants with whom contact had already been made being asked to use their social networks to refer others who could add to the research.

In the end, eleven English teachers working in various public and private educational institutions participated in two, one hour, semi-structured interviews. Candidates were purposely selected who typified a shared contextual location and a few characteristics. All subjects were foreign English language teachers from various backgrounds. Three women and eight men participated in the interviews. Seven live on housing compounds and four live off compounds. Their ages ranged from mid 20s to late 50s, with time in the kingdom ranging from six months to 20+ years, and teaching experience ranging from 3-30 years. Table 1 summarizes the teacher demographics.

Table 1

Teacher Demographics

	Age	Sex	Years in Saudi	Teaching Experience	Institution	Age of Students	Arabic Level	Language Ability
S1	40s	M	1	15	Private School	20s	None	Bilingual
S2	50s	M	27	30	Language Contractor	20s-30s	None	Trilingual
S3	40s	M	5	10	Language Contractor	20s-30s	Intermediate	Trilingual
S4	50s	F	27	25	Private Tutor	Elementary & High School	None	Bilingual
S5	20s	M	1	3	High School	High School	None	Bilingual
S6	20s	M	1	3	Private School	20s	None	Trilingual
S7	30s	M	1	4	Private School	20s	Fluent	Trilingual
S8	40s	F	3	7	High School	High School	None	Bilingual
S9	20s	F	25	3	Language Institute	All	Beginner	Monolingual
S10	40s	M	8	10	Language Contractor	20s-30s	None	Bilingual
S11	20s	M	1	6	Language Contractor	20s	Beginner	Monolingual

Ten of the subjects hold US passports; three of them have multiple nationalities. Two are monolingual, five are bilingual, and four are trilingual. The other subject is a Saudi-born South Asian teacher, who despite being raised in Jeddah does not hold a Saudi passport. This subject was included in an attempt to get more female teachers' perspective and because she offered an interesting perspective by being a foreigner in her homeland. All are teaching in private language institutes, international schools, or Saudi English language programs in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, a city of approximately 3,000,000 residents with a sizeable population of expatriate workers from Yemen, India, Egypt, Sudan, Bangladesh, and the Philippines, as well as large number of Americans and Europeans. A major limitation to this study is that no university teachers were included in the research.

Data Collection - Instruments

In this study of the experiences of English teachers in Saudi Arabia, a descriptive record of their experiences in the kingdom was gathered. The process was interactive, as the participants were asked, through semi-structured and unstructured interviews, to verbally describe their experiences. The rationale for this approach was the belief that semi-structured nature of the interviews would allow for diversity in responses and an ability to adapt to new issues as they arose.

Rather than asking predetermined questions, the interviews were kept somewhat unstructured so participants would be free to make any responses. An interview/discussion guide was used to ensure that questions relevant to the research purposes were asked. Two rounds of semi-structured individual interviews of about 1 hour were held in various quiet locations around the city of Jeddah. The first round of

interviews were loosely structured, determined by participants' responses to general

questions about their living and teaching experience in Saudi Arabia. These interviews

were audio-recorded and transcribed in full. With the help of HyperRESEARCH™

Qualitative Analysis Software, and a content analysis was then conducted with no

predetermined categories put in place. The interviews were examined for recurring

themes and constructs, which were used to develop descriptive profiles of the participants

and the interview guide for the second round of interviews, which was held 2 months

later.

The goal of the semi-structured interviews was to elicit responses that were

meaningful and culturally relevant to the subjects and the topic, and provide information

that had not been anticipated.

Data Collection Process

After being recorded and transcribed, the interview data was subjected to the

process described in the "framework for processing interview data following the

recommendations of Rubin and Rubin (1995) and McCracken (1988)" (Dörnyei, 2001a,

p. 239). First, the interviews were coded using HyperRESEARCH™ Qualitative

Analysis Software, and "broader categories – based on core ideas, assumptions and

concepts emerging from the texts" were explored; next, patterns were identified and

organized into "overarching and hierarchical themes and arguments;" and finally, the

resulting themes were examined for "the theoretical and practical implications of the

insights gained" (Dörnyei, 2001a, p. 239).

Validity and Reliability Measures

When considering individual accounts of a lived experience and the existence of multiple realities of a social phenomenon, it is important that a researcher takes measures to acquire valid and reliable representations of the situation being studied.

To ensure validity, the quality of measuring the stated research goals, research participants were sought who taught in a mélange of EFL contexts around Jeddah, who varied in age, sex and length of time in Saudi Arabia. While a diversity religious backgrounds was sought in subjects, only one Muslim English teacher agreed to participate, which limited the scope of the investigation. Another validity measure was the design of the interview guides, which was compared to and took questions from related L2 Motivation research.   In order to increase validity, participants' responses to questions were given in their own language and four of the participants were invited to read the final results to confirm that their responses had been adequately represented. To establish reliability, the selection process for the subjects as well as the social context was described earlier in the chapter, as were the data analysis procedures.

Chapter 4

Results

Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the research data gathered during two rounds of interviews with 11 EFL teachers in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. It begins with some background information about the research process and covers the following: the research questions, the research methodology, the research subjects and their demographics, semi-structured interview guides, and the data collection process. Next, the subjects' interview responses are presented in a way that facilitates the answering of the research questions with answers to interview questions and the themes emerging from the interviews presented in two sections that correspond to the two sets of interviews. A discussion of the results follows in the next chapter.

Research Questions

This study examines the living situation of English teachers in Saudi Arabia and the effect it plays on their attitudes and motivation to teach. It asks what role teachers' living situations play in their motivation to acculturate and/or socialize with Saudi Arabians, and how foreign English teachers perceive the social distance between themselves and the Saudi culture. Finally, it touches on the attitudes and motivation they bring to their classrooms, as well as their job satisfaction and work relationships. To address these issues, the following questions were posited:

1. Do EFL teachers in Saudi feel isolated from the host culture? If so, what are the conditions that cause this?

2. Do teachers acculturate to Saudi society? If so, to what extent? If not, why?

3. How do EFL teachers in Saudi Arabia perceive the social distance between students and teachers?

4. If teachers feel a great cultural distance, what effect does this have on foreign teachers' attitudes towards their students? What effect does this have on the teachers' motivation?

Methodology

Both the nature of these research questions and the aims of this research topic are suitable and appropriate for exploratory and interpretive qualitative approaches. In an effort to examine the lives and motivation of English teachers and portray the complexity of the teaching situation in Saudi Arabia through their individual perspectives, a phenomenological approach was adopted whereby a small, purposefully selected group of English teachers took part in two in-depth, semi-structured interviews, which were analyzed to uncover recurring themes and patterns in teachers' descriptions of their experiences. Specific focus was put on recognizing the importance of individuals' interpretations and on discovering meaning as the participants interpreted it.

Interview Guides

The subjects were asked to describe their experiences living and working in Saudi Arabia. Two rounds of individual, hour-long, semi-structured interviews were held in various locations throughout Jeddah. The semi-structured interview format was chosen to elicit diverse responses and to allow the researcher to adapt the interview to new issues and unanticipated responses as they arose in conversation.

Two discussion guides, which were constructed from possible questions and topics and can be found in the appendix, were utilized to ensure that relevant questions were asked. The first interview guide included topics that Rebecca Oxford (1996) found in most L2 motivation research and deemed "of greatest note to L2 learning motivation

investigators," including attitudes, beliefs, goals, demographics, and experiences (p. 186–7). As the research questions included the topics of cultural distance and acculturation, questions were taken from Robert Gardner's Attitude/Motivation Test Battery and from John Schumann's Acculturation Model (1985; 1978). The topic of teachers' living situation, whether on or off housing compounds, was deemed germane to the research topic, and this was included in the first research guide as well. The first round of interviews established teachers' attitudes towards the Saudi community, their students, the Arabic language, and their perceptions of cultural distance. After these interviews were recorded and transcribed, they were analyzed with the help of HyperRESEARCH™ Qualitative Analysis Software, and the recurring themes and constructs were used to develop the interview guide for the second round of interviews. These follow-up interviews examined teachers' motivation, career and job satisfaction, as well as their relationship with students.

As the focus shifted to teacher motivation, questions were taken from both Martha Pennington's (1995) seminal survey of TESOL teachers' motivation and work satisfaction as well as Zoltán Dörnyei and Ema Ushioda's call for attention to be paid to teacher motivation (2010).

Data Collection Process

After being recorded and transcribed, the interviews were coded, categorized, and analyzed using qualitative methods using HyperRESEARCH™ Qualitative Analysis Software. While the aim of the researcher was to follow grounded theory and generate codes as they emerged, it must be noted that a certain element of a priori coding entered into the process as the semi-structured interview guides framed the questions and the

direction of the interviews. So, some preliminary coding was done simply by writing an interview guide; however, the participants' responses brought back more information than was originally planned for and codes emerged from the data in a grounded fashion.

Responses & Emerging Themes

The first round of interviews primarily concerned teachers' reasons for coming to Saudi Arabia, their attitudes towards Saudi culture and the Arabic language, and their experiences dealing with Saudi culture. Three themes became visible during the coding process of the first round of interviews: English teachers come to Saudi Arabia almost entirely for financial gain; while the desire to learn Arabic exists for many new teachers, few learn the language; and, finally, while many are open to new cultural experiences, the high level of social distance between Saudis and expatriates often precludes any immersion in the culture. As the interview responses are presented below, bold text is used to identify the significant parts of each quotation.

Establishing teachers' motivation for moving to Saudi Arabia was not an explicitly stated goal in the research questions; however, the study addressed Gardner's integrative and instrumental orientations as well as Schumann's acculturation model. Any question as to teachers' motivational orientation was quickly answered by the first recurring theme: English teachers come to Saudi Arabia for the economic opportunity it provides. Furthermore, the interviews revealed that none of the teachers saw Saudi Arabia as a home, and almost all were prepared to leave as soon as their financial goals had been achieved or other opportunities arose. The teachers interviewed for this survey are sojourners, not immigrants.

Motivation to Live and Work in Saudi Arabia

> S11: **The Middle East is the ESL gold mine. I had heard stories of this El Dorado, the promised land of the Middle East where English teachers could go and make mountains of money**. Then I arrived in the Gulf and was making thirty grand a year, it just made sense now that I'd broken in to come to Saudi and make three times as much what I was making there.

Like this subject, 9 of the 11 teachers stated that they either came to Saudi Arabia solely to make money or not to teach but to accompany their husbands who had secured high paying jobs. The remaining two subjects came for personal and family reasons, with one teacher coming for religious and cultural reasons and the other immigrating her with her parents. Of the nine subjects who came for money, five mentioned personal debt and the economic crisis at home as crucial motivators for making the decision to move to Saudi Arabia. Saudi was seen as an opportunity to rid themselves of economic woes. When asked why they had come to Saudi, these subjects responded with:

> S4: **We were starving to death**. I was the sole breadwinner... We had a baby. **On my salary, we were desperate**. So, one day I saw this ad…

> S5: Money's one of the factors that caused me to leave Thailand. I mean, I was making good money so I could live a good lifestyle, but I wasn't saving any money. You make a 1,000 dollars a month, which is decent; but, say you save even a couple hundred a month, which is tough, it's not a significant amount of money if you go back to the West; **whereas in Saudi Arabia you can save and make a lot more**.

> S6: **Greed**, that's the first thing. **It was definitely a higher income**. That's in all honesty. I came here after basically being unemployed for two years after graduation. I was, on a personal financial level, pretty overdrawn. So, it's like "hey, **I'll do six months, and I'm set**." That's why I came here.

> S8: **I came, like a lot of people come, to make money**. This is obviously why my husband came. A lot of **people come to make money because they're in debt**; but we had actually cleared all of our debt before we came. So, the sole purpose of our coming was to make money to travel, and we've done a quite a bit of that. So, that was our goal, to have this money to travel while still putting money in savings. And we've accomplished that.

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S10: **The money**. **Let's be straight, economic times in the United States for the last couple of years haven't been exceptional**. I also came because of a lack of direction in my own personal life.

With these responses, we can see economic gain and personal financial troubles as the primary motivators for teaching English in Saudi Arabia, while Dörnyei (2001a) informs us that research into teacher motivation and satisfaction most frequently finds that "teaching is more closely associated with intrinsic motivation than many other behavioural domains" (p. 158). It is the intrinsic aspects of teaching, such as a love for the subject matter or the enjoyment of working with students, that teacher motivation research often points to as the primary reason for becoming a teacher. Brookhart and Freeman (1992) concur, stating "altruistic, service-oriented goals and other intrinsic motivations are the source of the primary reasons entering teacher candidates report for why they chose teaching as a career'' (p. 46).

In addition to noting financial gain, S6 mentions a temporal aspect to the motivation to teach in Saudi Arabia that was brought up by many of the teachers. Six of the subjects mentioned that they planned to be in Saudi Arabia for only as long as they needed to pay off their debts and save up a specific amount of money that they had come hoping to make. Both S1 and S2 explain that, in their perspectives, the general attitude among foreign English teachers and other expatriates is that people only work in Saudi for a limited time to save money for whatever reasons they may have before moving on with their lives.

S1: **That's exactly what you do in Saudi Arabia; you take care of your finances** or whatever it is and have free time. This is great. **And then you get the hell out.** Although I could live here if I had to, I wouldn't want to.

S2: Mostly, **teachers are mercenaries who come here to make the little nest egg** to buy the house or to go into business or whatever, **and then they're gone**.

Another theme emerged when the subjects began discussing money: seven said that if it weren't for their jobs, they would not want to live here. Additionally, many expressed that they were not fulfilled with their jobs on any level other than a financial one.

> S2: **This job is here because of a paycheck**… **We're overpaid because of the stuff we have to put up with. I have zero, I won't say zero, but low job satisfaction** because of the management where I am… Am I satisfied? Yes, all in all. Am I ecstatic? No. Do I like coming to work? Only on certain days. But, I came here and **I was happy to have a steady paycheck**. And I didn't have to work as hard as I worked to just barely make ends meet in the U.S.

> S3: I went to the place that offered the biggest bang for the buck. And I knew that was Saudi Arabia… **I wouldn't be here if it weren't for the pay. I think this is a very unhealthy environment for everyone. I liked teaching until I came to Saudi Arabia.**

> S10: **You know, I'd leave tomorrow if I had a job opportunity. I'm waiting for that. This is a paycheck. This is not a career**. I look at the years of my life lost in Saudi, as far as my career goes. Now, this offers other opportunities for travel. I've had vacations that I never would have been able to do in the US. So, as a life experience, I'm happy with the things I've been able to do; but as a career, no, absolutely not. If someone wanted to go into career specifically for a paycheck, I could imagine they would be very happy here. Though, coming from the other things that I've done, **this is extremely unsatisfying**.

Here we can see that while many are in Saudi Arabia for financial reasons, it does not provide them with job satisfaction. Though, as S2 noted, most expressed that they had come to terms with the fact that their jobs were unfulfilling. S3 even mentioned that he considered Saudi Arabia to be an unhealthy place to live. The interviews revealed that three of the four teachers who have been in Saudi Arabia for more than five years found job satisfaction only in the extrinsic work factors of their jobs, namely the salary and benefits.

The Exception

Only one teacher expressed that he had come for personal reasons. S7 is an Arab-American who describes himself as a "devout Muslim" and who came to the Gulf region with an interest in practicing his religion in a Muslim majority society while working on his Arabic language skills. Asked to describe his reasons for coming to Saudi Arabia, he responded:

> The **first reason is for religious purposes**. **I am a Muslim. I'm a devout Muslim.** And I've been raised all over the world, outside of the Muslim world, but before I came to Saudi Arabia, I had not spent more than what was the collective amount of eight or nine months in the Muslim world, out of my entire life. I came to Saudi when I was 25. So before then, I hadn't even spent a year in the Muslim world… **So, my first reason was Islam. I'm a Muslim. I'm a devout Muslim. I wanted to live in a place where I can practice in a social environmen**t. So, that was the first thing. **The second reason was Arabic**. Because I didn't live in the Arab world, I don't speak very good Arabic. My Arabic's not fluent. My reading and writing is maybe to the second or third grade level. So I wanted to live in an Arab environment where I could actually improve my Arabic skills, linguistically.

While this subject came to Saudi Arabia for the cultural and linguistic experience, he also came with the hopes of earning a living like the other teachers interviewed. When asked about the financial aspects of his job, he replied:

> **Pay is immensely important**. It's a job, right? I mean a job and pay is important. That being said, I'm not going to be the type of guy who says, "Oh, I'm supposed to teach at 50 on the hour. It's my 10-minute break. I'm not being paid for this, so, I'm going to go sit down." I'm not going to be that guy. You know what I mean? **At the end of the day, I can be flexible with hours**. I'll pump an extra hour in, here and there, and not get paid. No big deal. It's a give and take with the work relationship, but pay is important and neglecting its importance would create trouble. I think that a good salary is important to me. If I could get a job with a better salary, that would play a role in my decision. **Money is not the only thing I use to decide; but it does play an important role**. I think salary's very important.

While money plays a role in his career decisions, his interview revealed that his motivations to teach are more in line with the intrinsic motivators traditionally found in

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teacher motivation research. Additionally, he was the only teacher interviewed who specifically mentioned a willingness to work extra, uncompensated hours. As we will see later on, S7's interview indentified him as an outlier in various categories of his work and personal life. Unlike the majority of the other teachers, he does not live in a compound, he has a desire for advancement and increased reasonability at his work place, he actually speaks Arabic and has social encounters with locals. However, it is interesting to note that in the few months following his interview, he left Saudi Arabia to live in another Muslim country.

Desire to Learn Arabic

While almost everyone came for money, most arrived with desire to learn the Arabic language. Unless they had learned it elsewhere outside of Saudi Arabia, the subjects responded that they had had very little success in learning the language. For the most part, the subjects seemed to view language and cultural experiences as an added bonus rather than as a motivation for coming to Saudi Arabia. Table 2 demonstrates the subjects' range of experiences with the Arabic language.

Table 2

Subjects' desire and effort to learn Arabic

	Arrived with desire to learn Arabic	Took Arabic classes	Self-study	Found Arabic to be unnecessary in daily life
S1				√
S2	√	√		√
S3	√		√	
S4	√	√		√
S5	√	√		√
S6	√		√	√
S7	√		√	

Table 2

Subjects' desire and effort to learn Arabic

	Arrived with desire to learn Arabic	Took Arabic classes	Self-study	Found Arabic to be unnecessary in daily life
S8				√
S9		√		√
S10	√		√	√
S11	√	√	√	√

Eight of the ten teachers responded that they had arrived in Saudi Arabia with the

desire to learn the Arabic language, while the other two expatriate teachers and the

teacher who has lived in Saudi for most of her life reported never having the desire to

learn the language. Five subjects took classes and five mentioned self-study, while three

said they had bought Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) software, like

Rosetta Stone, but had not continued using it. The following responses demonstrate that

most of the subjects arrived with a desire to learn Arabic, but eventually lost their

motivations to study the language:

> S2: **Just like a lot of people, I arrived and I started taking Arabic courses once a week**. At my work, we were told, "Don't use Arabic in the classroom. You're here to teach English. You're not here to learn Arabic. Teach English in English." Okay. I went to town and guess what? All the Filipinos at all the shops, and all of the businessmen Arabs spoke English. And so I would go in and ask for water in Arabic and they would respond, "Oh, would you like some cold water? Could I put ice in it for you?" And **I just saw no need to learn Arabic because the city spoke English. The drivers from Pakistan spoke English. The Filipino mechanics and maintenance people spoke English**.

> S4: **We took Arabic lessons and we were anxious to use it**. We'd go to town and go to stores and start a conversation and found that **all of the shopkeepers, who were from the Philippines mostly, didn't speak Arabic**.

> S5: **I took a course every week**, so I got the reading and writing down. I've been slacking lately. **I probably got total of five months of classes**. It would help me

specially break the ice with a lot of Arabic people. I think I'd get to know them a bit a better. When my Arabic friends start speaking in Arabic, it would be nice to be able to follow along. **But in general, the places that I go, most of the people speak English. Most of the people working, service people, don't speak Arabic, so the Saudis here speak English to them anyway**. It would help on a social level and it would make the experience more enriching for me, but **I can't say that it's a priority anymore**.

S11**: I have tried twice now to learn Arabic and both were relative to complete failures**. The second experience trying to learn Arabic was in Saudi Arabia and it was an official try. **I went to a language school in Jeddah for two and a half hour classes, three nights a week, for about eight months**. I finished four levels of the Arabic program, which I think was supposed to take me to the point where I could speak in simple sentences and read basic paragraphs of Arabic. **Now, I can speak in monosyllabic grunts and maybe I can read a sign if I stare at it for a solid 5 or 10 minutes**. It is the only language school in Jeddah, and the students are almost entirely Muslim, mostly Turkish or Pakistani, or Indians, the guys whose languages were closer to the Arabic than English. So, they zoomed ahead of me. The Arabic instructor was very used to rote memorization type of teaching and wasn't much communicative activity. We didn't practice a whole lot, so I just fell behind. **Then I got to the point where it was just was more frustrating and it wasn't worth taking anymore**.

S10: **When I first arrived, I wanted to learn Arabic**. The classrooms were much more regulated as far as Arabic-speaking than they are now. It was not allowed. In fact, most of the teachers did not speak Arabic. **Trying to find a Western-friendly Arabic teacher was impossible. I looked. I really wanted to learn Arabic.**

S6: **I bought the Rosetta Stone. The problem might be some of my own laziness; but, everybody who I meet is foreign, or they just want to practice their English**. I know like five words in Arabic, and they're really impressed once I say *that's it* or *thank you* in Arabic, but they don't really want to converse any further in Arabic. They just switch back to English.

A number of factors likely to negatively influence teachers' desire to learn Arabic were identified from the interviews. One example was the widespread use of the English language in Saudi Arabia. All but two of the subjects (one Muslim and one who had come to Saudi Arabia after having learned Arabic abroad) indicated that they found Arabic unnecessary in everyday life. Other demotivating factors identified by the

subjects included a lack of social interactions with Arabic speakers, being discouraged from using Arabic at work, the difficulty of the language, and a lack of available classes.

S7 is one of the subjects who moved to Saudi Arabia with the intention of taking classes to work on his Arabic language skills. He is one of only two subjects who arrived some Arabic proficiency. Even though, as one of the two Muslims included in the study, he was able to hear Arabic daily in mosque and in social gatherings, he reported that he hadn't taken a class or found the time to work on his Arabic in the two years he had lived in Jeddah.

> S7: **Since I've gotten here, I haven't gotten anything done**. I didn't do anything at all. I haven't had the time to register in a class. And, it just didn't work out. The last two years have just kind of flown by. I still definitely want to. **I just haven't had the time. I plan to stay in Saudi at least for another two more years. And I do definitely plan on taking an Arabic class, that's on top of my list.** The King Abdulaziz University gives free Arabic lessons, and I'll definitely focus on that.

S7 is the only subject who reports still wanting to take formal Arabic language classes. All of the other subjects gave up on their Arabic studies, reporting either that it was useless in daily life, too hard, or not worth the effort, which would confirm Vallerand's summary of possible causes for amotivation:

> They think they lack the ability to perform the behaviour ('capacity-ability beliefs'); they do not consider the strategies to followed effective enough ('strategy beliefs'); they think the effort required to reach the outcome is far too excessive ('capacity-effort beliefs'); they have the general perception that their efforts are inconsequential considering the enormity of the task to be accomplished ('helplessness beliefs'). (Dörnyei, 2001a, p. 144)

No Need

Much of L2 motivation research into demotivation, coming primarily from instructional communication research in communication studies, has identified various factors that contribute to learners' demotivation, such as dissatisfaction with the teacher

or materials or with the compulsory nature of L2 study in many learning contexts

(Dörnyei, 2001a, pp. 144–45). Dörnyei (2001a) states that in addition to the factors

above causing learners to lose their motivation, demotivation can refer to "specific

external forces that reduce or diminish the motivational basis of a behavioural intention

or an ongoing action" (p. 143). Deci and Ryan's (N.d.) self-determination theory states

that motivation is sustained by individuals' need for competence, autonomy, and

relatedness. A major reason the subjects of this study cited for not having learned Arabic

was the lack of a need for it, which correlates to the second definition of demotivation

given by Dörnyei above:

> S2: We are very busy and are living on a compound where everything is in
> English, including the cable TV. So, **we're not really in Arabia**. Next to the
> compound, there's a mosque. There are people in the office who are Arabs or
> Saudis. But **do we live in Arabia on the compound? No, we have to go
> outside to get there**. I think that **people who come to Saudi Arabia don't learn
> Arabic. If they know Arabic, it's because they learned it somewhere else, like
> Egypt or Jordan, or somewhere where the culture is a little more open**.

> S6: It's not needed. I mean, it's just not needed. **I don't need it for my own
> survival. I get by with English.**

Nine of the eleven respondents stated that they had no real need for Arabic in

their daily life, though it should be noted that the only two who considered Arabic useful

were those who arrived speaking it. A common theme among subjects living on

compounds was that life on the compound rarely included Arabic. Another theme that

emerged here that we will return to is the perceived lack of openness, or insular nature, of

Saudi society.

Barely the Basics

Of the five subjects who reported having taken Arabic classes, or who have

studied on their own, four reported only learning a handful of basic Arabic words. For the

most part, these selected words and phrases did not come from Arabic study, but rather

from their limited contact in the community or from their daily needs in the classroom.

Asked what they had learned, they responded with:

> S1: I haven't learned much more than *thanks*, *hello*, *how much*, and *you're welcome*. **I can count from 1 to 10, I can say a few words that are specific in the classroom**, like *sit down* and *shut up*.

> S4: I've learned to say *straight, right,* and left. I change drivers very often, and some of them don't speak a word of English. So, when they don't know where I live, I have to give them directions. But this is it. **A language to me is a tool. I mean, you use it when you need it. Why buy a shovel if you don't intend to plant a tree?** So with Arabic, I know the words I need.

These findings are in agreement with Clément's assertion that "linguistic self-

confidence—derived from the quality and quantity of the contact between the members

of the L1 and L2 communities—is a major motivational factor in learning the other

community's language" (Dörnyei, 2009b, p. 73). The limited contact that our subjects

had with the Saudi community determined the extent to which they learned, or didn't

learn, the language and the vocabulary they acquired.

Exceptions

As we have seen, the general trend among the English teachers studied was to:

- arrive in Saudi Arabia with some curiosity towards the culture and a desire to learn the Arabic language;
- make an attempt to learn Arabic, whether by enrolling in classes or engaging in self-study; and
- eventually find the motivation to learn Arabic diminished after realizing that it is not essential in daily life and that opportunities to practice are limited.

A few exceptions to this trend emerged. First, S1 and S9 reported never having any desire

to learn Arabic. Secondly, S9, who grew up in Jeddah to expatriate parents and was

surrounded by the language for most of her life, reported never having an interest in the

language or culture. Finally, S3 and S7 both moved to the Middle East for cultural and religious reasons, respectively, and learned Arabic before coming to Jeddah.

Only three of the subjects reported never having any desire to learn Arabic. One of the three grew up in Jeddah and had actually taken required Arabic classes during her primary and secondary schooling. The other two, who came to make money, reported never having any desire. S1 reported having Saudi friends and being interested in learning about the culture; but his time abroad, difficulty with other languages, and the realization that he would be leaving soon left him with no desire to learn Arabic. The other, S8, reported having no interest in the Arabic language or Saudi culture and, from her responses, did not have a high opinion of either.

> S1: **I have no motivation, other than just learning for learning's sake**; besides, I'm doing other things with my time in addition to teaching.

> I: Were you interested at all in learning about the language or culture when you came here?
> S8: No. Well, you hear them all day long, so you pick it up. But I still am not interested in learning it.
> **I: Are you interested in other cultures and languages?**
> **S8: Yes, absolutely.**
> **I: But, you're not interested in Arabic or Saudi culture?**
> **S8: None at all. What culture?**

Despite growing up in Jeddah to Pakistani parents, S9 says that her first language is English, and 99% of her life is in English. Though she was taught Arabic in school, she wasn't motivated or encouraged to learn it there:

> S9: Arabic class was once a week and they didn't mind if you skipped class. So when I was younger, I went to class, which is why I can read and write Arabic; but, I have no idea what I'm reading because I lack vocabulary. **As I got older, I saw very little point of going to Arabic class**, so I didn't go and my school really didn't mind. They gave you A's anyway.

She hasn't worked on Arabic since school, nor has she worked with any other languages since then, having lived all of her life here and in Great Britain.

Zoltan Dörnyei uses the metaphor of running a race to help conceptualize the idea of demotivation as that which "slows down the runner" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 150). To continue with the runner trope, we can see that our subjects are not suffering from demotivation in this sense, they were never interested in running to begin with. It could be possible that S1 and the others are demonstrating what Deci and Ryan identify as one of the symptoms of amotivation, which is that "they think the effort required to reach the outcome is far too excessive," but since each noted having some success with other foreign languages, it is much more possible, at least for S8 and S9, that the lack of interest emanates from another source, such as a negative attitude towards the language or L2 community.

Finally, the last two, S3 and S7 actually speak the language, though they learned it before coming to Saudi Arabia. S3 explained that he does not associate socially with Saudis and only finds opportunities to use his language abilities in public.

> S3**: I rarely speak Arabic with Saudis**. Only in commerce or work settings, where I need help from a Saudi at a store or I'm working with Saudis in a work setting. Having said that though, I find one of the most enjoyable things to do is go down to places like the Balad (downtown) and talk to the other Arabs, to the Lebanese, to the Jordanians, and especially the Yemenis because their dialect is easy for me. I have a good time going down and integrating with those people. They bring tea. They sit and chat about the old world, about Yemen. So**, I'm not completely isolated from Arabs, it's just that I think it's particular Saudis that I found it difficult to get used to**. In Saudi Arabia, I am just continuing with my Arabic because I like to talk to people in Arabic. I like to communicate and I don't want to let it go. **I don't use Arabic necessarily to learn about Saudi Arabia or socialize with Saudis**. Using Arabic now is just sort of maintenance of the language.

S7 came wanting to learn Arabic and mix with the culture. Unlike the others, he has many opportunities to use Arabic in mosque, in public, and at home with his Arabic-speaking family. Asked about his motivation to move here and work on Arabic, S7 responded with:

> S7: I wanted to get an academic level of Arabic, learn the Arabic of the Quran, classical Arabic. It has very convoluted grammatical rules. I wanted to learn those. And I wanted to be able to read and write fluently in the academic style, for religious texts.

While he said that he came with the motivation to work on his Arabic and the intention to enroll in classes, he lamented that in the two years he had been in Saudi, he had not found the time. When asked what happened to the Arabic classes, he responded:

> S7: Family, work. I don't know. **I just never was driven enough to actually register. Arabic was one of the things that just kind of disappeared when I moved her**e. I just never got it done.

Despite not having the time to take formal classes, S7 did say that his Arabic had improved because of social contact. Asked about the progress he had made, S7 responded with:

> S7: I think I've gotten better conversationally. I know more colloquial vocabulary and stuff like that. I speak more like a Saudi now. When I came here, my accent was marked. Now, it's more of a Hejazi Saudi accent. In that sense, I've improved. In reading, **I've improved also, regular street signs and things like that, the stuff that I use to survive; but, I haven't even touched the academic stuff I wanted to do.**

As with the other subjects, who only learned the basics, S7's progress in the Arabic language has been both defined and limited by his contact with the language and the community, resulting in an improvement in his Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) rather than his Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). As

with the common trend previously demonstrated, S7 came with the intention of working on the Arabic language much more than he eventually did.

Social Distance

During the course of the interview process, the effects of the social distance between the Saudi community and that of the foreign workers became strikingly noticeable. The interviews revealed that the compounds have succeeded in the goal of removing "the need for interaction with non-residents," as the subjects living in housing compounds reported having little or no social contact with locals outside of work (Quintal & Thompson, 2007, p. 1036). Additionally, not only did it become apparent that the walls have kept conservative Saudi culture out, but it has managed to keep expats in.

Both Schumann and Acton specifically address cultural distance and perceived cultural distance, respectively, in reference to SLA, with each asserting that the distance, or perceived distance, between the learner and the L2 community can have a direct effect on his or her success in learning the L2.

To gauge the perceived social distance between foreign teachers and Saudi society, the subjects were asked about their preconceptions and stereotypes of Saudis and Saudi culture, both before and after coming to Jeddah, as well as their experiences interacting with Saudis since arriving.

Preconceptions, Stereotypes and Experiences

Asked about the stereotypes and preconceptions with which they had arrived, the subjects responded with overwhelmingly negative impressions. Upon arrival, however, many had generally positive perceptions of the culture, though they found similarities between the Saudi culture and Western cultures to primarily exist on the surface level.

Only S2 and S4, who have been in the country the longest, reported knowing absolutely nothing about the culture before choosing to move to Saudi Arabia. Neither studied language or culture before coming here.

> S2: I remember when I arrived 30 years ago; I wasn't surprised by a lot of things that were happening. I'm not an Arabist, **I had never studied Arabic or dealt much with the culture**. So, I didn't know anything at all about the culture.

> S4: All I knew about were the Bedouins, the camels, the sand, the tents, that's about it.

Three subjects reported receiving some cultural training before moving to Saudi to help them with the transition:

> S2: My company had very good cultural training program. Before coming here, **they told me about Ramadan, the Muslim culture, about beer and wine, pork, and about mosques, about segregation of men and women, and that women couldn't drive**. After that, I felt a little bit foreign but not surprised by the time I got there.

Three others came with previous experience in the Gulf region or in other Middle Eastern countries, and arrived with preconceptions based on what they had heard elsewhere. Working elsewhere in the Middle East, S11 got the impression that other Arabic speakers hated Saudi Arabia. He had mostly bad expectations, but this did not match his experiences.

> S11: **Culturally, this country, I think, is the most hated country by Muslims anywhere in the world**. It seems like each area of the world each big ethnic group has their own kind of individual stereotypes and hatreds, like every Asian country seemed to think they were the best Asian country. So the Japanese hated the Koreans, the Koreans hated Japanese, the Chinese hated Japanese, the Japanese hated Chinese. **And of the Arabs I've talked to about it, everybody could agree on one thing, it's that it was better in their country than Saudi Arabia. So coming here, I expected every time I walked out of the door to be accosted by some religious police with AK47s, but the city and the Saudi's I have met have been pretty laid back. All of the Saudis I have met have been genuinely nice for the most part**.

S11 was not the only subject that arrived with overwhelmingly negative stereotypes of Saudi society. Others, including S7 who came specifically for the culture, reported having negative preconceptions of Saudis and Saudi Arabian culture.

> S4: It's just like in any other culture or religion. It was Marx who said religion is the opium (sic) of the masses. If you are part of the masses, that's what you are. You are narrow-minded, you can be easily manipulated, and you don't think. Once you get education, suddenly the world opens up. **I think it is the same situation in Saudi, the stereotypical Saudi is the crowd out there, the ones who go and watch the beheadings or whatever in front of the mosque**.

> S6: **At first, when I got my VISA and it said *Christian* on it, I was like 'oh my God, they're going to kill me.' But I found the opposite; they're extremely kind, extremely patient. I was never told once that I was an infidel or I should die. I mean, if you watch FOX News if you're coming here, that's the sort of idea that you will have**.

> S7: **My entire perception of Saudis was that they were spoiled, wealthy, and lacked a lot of just general knowledge and experience. They seemed to be very closed-minded and probably a religiously extremist, or completely just ignorant. That was the image I had of Saudis**.

Five subjects reported that they had their stereotypes challenged and enjoyed positive experiences with Saudis and the Saudi culture. S7 reported that his current perception of Saudis is the opposite of the preconceptions arrived with.

> **S7: I don't believe that anymore. I think a lot of Saudis actually are not extremists. I think that they're completely the opposite. They want to see their country open up a little bit; but I think they're worried about their culture, losing the cultural identity**. I don't think that the youth are as worried about it as the older generations. In general, people are not as extremist as I thought they were. **Many are a little bit ignorant about the outside world, but it's not their fault either. I think they're dying to know more**; I think they yearn for it, they just don't have the opportunity.

Similarly, four others reported that their experiences and impressions of Saudi culture were generally positive. They reported that Saudis were more relaxed than they had expected, nor was the society as closed off as they had previously thought. All came

prepared for life in a notoriously conservative society, but most reported that they hadn't

been inconvenienced by the rules of the society like they thought they would be.

> S1: **I don't think this society is too closed off. Not so much. If the Saudis that I met were closed or they didn't say what I thought was on their mind, then it would be different; but those that I've met seem completely relaxed and mellow**.

> S5:   I think that anyone in any situation should adapt themselves to individuals that they're dealing with. Anywhere you go and in anything you do, you do have adapt yourself to a certain extent. I don't feel like I'm inconvenienced. Well, I wish I could put my arm around a girl in public. I definitely don't feel comfortable talking to Saudi women who are covered like I would perhaps a woman in the US. **But with the people that I've been with and the circumstances I've been in, I've mostly felt that the Saudis I've met wanted to learn what I was like and I wanted to learn what they were like.** In order to do that, we find common ground; we change ourselves a little bit, and try to be considerate.

While seven subjects reported having had positive experiences with Saudis and

Saudi culture, they did not find many similarities between their home cultures and Saudi

culture. In response to queries about their cultures and Saudi culture, one of the factors in

Schumann's cultural distance model, it was generally reported that these similarities

existed only at the surface level.

> S1: **There are similarities between our cultures, and yet it's very, very different**. It makes it strange because **the similarities are only on the surface here**. **You really can't get into the culture**. What's beyond that, we'll never know. Our cultures seem so similar and yet so extremely different, especially in terms of how people interact, especially men and women. I mean, that couldn't be anymore divergent. But as far as this, here we are sitting in Starbucks; this could be anywhere. So, in that sense, this is normal. I mean, look at these guys here wearing traditional clothing, but there are those guys wearing regular Western clothes.

> S3:   There are many similarities with commercialism, mall culture, buying, etc. I think that **Saudis have adopted more of the bad habits of the West**. In that sense, I find many similarities. Then there is the car culture as well, you've got kids hot rodding. **That stuff, be it in an American high school or young guys here, is similar. But it's Arabs compromising their own culture more than anything else**.

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In Schumann's Acculturation Model, cultural similarity is seen as one of many factors that can positively or negatively affect SLA. He hypothesizes that if a language learner perceives similarities between his or her L1 culture and that of the TL community, he or she will be more successful in learning the L2. In the case of our subjects, the similarities are perceived to be only superficial, and even negative, which would suggest they would weigh into the Acculturation Model negatively.

Negative Responses

Not everyone found their stereotypes diminished by their experiences with Saudi culture. Six subjects reported that they had developed new stereotypes or maintained the ones with which they had arrived. Five subjects made Saudi friends, though all but one reported that these were actually acquaintances rather than friends, and that most of the Arabic speakers they had associated with outside of work were either from other Arabic speaking countries or Saudis that were dissimilar from other Saudis. Six respondents specifically mentioned knowing Saudis that weren't "real Saudis."

> **S6:** The Saudis I've spent time with are people who **are educated in Canada or the USA**. They work for multinationals. **I don't view them as 100% Saudi**.

Characteristics of perceivably atypical Saudis included:

- higher levels of education, experience traveling abroad,
- fluency in multiple languages,
- an openness to outside culture, and
- a willingness to partake in social situations or practices that would be shunned by mainstream Saudi culture.

Five subjects reported many negative impressions of the culture, with some saying that they had developed resentments towards the culture. Others found Saudis and Saudi culture inaccessible and complained of the insular nature of the culture.

Additionally, the practice of *wasta*, nepotism or influence, was frustrating for four of

subjects, and was seen as a sign of an isolated culture.

> S3: **I came here with high hopes and I've learned to hate Saudis with considerable prejudice**… **I found that it's difficult to integrate into this culture**. I probably haven't tried as hard as I could have. I've been here almost four years now. Friendship is a two way street. I found it so different from the other Middle Eastern countries I was in, and I found Saudis so standoffish and a little cold, that I didn't try myself. But I have found that in groups there's always someone who's interested in getting to know the foreigner. I could have pursued that further. But**, I was so disgusted by certain aspects of living here and working here that I retreated into my shell, and didn't try to pursue friendships**. Friendly, yes. Having a good time, but never a friendship like I had before in other countries.

> S8: **It's all wasta culture here**. The fathers come in to me and say, 'I don't see why my child is not getting another opportunity to regain points for something they did wrong.' I mean, why do I have to give endless opportunities? Nobody else gets them. **Because they have some type of status, they feel entitled**. And of course, the mothers do it as well because 'my husband is a doctor.'

> S10: **I came to Saudi Arabia with the hopes of learning about the culture, learning the language, and learning about Islam. Then, I got here and the reality of this insular society was a real letdown. I was disappointed in the culture that I found**, both because I had grown up with a family that actively worked on the Equal Rights Amendments in the 70s and because I found what is, in my judgment, a fairly medieval society. Also, it's an insular society... It's gotten worse as my attitude has gotten worse. I've had to take a giant step back and stop letting my negativity become confrontational to the students. A previous supervisor once said that **teachers can become so disenchanted with their lives here that it becomes self-loathing and I think I reached that point**. So, my relationship with the students and Saudis is coming from an unhealthy place, and **there are times that I don't see them as people**.

S10 was one of only three subjects to explicitly bring up the sociopolitical context

of US/Saudi relations in recent years, and was one of only three teachers interviewed who

was in Saudi Arabia before the start of the war in Iraq.

> **S10: They invaded Iraq the first year I was here. That changed everything**. You talk to some of the other teachers who were here during the first Gulf War and they say you'd see American flags and people would yell "Hey, thumbs up, good, good! Love America." It goes in waves. **Think about this: the students that I have were 12 years old when America invaded Iraq. For a third of**

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their lives, America has been at war with the Middle East. When I arrived, America was the good guy. You know we were still on a post 9-11 sympathy when I arrived. It lasted right up until the time we invaded Iraq. I do see things changing since Obama was elected and we have pulled out of Iraq. This stuff comes in waves.

The other teachers who brought up the topic in their interviews did so indirectly and it as it was not an explicitly stated goal, the decision was made not to pursue it further. Though, as Menard-Warwick (2005), Watson-Gegeo (2004), and others have commented on the importance of considering the sociopolitical context of SLA, this is a limitation of the study that will be discussed later.

Saudi Is Not Home

Regardless of the subjects' perceptions of Saudi society, everyone agreed that Saudi Arabia is not home. One theme emerged from all of the interviews: foreign teachers in Saudi Arabia are sojourners, not immigrants. One subject reported that he would never bring his family, three reported that they would always be outsiders in the culture, and others reported feeling like servants in Saudi Arabia. A few reported that while life was comfortable for Westerners, Saudi could never be home.

> S1**: I would never bring my family here. What the hell would they do?** Besides, my wife would never be away from her family, and I wouldn't want to ask her. **What the hell would they do? They would shop. They would be bored and shop.** I hear the stories of guys that have their wives here, and they watch TV, shop, and go out to restaurants. **I wouldn't do that to her**.

> S5: I wouldn't call it home. It seems like **there's a social hierarchy with Saudis on top and everyone else on the bottom**. I think you kind of feel that in most interactions. But having said that, I have never really had somewhere that I really felt was home.

> S3: **I could never call Saudi home, but that's more of my built up resentment or hostile feelings towards the place.** I could have called other countries I've lived in home; but, Saudi Arabia, no. It's a two way street, **I don't get the vibe from Saudis that they really accept us**. I was told that I would find

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it hard to work for Saudis. **No matter who you are, no matter your nationality, you're always considered a servant, you're simply considered the hired help**.

S11: **I could never consider Saudi home; but I can see how people have and continue to. I could see how people settle down in this compound life** and raise their kids here and send them to international schools. It's their home. **It's very comfortable here for Westerners**. As for me, my contract happens to be two years, and two years is the amount of time that I can get the giant pile of money that I feel is enough and then leave.

Even S7, who speaks Arabic and came to mix with the culture, indicated that he could never call it home, he said he's lost between cultures. He also expressed that he was ready to go in an instant.

S7: I thought, "I'm an Arab. I am from the Arab world. I have an Arab name and it's not weird here." That was a big deal for me. **And then I came here, and I wasn't welcome here either.** Saudis welcome you. They're welcoming people. But, they don't really care about what have to say or what you think. They're not going to consider your opinion when they make their decisions. You're not in the circle. Then, I went back to America and I was like, "I'm an American. This is where I'm from. I'm fluent here. America accepts everybody." But, since 9/11, it's not as easy as I thought it was. Yes and no. America's weird**. I think there's a part of America that doesn't want me.** It happens when I have to prove I'm a native speaker, even though I am. The closest thing to home culture would be the USA, but I still feel rejected there. I'm a chameleon. I mix with the people. I sit here. I'm just living here and adjusting. Adapt and overcome, that's my motto. I roll with the punches. **But believe you me when I tell you, I'm ready to pack up and leave Saudi any day. I don't feel attached permanently. I like it here. I enjoy it. I don't think I'm as culture shocked as a lot of my colleagues, but I'm also not attached here either**.

Though he speaks Arabic and has a considerable religious and cultural investment in the country, S7 does not feel at home in Saudi Arabia. This could be attributed to his multicultural and multilingual upbringing that both connects him to and separates him from the cultures with which he interacts.

Six subjects indicated that they could never call Saudi home because they don't consider themselves to actually live in Saudi Arabia, as their day-to-day experiences are

limited to work and to the compound environments, which is definitively not Saudi Arabia. On the housing compounds, expatriates are not required to follow Saudi rules. Unlike life outside the compound walls, women are uncovered and unrelated men and women are able to mix in public spaces. When asked about isolation, one subject responded that he did not feel isolated from the Saudi culture because they existed in different worlds. The seven subjects that live on compounds reported that that the majority of their time is spent on compound, but that this doesn't cause them to feel socially restricted or isolated; it simply makes them unconnected with the Saudi culture.

> **S11**: **Saudi can't be home because I don't really live here. I'm allowed to exist here. If you're not a Muslim and you're not Arab, you're not going to become part of this society**. And now, **we aren't isolated from Saudi culture. Isolation implies that you're surrounded by something and you can't engage it, but we live in two different universes**. I mean, it's almost like living in a parallel dimension because the expatriate, at least, **the rich, Western expatriate life in Saudi Arabia is just so different from the average life of a local, especially poor local that it's not really isolation so much, it's just separation. Like right now, I live in an American compound so everybody is American. So they don't even speak other European languages**. But at the other compounds, you'll get a mix of Jordanians, Egyptians, or Lebanese. All of them will be speaking in English unless they're talking to each other. And everything is a compound here. I mean, it's the hallmark of a country that is either a dictatorship or it has low political freedom is usually that there's rich people and poor people, and that's it. **In Saudi Arabia, rich people live in palatial mansions with 10-foot high walls. The foreigners live in palatial compounds with 10-foot high walls**.

> S2: We live on a compound. Unless we buy special antenna, we can't watch Arabic TV. We have a satellite, so we could watch Arabic TV, but we don't. You don't very often run into people who speak Arabic. There's a mosque. There are a couple of telephone operators who speak Arabic. Some people in the office are Saudis. **But, do we live in Arabia on the compound? No, we have to go outside to get there. Arabian culture is isolated from us and when I first got here someone explained that it wasn't to protect us as much as to protect the Muslim culture from being affected by people like us.** You know, bringing beer and pork, and such.

> S5: **I don't feel restricted on the compound. For me, there's enough to do here.** There are enough people. There's a gym. There are a few choices of food.

It is nice to get into Jeddah every now and then, but it's not like I feel cut off from New York City just down the street.

S8:   It's exactly the same thing I do at home. I pick who I'm going to hang out with. Those are the only people I hang out with, whether it is at their place or my place. The only thing here is that you can't go out and have a drink. You can go to restaurants as mixed couples. You can sit in family sections, provided that nobody is going to come and ask you for marriage identifications when you're there. **But I am with my husband, so it's not a biggie for me. I don't feel isolated. That's what I do at home, hang out with those I choose to hang out with, no differently. I would like to go to the movies. And once in a while it would be nice to go out somewhere to dance, not just the same parties people decide to have for you.** That would be nice.

As can be seen with these subjects' responses, it is not so much an issue of

perceived social distance, such as what Acton proposed as being a cause of demotivation,

but rather a case of physical distance created by the presence of housing compounds for

foreign labor.

Only two of subjects reported having negative reactions to living in housing

compounds because of the separation from other cultures.

S3: **Not being able to integrate with certain aspects of Saudi life and culture is a wet blanket.** It was just so much easier to flow between other Middle Eastern communities I've been in. Here , I don't find that. It's **disappointing**. **If I wanted to live in an American society, I would have gone back to the US**, but I find myself more or less stuck in the American lifestyle here.

These of the seven subjects living on compounds would have preferred to have

lived outside their housing compounds, as the other 4 subjects did. Of the 4 that don't live

on compounds, two said that they wouldn't want to live on a compound for the same

reasons that S3 mentioned above. Asked about their experiences living off compound,

they responded with:

S1**: I live in an apartment. There's minimal security**. There's no fence. It's basically **lots of Pakistanis, naturalized Saudis, Saudi citizens, families, a bunch of teachers, so it's a mixed bag**. If you go to the lobby and they're sitting

around just drinking tea and smoking cigarettes. It's like that kind of environment. **I don't really interact with them but I could if I wanted to**.

S7: **There are some things that bother me about the compound.** It's more Western and I ask myself that question, 'Would I like that?' I want my wife to drive around. She wouldn't have to wear the black. She still covers her hair. We're still Muslim. We just wouldn't have to go all out. I've thought about it, and I don't want to. **I like mixing with the people. I don't feel so bothered by living with the culture. I don't think I can handle the opposite of a compound, which is living in a completely Saudi neighborhood with no contacts who are Western. I like the middle ground that I am living in,** in a building where a lot of my neighbors are like us, Westerners, but it's also conservative. It's not fully open.

Despite living off compound, S1 reported not having much interaction with his neighbors. Similarly, S6 lived off compound in an apartment; but, unlike S1, he made some effort to get to know his neighbors. S9 responded that though she doesn't live on a compound, she lives in a compound-like environment. Finally, S7 lives off compound and believes that he would be constricted if forced to live on one.

The subjects' impressions of Saudi culture are mixed. Four found Saudis to be more welcoming and friendlier than previously expected, four found the opposite, and the other three have mixed opinions. Those that live on compounds reported that the majority of their social contacts are in Jeddah's expat community. Regardless of their opinions about Saudis, none of the subjects reported having any Saudis in their social circles.

S1: I go out to socialize with some Saudi friends and we go to the shopping mall. We drink tea and we have some dinner. **That's the extent of my social circle. It's pretty limited but that's okay.**

S2: **I've had a few Saudi friends, but not very many. It's always been awkward with my wife and myself**. We've been invited out on occasion… We have gone to a couple of Saudi weddings, but usually we don't accept invitations anymore because we're uncomfortable splitting up. I don't like to go out in the evening with my students and leave my family at home. **I have liked a lot of these guys but I don't want to go out with them. We're different ages now, different cultures, and different language groups.**

S5:   I expected people to be closed off and not so friendly towards Westerners, and I found while it's true in some cases, **the younger people are often very friendly and as long as you're behind closed doors, people are all friendly and nice, and generally welcoming**.

S10: **The society itself does not encourage me to get out there and meet Saudis. I'm not blaming the society**. I've learned to cope for the last 8 years by not making eye contact, by not being outgoing, and the culture isn't offering anything to help me get over that hurdle, to go out and meet people. Somebody who is out there going to parties can have a different experience. But quite frankly, **over the 9 years that I've been here, very few teachers will say that they have Saudi friends**.

S11:   **I have Saudi acquaintances, but not any Saudi friends. In other Arab countries I have been in, it was easier to make friends**. There was more freedom to move around.

Though there was a range of positive and negative responses, none of the subjects reported having close Saudi friends. The closest to this would be S5, who is in his mid twenties and has some Saudis in his social circle, S7 who came for religious and cultural reasons, and S9 who grew up in Saudi Arabia. Being raised in Jeddah, S9 has a perspective that those who moved more recently don't have.

S9: People like to call Jeddah a 'melting pot.' It's not. I like to think it's more like the tossed salad. People aren't melting together to make a fondue or a soup, they're just existing and together, but not together. You feel it. The Saudis that my dad meets at work are work people, and you don't go out with colleagues. If my Dad invited a Saudi colleague to our house, where my Mom doesn't cover and her hair is not covered, it would be awkward… **And so you don't mix because there's such a distance from this culture even though we're Muslim.**… The Saudis I've had the most interaction with were usually kids in my school whose dads were Saudi and moms weren't. So I had **Saudi-American, Saudi-English, Saudi-Scottish, Saudi-whatever and those were the Saudis that I could relate to, I could talk to, not whole, complete Saudis**. I know some Saudis. I see them at social gatherings but **they're not in my inner circle. It's not a conscious decision; it's just the way it's worked out**.

In her responses, we see a couple of the recurring themes from other interviewees:

limited mixing with the Saudi culture and having contacts that are not "typical" Saudis.

S7 reports having two different personalities, one in English and one in Arabic, and experiencing many linguistic barriers because people expect him to speak well, but no cultural barriers because he looks like them.

> **S7: I feel like I'm living two lives**. My wife said it best. She said, "**When I speak to you in English and when I speak to you in Arabic, you're like two different people, two different personalities.**" The fluency in both makes me think I'm a completely different person… **When a lot of people find out I'm American, they regard me a little bit differently.** The fact that I'm an English teacher and our financial status seems to matter here. The fact that I'm in my mid-twenties, I'm married and have a child and a home is hard to find amongst some of these young Saudi guys. So, they look up to that; but they make a lot of excuses for me, which sometimes makes me like the aloof guy in the corner. "He doesn't know how it is, poor thing." **I think that gives them a dismissive attitude towards my ideas and me. I have a higher status financially, but a low status in terms of my opinions**….

> **S7: I didn't really experience a lot of barriers at first. In mosque, nobody knows that I grew up in America, that I'm an American citizen**. I look like an Arab. I never get singled out for anything, which is nice. I can blend in. However, **the barriers do come up when I start to do day-to-day things like ordering food at a restaurant**. I don't know what to order sometimes. I don't understand when the guy responds to me**. There's a lot of implied knowledge that I still don't have**. And you'd be surprised, even after two years, unless I have done it enough times to kind of memorize the menu or something, I still don't know how it's done. **Also, in gatherings with locals, I get lost in the conversation, I miss cues, I do stupid things that might be insulting or might be misinterpreted. Even after two years, I make mistakes. It's worse for me because my Arabic is fluent in terms of pronunciation, so they think I intend everything I say.**

Though S9 and S7 both live in more proximity to Saudi culture than the other subjects, neither reported having any real status in the society, which is another topic addressed by Schumann's Acculturation Model. Presumably, since they are both Muslim, they should have more opportunities to integrate into the culture. However, they and the others report the existence of a social hierarchy. S9, as a foreign woman, reports having no status in this hierarchy, while S7 reports having some social status because of his

financial position but none as an individual. The other subjects report either having

novelty status or having none, as they don't exist in Saudi society.

> S8: **You don't have any status. You're in a compound, that's it. You're two separate entities. It's the foreigners, and it's the Saudis. That's all there is to it**.

> S5: **There's definitely a hierarchy in Saudi, not to be racist or anything, but there are Filipinos and Bangladeshis at the bottom, Saudis at the top, everyone else in between**.

> S1: **You're never really one with the Saudis**. You're a teacher. **They treat you with a certain respect, I suppose**. Well, it depends.

> S11: We have a very bizarre, counterintuitive status. I've noticed this in the Gulf more than any place else I've seen. **It's that labor that is brought in to the Gulf, people come here to do things that the natives can't do. Even though low-paid laborers often bring a skill set and intellectual kind of labor, and they're still treated like second classes, like wage slaves**. Even if they were doing something that the managers couldn't do themselves. It's almost like respect comes from the least amount of work you have to do. **The harder you work, the less respect you get. And it's probably an unfair assessment but it's reinforced almost daily**.

> S9: You have an iqama, a resident's permit; but **it's really more like a slave badge**. A student of mine once asked me, **"So you've lived here your whole life? What do you like about it?"** I said I liked the weather, **I like that I can make some money and it's home to me so I have to like it. I wouldn't opt to come here. I think people who opt to come here are quite odd, present company included**.

As with the sociopolitical situation, only two subjects commented on religion. S6

reported having difficulties with "religious citizenship," while S11 noted that religious

issues were ubiquitous in Saudi life.

> S11: **I mean, it's not even like the 800-pound gorilla or the elephant in the room. It's like an 800-pound gorilla riding an elephant in the room. That's religion. It's massive. You can't really talk about anything here if you take religion out of the equation**. I went to a mosque once in Oman with an Egyptian friend and I really enjoyed it. I couldn't understand anything the imam said but it was really an interesting experience. Right afterwards, I think I met ten doctors, some university professors, a couple of executives in the oil company nearby. I met more locals going to mosque once than I met cruising around myself or with

friends the rest of the year. So, **if you can't relate to them in the auspices of their religion, it's fairly difficult to get in with the culture at all**. **It seems like even with our generation of Saudis, who don't seem that religious, the mosque is still a major meeting place**, like maybe the church was in small towns in the 50's in America.

The three women interviewed mentioned having a different set of issues than the men. S9 mentioned her limited rights as a foreign woman, while S8 complained about Saudis refusing to shake her hand at parent/teacher conferences.

> S9: **When you're not from here, you're really made to feel like you're not from here**. If I want to get a credit card, for example, my bank says the credit card limit has to be equal to my salary. If a Saudi guy applies for a credit card, he gets three times as his salary. That's the limit, which is what's supposed to happen. It's little things like that. **I think foreign women in Saudi Arabia are at the bottom of the totem pole. You'd have the Saudi man, the foreign man, the Saudi women who have some privileges, some more rights than I do, and then there's the foreign women who can't do anything**. **Literally, can't do anything. If I want to get a new contract on my phone or I want to go out of the country, I need my father's request because he is my sponsor and his company has to do everything for me.**

> S8: There was this parent teacher conference and shaking hands is customary, and some of the parents just withdraw their hands. So, I thought to myself, "What a hypocrite! Take your kid out of this school. Just move on. What are you doing in an international setting if you can't abide by international customs?"

The subject of driving came up with each of three women, as Saudi Arabia is infamously known for being the only country that denies women the right to drive. All three women interviewed stated that they would like to drive, if only to not be dependent on their drivers, though S9 said she would prefer public transportation than to deal with the traffic.

> S4: **I would like to drive, but that's about it**.

> S9: So, **do I think it's easier to be driven around? Yes. Do I like calling my driver all the time and having to depend on him? No**. Solution I would like, which is, you know, of course, probably impossible, is public transport. If they had a metro here, I'd be the happiest girl. **But they don't have a metro and**

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**I do have to rely on people and I don't like that it's limiting and I feel
paralyzed when he's like 5 minutes late and I need to get to work**.

**S8: Not driving is temporary for me; so, I came knowing that this was going
to be the way life would be for a while, but it would be temporary. I have the
choice. I can always go back**. However, it's quite all right if you don't work, as
the majority of women don't. **Since I've gone to work, I have found it very
frustrating because I run out of cartridge for my printer or any little stuff
like that, I can't go anywhere. I'm stuck. I have to wait for somebody to
take me. So, I don't like that. It's a very frustrating thing. You are stuck**.

While each of the women would prefer to drive, the issue did not seem to be a

major source of dissatisfaction with their work, rather an inconvenience that they knew

they would have to face in Saudi Arabia. That said, each noted that their work became

more complicated when having to rely on others for transportation for even the most

minor needs.

Second Round of Interviews

The second round of interviews was held two months after the first, and dealt with

a different set of issues than the initial interviews, which had focused on teachers'

cultural and linguistic experiences in Saudi Arabia to address the first three research

questions:

1. Do EFL teachers in Saudi feel isolated from the host culture? If so, what are the
   conditions that cause this?

2. Do teachers acculturate to Saudi society? If so, to what extent? If not, why?

3. How do EFL teachers in Saudi Arabia perceive the social distance between
   students and teachers?

Shifting attention to teachers' experiences with their work, the second round of

interviews addressed the fourth research question:

4. If teachers feel a great cultural distance, what effect does this have on foreign
   teachers' attitudes towards their students? What effect does this have on the
   teachers' motivation?

Several themes emerged when exploring the subjects' motivation to teach and their job satisfaction: the overwhelming majority of the subjects had not planned on becoming teachers but had entered the teaching profession out of convenience. There was a very low level of job satisfaction and commitment to teaching, and teacher motivation factors such an intrinsic rewards, autonomy in the classroom, possibilities for advancement, additional responsibilities had a decreased role in teacher motivation and satisfaction when compared to other studies in the field. The interviews also raised other issues, such as teacher efficacy, relationships and interactions with students, and the role of coworkers, management, and job security in teachers' job satisfaction.

Though the majority of the teachers reported moving to Saudi Arabia for the potential income, and all of the teachers reported being content with their salaries, only those teachers who said they were happy with the intrinsic factors of their work reported being content with their jobs.

Teacher Motivation

Though the topic of teacher motivation, and especially L2 teacher motivation, is still in the nascent stages of development, a few SLA researchers have made some valuable inroads. Among these are a few, Dörnyei, Pennington, Doyle & Kim, and Shoaib, whose work is important to consider when analyzing our subjects' descriptions of their own motivation to teach.

Dörnyei and Ushioda (2010) identify four motivational aspects as relevant to teacher motivation: the intrinsic component, contextual factors, a temporal axis, and fragility (p. 178). These four features of teacher motivation indicated that teachers are intrinsically motivated by teaching; teacher job motivation and satisfaction can be

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affected by micro and macro socio-contextual factors; teachers most often view themselves as committed to the profession; and negative influences make teacher motivation especially fragile. They characterize teacher motivation with the assertion that "we can describe the teaching profession as a body of highly qualified professionals with an intrinsically motivated and ideologically coloured commitment to pursue what they see as a by and large fulfilling job" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010, p. 187).

Pennington, whose seminal study of TESOL members' motivation, satisfaction, and commitment is often referred to L2 Teacher Motivation literature, identified intrinsic motivators as teachers' primary motivators and a lack of career structure as a powerful demotivator. Pennington (1995) asserts, "the main motivation to a teaching career is the satisfaction which prospective teachers hope to gain from imparting knowledge to others in their area of interest and expertise. On the whole, these same motives are relevant to sustaining teachers' long-term motivation and commitment" (p. 89). For the teachers interviewed for this study, money was the primary motivator rather than the traditional teacher motivators mentioned here and in the Literature Review. Unlike teacher motivation studies done in other parts of the world where teachers are generally underpaid and have to rely on the intrinsic motivation of the job, teachers in Saudi Arabia are remunerated generously for their work.

In a study of US and Korean English teachers, Doyle & Kim (1999) found intrinsic motivation to be the most important factor in teacher motivation, but also noted student attitude, teaching schedule, and autonomy as important factors (p. 39). In contrast, the 30 female teachers in Shoaib's study, 28 of whom were Saudi citizens, cited different reasons for getting into teaching. The most common reason, which accounted

for half of her responses, was a lack of other opportunities for women in Saudi Arabia, while only six of the thirty had stated intrinsic motivators for teaching (Shoaib, 2004, p. 149). So, those wanting to pursue a career and further their educations were forced into teaching, regardless of interest. In contrast, teachers interviewed for this study entered the teaching profession and ultimately arrived in Saudi out of convenience and for the money.

English for the Convenience

The subjects almost universally stated that they had begun teaching out of convenience or that they had simply fallen into the profession. A common motivation for teaching EFL that was shared by six of the subjects was a desire to travel and live abroad. Only one subject, S8, mentioned that she had gotten into teaching because of a love of the language and hoped to share that with her students.

> S1: I chose to teach English in Prague because of its proximity to Poland. I was in Poland at the time and Prague is a train ride. **Somebody I knew was there. It was convenient**, I said "Wow, Prague! Okay, go!" And then I got involved with ESL. That's where I got my TEFL.

> S3: **I wanted to live abroad and it was the most convenient, easiest, and realistic job I could find that allowed me to do that. I'm not happy with my career choice. Like a lot of people, I just sort of fell into it.** I think the choices for those who want to live and work abroad are limited, especially if they don't want to commit to a specific location. Teaching allows people try different countries the way you would try maybe a different restaurant. Like, 'Oh, let's try an Indian food, you know, go to India. Oh let's try Egypt for a while.' And, it's just the most convenient job out there and that's what I fell into.

> S4: **I did not choose teaching. It chose me.** I'm not kidding. I was sitting peacefully at home and one of the English teachers came to the door and begged me to take over for him for a couple of weeks.

> S5: Well, I studied Economics and **I didn't feel like spending my 20s in a cubicle, so I wanted to travel and develop my skills in dealing with people.** No matter what you do in life, you're teaching someone something. If you have kids, if you're managing an office, you're always teaching so it's something that I've

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got some experience with now and pay is pretty good, and it doesn't require too much technical skill, and I like seeing improvement in the students.

S7: **I wanted to live in the Middle East for some time and it was one of the best jobs you can get; it pays enough money and provides for my family**. I wanted to keep it going **while I figured out what the next step was. I didn't really have a plan and it was the fastest job I could get to**. I had done some English teaching before actually, in college. I was a teaching assistant. So, it seemed like an easy transition.

S10: It wasn't something that I woke up and said, "Hey, I'm going to be an English teacher." **It was a means to an end. I absolutely fell into it.** This is not something I woke up one day planning to do.

S11: I had an English degree, fairly randomly. It was a choice between English, Poli Sci, Sociology, and Anthropology. English was the easiest one to finish. After that, **I just wanted to travel. So travelling and teaching English seemed to be the easiest way to do that.** There are always other places to go. And there's a lot more money here. **I don't think of it as a career so much as a distraction or a full-time hobby.** I'm pretty satisfied with my choice, but I'm also satisfied with a choice to get out of it as soon as possible because **I'm getting older now and it's time to get a real job.**

None of these responses indicate that the subjects had entered the teaching profession as their primary career choice, rather they would suggest that teaching English was a convenient way to achieve other goals, like travel or live in other cultures. Others suggested that it was an accessible job that was appropriate for the time being.

An exception to the convenience trend was S8, who said that she was motivated to become a teacher by her love of the language:

S8: **I became an English teacher because I love reading and I like writing**. I'm pretty good with grammar. **And I really thought if I can get the kids to love reading, like I love reading, then they will love reading for the rest of their lives**.

While S8's response would suggest a high level of motivation from the intrinsic nature of teaching, as we will see later, she does not report getting any job satisfaction out of her current position.

Enjoyment of Teaching

Less than half of the teachers, 5 out of 11, said that they enjoyed teaching English and enjoyed their current jobs. Those that reported having high levels of job satisfaction said that they enjoyed working with the students, watching them learn, and having intercultural experiences. Since these interviews were conducted, four of the five who said that they enjoyed teaching had left their jobs, either to teach in another country or switching careers altogether.

> S1: I train technical students in the prep year. **I love it and I love these kids. I have very close relationship with them and I like the job. I go to work and six hours feels like twenty minutes**. I don't feel stress.

> S4: I really like teaching. The younger you get them, the more influence you can actually have on them. **I feel like I am actually teaching something**.

> S5**: I don't think of it as a long-term career**. My original interest in college was technology, I'd like to get back in that direction; **but I'm definitely glad I did it. I'd recommend it as an experience for anyone**.

> S7: I'm actually happy with it, and I can see myself either making it my career or making it a secondary career. I want to pursue other academic pursuits, other than English; but, I can comfortably see myself teaching English the rest of my life now. **I don't really mind it so much. I'm cool being a teacher**. I like being a teacher. **I wouldn't go so far as to say if I were to start all over again I would still be a teacher, I don't intend for English to be my main career or the only career I'll ever have**. I have other academic ambitions. And if those ambitions turn into another career, I would gladly go into it.

> S6**: I am very satisfied with my career choice. I am beyond fortunate that I left the cubical and restaurant business world!** The most rewarding part is the cross-cultural experience.

This collection of responses suggests that those teachers who enjoy their jobs find satisfaction from their interactions and relationships with their students and feelings of teacher efficacy. S1 even referred to being so engaged in his work that time passed without noticing, which Csíkszentmihályi identifies as a state of *flow*, a characteristic of a

highly motivated individual. S7 said that he was "actually happy" with teaching, which

suggests a bit of surprise, though he did say that it still wasn't his first career choice.

Likewise, S5 noted that he was happy, but it wasn't his first choice and he was ready to

leave the profession.

The remaining six subjects reported being unhappy with teaching, mentioning

different factors that affected their job dissatisfaction, such as poor relationships with the

students and low levels of success, indicating a low level of teacher efficacy.

> S2: **I'm not here for personal satisfaction. I'm not here to improve the program**, though I've tried honestly on many occasions to improve the program. **I have quit trying on some level.**

> S10**: I tell new teachers to stop caring**. When I was teaching in other countries, I was actively engaged in the culture. I'm not here. So, some of the advice that I give new teachers is: your work isn't going to cut it, **your work is not going to be enough to keep you here**; because of the insular nature of this place, you need to have something. I say stop caring but what **I suggest is to take a step back from what you might see as teacher motivations in some place like the United States, in that you are in combat survival mode here, both you and the students**.

> S8: The kids can be nice, but here again it's that wasta (privileged) mentality. You know, something for something, not just nice for the sake of being nice. You'll have like few who are genuine and those are a joy when you find them. But, **overall I find my students here to be quite rowdy, loud and impolite**.
> I: Would you still consider yourself committed to teaching?
> S8: Yes.

Among the six subjects who reported not enjoying teaching, there was a range of

reasons: a loss of interest, being in Saudi only for the money, a desire to do something

else, etc. While S8 commented that she was unhappy with her current job and her

students, she was still committed to teaching as a profession and had no plans on leaving.

Commitment

Considering that most teachers commented that they had just fallen into teaching and less than half actually enjoyed teaching, it was not surprising to find that the majority said they were not committed to teaching as a profession. Only 3 said that they were committed to teaching.

> S2: **I'm not committed to teaching as a profession**. I've got various ideas on what to do after retirement. I want to do a good job where I am now. It's all I've done for the last 30 years for heaven's sakes. Am I committed to it? No. If I worked in a coalmine, **I probably wouldn't be committed to mining coal, but I'd probably have to move a certain amount of coal every day, and so on with most jobs**. A lot of people here who have jobs aren't committed to, but still do a pretty good job. Work ethic.

> S3: **I'm not committed to teaching because I'm not developing myself professionally. If I were teaching in some other job I liked, then I would consider developing myself professionally** and finding ways to take on more responsibility and find hire positions.

> S10: **Committed to teaching? In an honest self-assessment, the years I have spent here have made me a bad teacher and if I go back to the States and decide to continue teaching, I would have to do some drastic reassessments of my skills**.

> S11: **I would consider myself to be whatever word in the English language is the most opposite of committed**. That's where I fall. **I would like to be a better teacher, but I really don't want to put in the work cause I don't feel like I'm going be in this field much longer anymore**. I'm ready to go.

As can be seen from these responses, the subjects do not consider their teaching positions worthy of commitment; rather, they appear ready to leave. This would be consistent with what Dörnyei (2001a) assertion that "high commitment to goals is attained when (a) the individual is convinced that the goal is important; and (b) the individual is convinced that the goal is attainable (or that, at least, progress can be made towards it)." (p. 26).

Autonomy

A motivational factor frequently mentioned in research on learner motivation, teacher motivation, and workforce motivation is autonomy. As such, asking questions about the level of autonomy they feel in their jobs was deemed a valid and pertinent question when examining their motivation and job satisfaction. Only three subjects reported that they had real autonomy, while two reported having none. The other six reported that they had some autonomy in the confines of their classroom, but that didn't equate to any real autonomy or control over the materials they are teaching, as four said that they were being forced to push their students through at a pace that they knew was counterproductive and unsustainable.

> S1: We have quite a bit of autonomy. They give us textbooks, but we can teach that and **we can also teach our own stuff, just as long as you keep to the basic grammar points and the main ideas covered in that section**.

> S2: How much autonomy do I have in the classroom? I can show them movies. I can do anything I want. I don't think anyone will learn from what I've been doing recently. Other than that, in the beginning of the cycle, **we have material that we must cover. Recently, with our increased pace, I don't feel I have much individual choice in how I want to teach things because I have to rush through according to the way it's laid out in the book**. In the past, I got away from the book and taught it my own way. I found out some of the students did very well with that, and others just couldn't understand why I'm not using the book, and got upset and frustrated because the book was their crutch. **I wish I had enough time to do all the real things a teacher does in a classroom, rather than just "shut up, wake up, turn the page."**

> S3: "**You don't understand it? Copy it from the board. Fill it in because I don't have time to teach, you don't have time to learn, and you're not really interested anyway. Well because of that, maybe I'm not really interested either**." It's a very sad situation. And I think it's becoming more and more like that where I work.

> S7: **Depends on how you look at it. I don't have any control over the curriculum. I don't have any control of what I have to teach. I don't have any control of the pacing. I don't have any control of the assessments, that's centralized. I don't have any control over students**, in regarding of who I can

kick out and all that. I mean I can write a discipline report and stuff like that; but, they'll show up the next day. **What I do have control of is how I teach the lesson, how I deliver it, how I get them to be motivated. I've settled in to the fact that there's actually very little control**. I thought I had more than I really do. No, I don't really have a lot of control in anything I do. I just realized that. I guess I shouldn't really be so judgmental with the other teachers who just kind of give up because maybe they just gave up.

S10: I actually think I have a lot of autonomy, as much as I've complained about the Saudi Management. **If I want to be disaffected and lazy, I can walk in with a book and put the book upon the Smart Board and go through the book. You have other teachers who are more motivated, they will take the grammar from the book, the vocabulary from the book, and use their own material, create their own lesson plans.** So, in that regard I think we have a lot of autonomy. **I can't choose which book to study. I can't say this material is well above this student's head and he should be put in a different class. I don't have that kind of autonomy.** But, as far as a day-to-day lesson, I have quite a bit.

S11: **As long as the door is closed and nobody knows what I'm doing, I'll have a lot of autonomy. Now, control is another deal altogether. I have almost no control. Here we are, we are paid to be frustrated by a system that we do not control.** We are really just here to fill a place and fill space; but, there's almost more freedom in having no expectations of your teaching than there is in having any expectations from your teaching.

The six subjects who reported having limited autonomy in their classrooms did not report having any control over the curriculum or lesson choices; instead, their independence relied solely on their ability to adapt the material to their teaching style. However, for four of the teachers, this autonomy is undermined by the fast pace that they are directed to maintain. The interview data would suggest, as S7 discovered while discussing his level of autonomy, that the majority of the teachers surveyed have very little control over the direction and content of their classes.

Classroom Control

In addition to a lack of autonomy in their classrooms, six teachers mentioned a lack of control in their classrooms as a source of stress. This is confirmed by Shoaib

(2004), who cites various studies as reporting "teaching pupils who lack motivation is one of the main sources of stress facing teachers today" (p. 61). On this topic, Dörnyei (2001a) points out that "it was found already over 60 years ago in Lewin et. al.'s (1939) classic study on leadership styles that a lack of order (associated with laissez-faire leadership) generates a great deal of stress and undermines student achievement" (p. 36–7).

S2: Lately, the tail is wagging the dog because **the students control the situation. They totally disrespect us. They sleep in class. They flaunt the rules**. They're also sticking their fingers in the face of the Saudi administration because **they have no respect for anything. I don't like those students because they're so hard to work with, and they make me feel like I'm wasting my life here, except for the paycheck**. I don't want to misrepresent myself by saying I don't like any of the students here because that's not true. There are some students who do a really fine job and I'm happy to know them.

S3: **The students are the ones who are in control. We all know that. And they're the ones who even have a say in whether the teachers stay or whether we go. Our control is only with their agreement or permission because when they change their minds, when they don't like you or when they decide to sleep, they're going to sleep, that's it. There's very little we can do**.

S4: **I was told from day one that my job is to try to motivate the child to do her homework and if that child doesn't want to do the homework, don't bother her, don't stress her, do it yourself**. I loved those days because she went off to watch TV, and I could finish her work really quickly. No stress, no blood pressure. I **really believe that across the board in Saudi Arabia, children are supposed to be free spirits, and grow on their own accord, and the parents think they'll just pass the tests miraculously**. Well, my first experience was not good because I was supposed to do her homework if she didn't feel like doing it. So, I did her projects, even her graduation project "Saudi Arabia in Pictures" with original poetry. I did it all by myself. **I was really surprised to see that with the young ones it's different. They listen to you. They look at you like wow, you are magic, you are real American, and wow, tell us about this, that and the other thing.** We have science classes in school and they just want to know everything about the animals and how a volcano works, and big starry eyes.

S5: **There are definitely strong strains of disrespect that come out of some of the students. There's a mentality that students don't have to respect teachers or women teachers or Western teachers.** That comes up a fair amount **but I get along great with my students**. We developed a relationship where **I wasn't**

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there to discipline or punish, or control them, as long as they do what they're supposed to do. We could be friendly so… Being a young teacher, that's an advantage, I guess.

S9: **I don't have any real control because they run out of class and I have to call them back in**. We tell them , "This is an adult institute. You're an adult. You're over 18. I'm not going to chase you around." And then there are girls who are always on the phone with their boyfriends. In the five-minute break in a two-hour class, there's only five minutes that you have to go get a cup of coffee or go use the bathroom. **All the other girls came back to class, and some just don't, but it's not my responsibility.**

S11: **A lot of these guys have absolutely no interest in English and don't really see the need for it, but they are required to be there, so they stay and disrupt class**… When test day comes, they find ways to cheat, or get their grades changed for them, and there's really nothing we can do about it because it's our word against theirs. And we'll never win that one. So, **we have absolutely no control in the situation.**

Six of the eleven subjects mentioned the lack of control in their classrooms, stating that students were in control, often disrespectful to teachers, and were generally uninterested in learning. Combined with a lack of autonomy, the loss of control in the classrooms reduced the subjects' feelings of self-efficacy, a critical motivating factor in the expectancy theories of motivation.

Responsibilities

Martha Pennington (1995) noted that a way to improve teachers' performance, job satisfaction and motivation was to combine tasks and increase work responsibilities (p. 151). In fact, she advised employers to find ways to give teachers more responsibilities, such as peer mentoring, or curriculum development to provide teachers with more investment in their work experience. However, the teachers interviewed for this study responded that they did not want any more responsibilities. Table 3 summarizes the teachers' responses.

Table 3

Subjects' Desire for Responsibility

Doesn't have any responsibilities and doesn't want any	6
Has responsibilities and doesn't want any more	4
Doesn't have any responsibilities, but wants some	1
Has responsibilities and wants more	0

It is apparent from this table that the overwhelming majority of the subjects interviewed were not looking for any additional responsibilities at work. When asked about added work responsibilities, the subjects responded:

S1: I have some paperwork, attendance, homework, test scoring, that's pretty much it. **I don't think I'd want any more**. I asked for a raise, and I got it. **Unless the raise was substantial, and I mean substantial, I wouldn't want any more responsibilities**.

S2: **I haven't looked for more responsibilities because I've got enough to do**. And I see other people who don't volunteer to help the program out. I've been here a long time. **I'm probably making more money than some of the others, which makes me feel like I better be more valuable, or I won't be here for another contract**.

S3: **I've got plenty of responsibilities, I don't need any more**. As much as I, in my 3 years here, dislike the work environment, I'm just not built in a way that allows me to be indifferent about things and **I always try to pull my own weight. I always try to contribute.**

S5: There's club responsibilities, meetings, another other activities, which isn't really a problem for me. Nothing insurmountable. **I'm not planning on staying in the profession for too long; so, to be frank, I'm not really looking for any more responsibilities at work.**

The only subject to respond that he had a drive to move up the proverbial ladder and accept more work responsibilities was S7, the outlier in most areas of teacher

motivation in this study; however, he lamented that there were no further opportunities

for him at his job.

> S7: **Yes. Yes I want more responsibility at work. I volunteered for more, I have. And the fact that I haven't been asked to do more, even if I want to, and other people have, sometimes it just insults my pride**. I'd like to be involved more with assessments. I was part of a curriculum committee. We did a lot of great work. Our final product affected a lot of our students and I thought it was a good outcome. I wish I could be challenged more.

Advancement

As with the question of taking on more work responsibilities, nine of the subjects

indicated that they had no desire to advance to a management position at their jobs.

> S1: Looking to advance **would depend entirely on how much they paid. It would have to be quite a bit; but I probably would not want it**.

> S3: Advancement isn't the right word. I would say that we go through being in **good standing with the company** and being in good standing with the Saudi management, which is important; but their memories are short, and **all of us want to pop up and be noticeable to the Saudis when we're successful.   Then, of course it will fade out for a while, but advancing is just reminding them who we are it's very important to our longevity here.**

> S2: I think **quite a few of us would be interested in anything that gets us out of classroom**.   And hence, so many people traditionally have volunteered for projects as just some sort of respite from the classroom, from the grind.

Again, S7's responses sound more like the traditional teacher model of

motivation, as he would have liked to be given more responsibility and move into a

higher position.

> S7**: I wish there were opportunities to advance. The fact that there aren't irritates me.** I wish that we could go into a committee system where all the teachers would be part somehow, and you could contribute as much as you wanted to. I suggested something like this, where anyone could volunteer to any committee they wanted, but you could choose not to be part of anything and if you didn't volunteer for a committee, you had no right to criticize the committees' work. It would be the best system, cause you couldn't complain about the exams. If you did, you would have the option of volunteering for the assessment committee. So, it would a pretty cool system, and I wanted to implement that in

our school. Unfortunately, they rebuffed that. The teachers make such a big deal about who is a committee member and who is not. They wanted an official letter from Dean, and dress it up too much, and it really irritates me too.

S7 reported being emotionally affected by this, as he was invested in his work

environment in a way that his coworkers did not appear to be.

Stress

Over half the teachers reported high level of stress while a little less than half did

not, though five out of the six who reported not having stress have since left Saudi or the

teaching profession. Subjects identified the primary sources of stress as student behavior

and their relationships with management.

S1: There's little stress. **The only stress comes when they're yelling in the classroom, in which case I have to slap them down before they get any more out of hand**… That's about it. It's a vacation, man.

S7: **My job stress and dissatisfaction comes from the many things that go wrong every time you do something here. The curriculum sucks. I want to change it. It's everything I aspired to do to improve this system that just doesn't happen. And it just kills me. Also, our workplace politics are just stupid**. I feel like there were certain moments when I should have been promoted and other people were. I had seniority and I was passed over. Certain people who didn't have the qualifications were put into positions that they shouldn't have which caused more problems for the system. **Because it's tied with my genuine desire to just see the system improve, it's irritated me more. I'm not the type of guy who wants to sit in an office. I like to be in class. So, all the workplace politics make my job harder and a lot of that stuff bothers me to no end**, so much so that I'm really considering leaving. I've contributed as much as I can in this. I don't feel challenged anymore. I want to just move on.

S10: **Some of my stress comes from the Saudis**. The Saudi's position is, "Here, handle this. Do this. But we're not going to back you up on it." The American supervision is very supportive, but it lacks teeth. What does that mean for me personally? Because my expectations of the program are different than the other teachers, I personally don't have a problem with the current supervision, on the American side. **On the Saudi side, there's an element of, "Go out and bring me back a rock." "Here, how about this one?" "No, I don't like that rock. Bring me a different rock." I also get stressed because I don't want the Saudis to see the students' behavior that I'm going to be held responsible for**. It's personal motivation to a fearing reprisal. The job is not difficult, but the stress

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level is just gnawing away and makes me tired. **The stress level of working in an institution where things are expected of you without the necessary support tools to allow you to succeed. Not succeed on a personal level, but succeed on what is expected of me in order to keep this job.**

S11: **The stress level here is surprisingly high.** But, all that stress dissipates within about a half hour of leaving the office. **Inside, it can be like a pressure cooker because there's so much to get done and we have no choice about it. We have no control over it**. And things can change on a dime, the Saudis change the rules daily.

These responses are in agreement with both the causes and effects of teacher stress that Lortie identifies, "isolated working conditions, pressures from multiple constituencies, little career development, and minimal support from school authorities" (Dörnyei, 2001a, p. 166).

Teacher Efficacy

An essential factor in the motivation to study an L2, as well as the motivation to teach one, is the feeling of self-confidence that the job is doable. For the student, this refers to the belief that he or she can learn an L2, while for the teacher, this means the "teachers' beliefs about their ability to influence student outcomes" (Wheatley, 2002, p. 14). Gheralis-Roussos (2003) expands the definition of teacher efficacy to include "difficulties, such as students' lack of interest in learning, and/or absence of support from the students' home environment," (p. 79). Six of the subjects mentioned that they did not feel effective in their jobs, mentioning that either students would not cooperate or that they system was designed in such a way that their students would not learn.

S2: **I think the Saudis are missing a lot. This is just a social program that keeps young people employed, but could still run something useful**. **They could still do something while they're here** and get some personal satisfaction and even some accomplishment. Instead, most of them fail, and then someone changes their scores and the people upstairs think the students passed. The people upstairs don't see any reason to change the system since all of the students are doing well. That points out failures in the system on several levels. We're

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supposed to be English professionals, but when we are consulted, the wrong people hear; the ones who don't have the key to change anything.

S9: I really felt we would have more freedom in the classroom and definitely did not expect all the red tape that you have to go through before you can actually do anything. I didn't anticipate that. **You come in full of energy and ideas and ready to just teach, and then they clip your wings immediately**.

S10: The Saudis are not necessarily concerned with creating the best learning environment for the students. **The best way I can put this is you need to modify your expectations of your ability to help the students succeed. I've seen teachers come in here and say, 'God! I had half the class fail the test! What am I doing wrong?' And it's like, 'It's not you!" All of my students failed the last test, so my advice to teachers is always to modify your expectations of your ability to help your students**. I feel like my job here is part Western envoy, part cultural ambassador, part babysitter, part camp counselor. But teaching? Am I satisfied with the students? No.

S2 points to systemic faults in this work environment that negate teachers' and students' efforts. S9 complains that the bureaucratic realities of teaching rob her of her energy and ability to teach. S10 appears to have accepted a negative reality in his school, that no amount of effort will enable all of the students to learn, so that he has redefined his role as a teacher as that of a "babysitter" and "camp counselor." While it would seem that each of these statements would lead to teacher burnout, it is important to revisit the fact that S2 has held is current position for more than two decades, while S10 as been in the same job for nine years.

Relationship with Students

When considering teacher motivation and satisfaction, it is essential to discuss student-teacher relationships because, unlike other occupations where work relationships are not always seen as intrinsic to the nature of the work, teaching inherently involves interacting with students. Drawing on research from Menlo et al. (1990), Firestone and Pennell (1993), Nias (1981), and Poppleton (1989), Shoaib (2004) concludes that

education literature overwhelmingly shows that "Students have been documented…as having a strong influence on teacher's motivation to teach" (p. 60).

When questioned about the nature of teacher-student relationships, the subjects gave mixed responses: four teachers reported that their relationships with their students were generally positive, while three gave overwhelmingly negative responses, and the other four gave mixed responses. Those who reported positively generally said that they enjoyed interacting with students and watching them learn, which is in accordance with traditional teacher motivation literature, while those who were displeased reported dealing with students who lacked respect for their teachers and were generally uninterested in learning.

Subjects responding positively about the nature of their student-teacher relationships enjoyed working with their students and seeing academic progress. They mentioned being able to get along with their students while maintaining control in the classroom:

> S1: **I enjoy the kids. I enjoy fooling around. I enjoy being the clown. I enjoy teaching them.** And I'm serious about teaching them. If I see a student who's motivated, I'll encourage that, give him handouts, speak to him more. I enjoy that.

> S4: **I love my students, every one of them. I despise the general parenting trend in Saudi Arabia, of which is a total lack of discipline**. It just drives some people buggy that **it's perfectly all right for a first grader to come in to my study room where the mother is having a discussion with me, and start throwing toys at the mother**. The mother sits there going "ha, ha, ha, isn't that cute?" No, it's not. It's my blood pressure.

> S5: **I am friendly with them, but with enough distance that they can't take control.** I've really enjoyed seeing the similarities between kids all over the world that seems to be coming out of this – I see it's coming out of the fact that everyone's got YouTube and Facebook. So people aren't closed in by their cultural barriers and you can make a movie reference and the kids in Thailand will

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get it, the kids in Saudi will get it, and kids in America will get it. **That gives me a lot of hope for the future. Working with the students has been cool**.

S7: **I get along with my students because I know their culture, I know their language, I can joke around with them and that's fine. I'm close to my students**. First thing's first, I'm not just a teacher. As a teacher in a classroom, I set the boundaries. I create my rules. And any teacher who says he doesn't have any control of that is just lying to himself. The reality is, is that in any classroom, you set the boundaries, you set the rules, and you go on. So, it's up to you. **In my classroom, I'm not just a teacher. I'm a mentor, I'm a friend, I'm a helper. I'm definitely somebody who is a coach and a trainer. I try to make sure that I pump them up and get them ready to play the game. That's my attitude in class you know**. My job is to train them, to make sure that they are up to a level where they can perform. That's my job. **With that being said, I don't get too personal with my students. If I give them an email, I set up a certain email account just for students. They don't come into my personal life**. **I don't hang out with students after work. I don't let them take me out to dinner**. If I do, it's very limited occasions, and, most of the time I usually regret it. But, in the classroom, I'm their best friend. I'm a coach. Your coach will make you take a lot of laps, but you know he loves you like that.

As usual, it was S7 who stood out the most as being invested in his students' lives and performance, though he specifically noted that he established and maintained a level of distance to keep his position of authority in the classroom. While S4 reported loving her students, she had a dislike for what she saw as the Saudi parenting style. As a tutor, she has a great deal of contact with her students and their parents in their home environments.

Those teachers who responded negatively had a litany of complaints about the students, their behaviors, and the educational systems. Included in their complaints was *wasta* culture, where students and parents can pay for grades, as well as a general disrespect for the educational process.

S8: **Our students will pay teachers, they will bribe teachers**. I know they pay for these things. Now, it's like they're buying their degrees. Why should they get the pay of those of us who work for ours? …**I really thought if I can get the kids to love reading, then they would love reading for the rest of their lives. That**

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isn't really the case but it's, that's what I thought… There is really nothing rewarding, honestly, about working with these kids.

S10: **When I first arrived, we had a different level of student**. The very first class I taught was great and we got along real well. We joked around and everything. Then we got the wasta babies, and you always knew which one was the wasta baby because cause they couldn't speak a lick. I would think 'You got 80 on your test? Which brother did you have take it for you?' **As the level of the student has gone down and the support from the Saudis has also gone down, we're getting into control issues that we didn't have before because we had students with some level of language and discipline.** In the past, we didn't have the classroom control problems that we do now. Did we have sleeping? Of course, we did! **But we didn't have students spitting on teachers. We didn't have students destroying property. We weren't hearing any sort of derogatory comments towards the teachers. There was a mutual respect between the students and teachers. It was a much more academic environment. Now, we are under the microscope of the Saudis.** There are multiple levels of bureaucracy imposing their vision of what school is. That's numbers, not individual students.

S11: **The students here have just no interest in learning. It's less the fault of the students than fault of the system that they're put in, but it becomes very difficult to engage them on a significant level because I don't really understand their lives**. Part of that is not understanding the language, so I can't really talk to people who aren't westernized. Also, **they're just exhausted and frustrated. Class goes too fast for them, and they don't have any interest**. So it ends up frustrating me and I don't get along with them as well as I should. I'm basically here more to entertain and distract than I am to teach. **My interactions overall are positive. The kids are very simple and sweet but if I ever try to be stern, if I ever try to control my classroom like a regular teacher who controls class, they would just rebel and throw me out of the country**. So, I approach it more as a game than I'm in any kind of position of dominance. It's more fun for me that way I guess.

Aside from S8, who reported finding absolutely no satisfaction in dealing with her students, the subjects with negative impressions of their student-teacher relationship were not without hope. S10 recalled a time when he got along with his students, and S11 considered them "simple and sweet" to work with, though he recognized that he held no control in class.

Others accredited negative relations to factors external to the classroom, such as

the pacing of the curriculum, or to student attitudes, like laziness and prejudice.

> S2: **I've had classes of students here who were really nice to work with. It is the Saudi administration that pushes them through too fast and has unrealistic expectations, which demoralizes students and makes them mean.** There have been students like these last ones we had, where there is no support and there is no discipline.

> S3: I think for me and for all other teachers as well, our sympathy is the ebb and wane. **Sometimes we're sympathetic, sometimes we're not so sympathetic with them.** We're often very unsatisfied with their performance, but we also recognize they do have other obligations outside, so it comes and goes. **In general, I'm very unsatisfied with them on a very basic level.**

> S6: **My students have this laid back attitude like everything's going to be all right. Everything's done for them. I admire how calm they are; but, again, they don't work after school. I always had a job, so that's why I was tired. My students are never really in a bad mood. They sleep in class, but it's not like they're exhausted by stress**. They don't ever have the pressure of paying rent. I know it's financial, but back home, you have to make it, you have to work, you have to meet deadlines. **They don't have that pressure here. Everything's done for them.** I'm probably exaggerating a little bit, but they don't have that pressure.

> S9: I have received some negative feedback. There was a group of students that from the first day didn't take any liking to me. They went to customer services to complain and requested a different teacher. The director listened to the complaints and they said things like, 'Oh, she didn't do this. She didn't monitor well. It's not interesting.' So, she observed me to see if there was something that I was missing. We realized, there's development that every teacher needs to do, but there wasn't anything that I was doing wrong. They were nitpicking, and we realized it had to be nothing but prejudice. **When they come to our school, they expect to be taught by white, blue-eyed, blonde women, and then they get me. And they just were not accepting of me. I had to work really hard and I managed to turn the situation around. The students are really happy with me now. But in the beginning, they just expect people teaching at a British school to look stereotypically British**.

S2 attributed poor student relations to the environment in which he teaches, one

where students are rushed through material at a rate faster than they can handle. S3 noted

that his empathy for his students comes and goes, while s6 said that he enjoyed working

with his students, but that they were generally entitled and lazy. Some of teacher dissatisfaction can be attributed to students' discernable lack of motivation for learning English.   As a result, teachers faced discipline problems, such as inattention, sleeping, time of task, which meant that class time and teacher effort had to be spent maintaining order rather than teaching.

Hygiene Factors

Up until this point, our discussion of the emergent themes from the second round of teacher interviews has revolved around factors and conditions that are intrinsic to the teaching job: autonomy, classroom control, work responsibilities, advancement, stress, and efficacy. Herzberg's (1966) Two-Factor Theory identifies these as *motivators*, or factors of the job that result from doing the job itself. The second of his factors are referred to as *hygiene factors* and are extrinsic to the job itself. While these are not the primary source of teacher satisfaction, his theory would suggest that an absence of hygiene factors would lead to dissatisfaction with the job. Among the hygiene factors mentioned by our subjects were these: relationships with coworkers, supervisors and management, as well as job security. Other hygiene factors in the teaching profession are company policies and salary.

Coworkers

When discussing their relationships with their coworkers, six of the subjects indicated that they had negative interactions, primarily as a result of job created stress. Those three subjects who commented positively noted that their work situations were not healthy, but that everyone was suffering together. One even referred to it as being in "combat mode" with everyone simply trying to survive.

S2: **I am quite satisfied with most of my coworkers. I am very happy to work with them.** I think they want to get the job done. **And they're in the same conditions I face every day: disrespectful students, goals that can't quite be reached by most of the students, lack of motivation**. We deal with it, and we chug on through. I am happy to be working with these people**. I wish our situation were different. We could do great things**.

S3: **With the coworkers, it's a hit or miss situation**. I think that many of our coworkers are very professional, but **the work environment is very competitive because the Saudis are quick to fire people, so we all try and keep on our toes, and it sometimes ends up in nudging other people aside**. When the spaghetti hits the fan, and the frustration levels rise, **we can be at each other's throats, we are frienemies**. Sometimes, you inadvertently affect your colleagues in a negative way. **If you're popular or you get along well, it means that someone else then isn't popular or doesn't get along as well.**

S5: **I've got a lot great coworkers. I find it difficult to deal with some who have been in the profession without an open mind for too long. Like they have this generational disconnect I feel with a lot of people who aren't technically savvy**, where they're scared of the new technologies that are coming to classrooms which is something I'm really interested in it. It's the digitizing of education. So you get like all the people saying, 'Oh, kids are lazy. They just hang out in the Internet. They just play games.' **But in my opinion, these are all skills that would be more useful in the emerging modern digital world than the skills that they consider work, like jumping through bullshit hoops for bullshit tasks that just proves**.

S6: **My coworkers often just 'blame shift.'** Here so for the first time I was living alone in a completely foreign environment. I couldn't blame shift on anything. I knew before I came here that it would be segregated. I knew all the basic rules. So, I could only blame myself for coming here; but, there are a lot of new people coming in and out all the time. And t**hey complain a lot. That's what I don't like about working here. I'm not going to spend more than I need to get out of debt. It is what it is.**

S7: **I like a lot of them. I thought that I would walk into a profession where everybody around me would be so dramatically different. What I realized was quite the opposite. So many of them were just like me: in the same economic situation, with the same education, same background, same ideas**. It was weird. Everybody around me was like me. So that made me feel like home and I'm very comfortable with my co-workers but **there's a bunch of co-workers I despise completely. I can't stand. The reason is because they scrap this whole profession down.**

S10: **This is a giant den of discontent and negativity**. **I don't blame anyone for the attitudes that they walk around with. They're coping mechanism,**

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we're in combat mode. We're trying to get through the day. In the nine years that I've been here, the teachers that make it are the teachers who understand their diminished capacity to educate. This is not a school in the terms that people in United States can understand 'school'. This is a training facility. This is an English training facility. This is not teaching English as a living language, it's teaching it as Mathematics because that's... Their evaluations are based on ABCD on a test. So the fellow teachers here that are able to stay here any length of time kind of do so with a cynical attitude, and you know, we build on that. It becomes synergistic in that 'your bad today is my bad day, tomorrow is his bad day next week'.

S11: I'm satisfied that when I leave here, I know my co-workers will not be around me anymore because they will be stuck here forever. **This school is like a pirate ship. It's staffed completely by men, all of whom are social misfits unable to get along in regular society. We're all mercenaries, here just for the money. Don't think that they wouldn't stab you in the back to get your rum.**

While S2 commented that he and his coworkers survived in a unhealthy work environment together, S3 reported that the work atmosphere caused a deterioration of relations, with colleagues guarding their own self interests to the detriment of each other. Common criticisms, as seen by S6 and S10 included a culture of complaining in the workplace. Only two had critiques about their colleagues' contribution to the work environment, with S5 noting that his coworkers were fossilized with old teaching methods and mentalities and S7 stating that many of his coworkers give the profession a bad reputation.

Supervisors/Management

Subjects' responses to questions about supervisors and management were overwhelmingly negative. Many indicated that their administrators did not have their best interests in mind, but were rather following orders handed down from above. Five of the respondents distinguished between Saudi supervisors and Western managers,

stating that their job status could change at a moment's notice based upon the Saudi's

mercurial impressions of their performance.

>S2: **The management and supervision is doing a reasonable job in the school.**
>**The local supervision is managed by orders coming downstream that we have**
>**to go through so many assigned books in much too fast a time, and no one**
>**will fail**. That results in no consequences or failure, and an attitude on the part of
>the students that 'you can't tell me to study. If I don't study, I'll get my same
>pay.'

>S3: Professionally, it's more of a challenge to interact with them. **We all walk on**
>**eggshells around the Saudis, so I don't get along with them at all**. Our
>American management lacks distinct leadership and **there's a clear indifference**
>**to our well-being and success, so I have very little regard for management**
>**and morale**.

>S10: **There is the Saudis' impression of you as a teacher, that's what keeps**
>**you here. That's based on student feedback, on how you dress, on how you**
>**say hello to the Saudis in the morning**. I think that after 9 years here, I
>personally have learned how to work the system. How is the job security in
>general? It's very weak because anybody could be sent home at any minute.

>S11: **Eh! I think *Eh* pretty much sums up my, my relationship with**
>**management and supervision**. Some of them are good, some of them not so
>good. It doesn't really matter, either way, as long as I stay under radar and out of
>their sight.

From these responses, it is easy to see that poor relationship with management has caused

a high level of dissatisfaction with some of the teachers, which serves as evidence the

two-factor theory.

Job Security

Job security did not seem to be an overwhelming source of dissatisfaction for the

subjects interviewed, though four mentioned that they could be let go at a moment's

notice for even the most minor infraction. Another four mentioned they could

conceivably hold on to their jobs indefinitely if they liked; however, three of these

teachers have left since their interview.

S7: **I don't think I'm going lose my job anytime soon. They're begging me to stay but, I'm just done**. Trying' to get out. Stressful. Just stuff that, stupid stuff that shouldn't happen, and it irritates me. I keep trying' to change it, it doesn't change. **Ten minutes in my office sucks the life out of me. Other than that, my job's pretty secure. I keep getting raises and all that**, I keep getting nice letters, sometimes from the dean.

S10:   There are two answers to the question of job security. There's a realistic and there's a conceptual. **The realistic is I don't expect to be fired. Conceptually, it could happen to anyone at any time. We had teachers who had been here 20 years who were escorted out. We are here at the whim of the Saudis and if you say the wrong thing to the wrong student at the wrong time, you're gone**. If you forget where you are, if you drop your guard, and say something off the cuff, you can get fired immediately. So, there's no such thing as tenure here.

Summary

This chapter presented an analysis of the research data collected during two rounds of interviews: the first of which dealt with their cultural and linguistic experiences in Saudi Arabia and the second dealt with elements of teaching motivation and job satisfaction. The chapter started by summarizing the research methodology, the subjects, the interview guides and data collection, and finished by presenting the themes that emerged during the two rounds of interviews:

1.   Money was teachers' primary motivation for coming to Saudi Arabia;

2. Most teachers arrived with the desire to learn Arabic, and eventually lost the motivation;

3. The high level of social distance between the teachers and the Saudi culture prevented any real cultural experiences;

4. The subjects interviewed had "fallen into" the teaching profession out of convenience;

5.   The subjects reported low levels of job satisfaction and commitment to teaching;

6. Unlike traditional teacher motivation research, most of the subjects were more motivated by extrinsic work factors than intrinsic aspects of their jobs;

7. Poor work relationships, both with students and coworkers, contributed to a low level of job satisfaction; and

8. While most of the teachers were motivated by money and content with their salaries, they did not report being content with their jobs and were prepared to leave.

A discussion of the results follows in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Discussion of Results

This study examined the impact social distance played on EFL teachers' attitudes towards Saudi Arabia and its culture, as well as on the attitudes they brought to the classroom and their motivation to teach. Acknowledging a scarcity of research on L2 teacher motivation and the role of teacher-student relations in the classroom, this research was positioned within the structure of L2 motivation studies and posited the following four questions:

1. Do EFL teachers in Saudi feel isolated from the host culture? If so, what are the conditions that cause this?

2. Do teachers acculturate to Saudi society? If so, to what extent? If not, why?

3. How do EFL teachers in Saudi Arabia perceive the social distance between students and teachers?

4. If teachers feel a great cultural distance, what effect does this have on foreign teachers' attitudes towards their students? What effect does this have on the teachers' motivation?

Two themes emerge from these four questions: the first is cultural distance and its role in acculturation and the second is teacher motivation. The notion of culture is inherent in both, as Gardner (2001b) argues that learning an L2 requires interaction with the speakers and the culture of the TL. Likewise, the learning environment plays an important role in the L2 teaching, though most L2 motivation research, while highlighting the importance of student/teacher relationships in the language learning process, has failed to ask how teachers' attitudes towards their students' cultures relate to the L2 classroom.

To understand the experiences of English teachers living and working in Saudi Arabia, 11 purposefully selected English teachers in Jeddah participated in two in-depth, semi-structured interviews. The first round of interviews answered the first three questions, which primarily dealt with cultural distance and acculturation, while the second round answered the fourth question, which was concerned with their motivation to teach and classroom experiences. In discussing the results to these questions, the first three questions will be considered together while the fourth will be considered independently.

First Round of Interviews

Research Question 1: *Do EFL teachers in Saudi Arabia feel isolated from the host culture? If so, what are the conditions that cause this?* While the teachers interviewed for this study reported a high level of social distance between the Saudi Arabian culture and themselves, they did not report feelings of isolation; instead, most reported feeling connected to an expatriate culture rather than the local culture.

Turning to Schumann (1978), who defines acculturation as "the social and psychological integration of the learner with the TL group" and identifies several factors as either facilitating or impeding the acculturation process, it becomes apparent that Saudi Arabia fails in nearly every aspect of the Acculturation Model (p. 29). The subjects gave negative responses for six of the eight social variables (social dominance, integration pattern, enclosure, cohesiveness, size, cultural congruence, attitude, and intended length of residence) included in the Acculturation Model that affect social distance (1978). Most viewed that they held no status in Saudi society, and some even reported feeling like servants to Saudis. While some concessions had to be made to Saudi

social rules, such as abstaining from alcohol and not mixing with the opposite sex in public, most subjects maintained their own culture by limited enclosure (sharing of social facilities) and cohesiveness (intergroup contacts). The size of the expatriate population in Jeddah was also a major contributing factor to the limited social interaction with Saudis, as was the perception of limited congruence. While attitudes towards Saudi culture and the intended length of residence in Saudi were mixed, all but one subject reported that Saudi Arabia was not their home.

Returning to the first research question, the obvious answer is that the majority of the teachers interviewed feel isolated from the Saudi culture. A major contributing factor to this distance is the presence of housing compounds, where Westerners and other expatriates live separated from Saudi Arabia by high walls and security details with high caliber machine guns. The significance of the discovery is that it both prompts and answers the second research question.

Research Question 2: *Do teachers acculturate to Saudi society? If so, to what extent? If not, why?* Considering the high level of social distance and the aforementioned acculturation factors, the obvious answer is that the subjects have not and most likely will not fully acculturate to Saudi society regardless of the amount of time they spend in Saudi Arabia. The teachers interviewed are sojourners, not immigrants, in Saudi Arabia and are segregated from Saudi society during their time in the country. The cultural distance between expatriates and Saudi citizens is intended by design, as Saudi Arabia has for most of its 80-year history required that public and private companies employing over 50 foreigners provide private housing for their employees rather than having them live on the local economy (Bombacci, 1998). The compounds are both a sign and a

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cause of social distance. Another indication of cultural distance is the lack of Arabic

language acquisition by expats. While most of the subjects reported arriving with a desire

to learn the Arabic language, all but the two who had previously learned it eventually lost

motivation. The high level of social distance between the teachers and the Saudi culture

prevented any real cultural experiences and opportunities to practice speaking Arabic.

Only two of the subjects interviewed had learned Arabic, and both learned it

before coming to Saudi Arabia. Schumann considered language acquisition a part of

acculturation process, and regardless of causal direction between SLA and acculturation,

it is apparent that the English teachers interviewed neither learn the Arabic language nor

do they integrate into the Saudi Arabian culture. Some acculturation does take place,

however, in that expatriates become a part of the expat culture in Saudi Arabia. The

sizeable expatriate workforce accounts for about a third of the total Saudi population.

So far, we have established that the teachers interviewed for this study feel a great

cultural distance between Saudi Arabians and themselves, and either as an indicator of

this cultural distance or a result of it, they do not integrate into Saudi Arabian culture.

Attempting to ascertain the significance of this finding raises more questions than it

answers, this first of which being: Is it important that foreign EFL teachers in Saudi

Arabia do not acculturate to the local culture? It can also be asked if this has greater

cultural significance, especially as Saudi students are not learning English in order to

acculturate to English speaking cultures but rather as a global language. Before we can

answer these questions, we must turn to the question of the teachers' impressions of this

cultural distance because it is their perceptions of the situation that ultimately constitute

their realities. Schumann's notion that social distance could either invigorate or debilitate

acculturation and, as a result, SLA was criticized for many reasons, one of the most important being that cultural distance was an abstract concept that could not be measured. As a solution to this problem, Acton proposed that it was not the actual social distance, but rather the perceived social distance, that was significant. Likewise, when looking at our subjects' situation, it might be more telling to examine their sense of the social distance and the consequences of this distance as it manifests itself in their work environments.

Research Question 3: *How do EFL teachers in Saudi Arabia perceive the social distance between students and teachers?* As the subjects generally reported feeling separated from Saudi Arabian people and culture, most described experiencing a great cultural distance between their students and themselves. Some of the teachers even commented that they were living in a completely different world than their students. A result of this disconnect is a loss of empathy felt by some of the subjects, two of which even communicated that they had dehumanized their students. With higher levels of distance and less interaction with Saudi culture, some of the subjects maintained negative stereotypes about the culture and the students, thus lowering their expectations of their students in the classroom.

Most of the subjects did not have problem living in the separate worlds from their students, as this was the accepted reality for Saudi Arabia. While integration into Saudi culture was not a priority for the subjects, the high level of social distance and lower levels of understanding could signify a lessening of student/teacher relations and class dynamics. Teachers who don't understand their students and are unable to relate to them are less effective teachers.   Martha Pennington confirms this, as among the traits she

identifies as necessary to become a successful ESL teacher are an "attitude towards students of empathy and interest" and "positive attitudes about the language and culture of the students" (Pennington, 1989, p. 170). Though its impact on the classroom was not studied, the chasm between students and teachers and their cultures assumedly hurts student learning.

Evaluation. The high level of social distance exists by design to protect the local culture from the influence of foreigners and to keep foreigners happy while living here, by allowing them to live by rules and customs that are normal to them. In a culture wanting to protect its identity while still modernizing, this is a way to interact with the rest of the world and gain the benefit of its labor while still maintaining cultural identity. As thousands of Saudi students return from pursuing higher education in America, Europe, and the Pacific Rim, we may even see less demand for expatriate teachers who do not share the local culture and an increase in native Saudi teachers who do.

Expectations. A significant amount of cultural isolation was expected at the onset of the study due to the ubiquitous nature of housing compounds, the size of the expatriate community, and differences in religion and social customs. While the subjects were generally segregated from the local culture, they were not isolated completely, as many reported having substantial social networks in the expat community that included other Arabic speakers. However, contact with Arabic speakers did not translate into the subjects learning the Arabic language, as English was regarded as the dominant lingua franca.

It was anticipated that the teachers were not learning Arabic or acculturating, and this turned out to be true, with a caveat; the subjects seemed to acculturate to an expat

culture, compound culture, workplace culture, etc. Most agreed that the Saudi culture was so different and inaccessible that they didn't feel it was worth the effort and energy to be a part of it.

Previous Research.   Scovel asserts that language and culture are synonymous, stating that "culture is the social cement of all human relationships; it is the medium in which we move and breathe and have our being"(Scovel, 1994, p. 205). If this is true, the subjects of this study are neither truly experiencing language nor culture while in Saudi Arabia.

Revisiting the research covered in the Literature Review, it becomes apparent that many of the results could have been anticipated. For example, expatriates' isolation from Saudi culture and immersion in local expat culture was described by Glasze, who described life on housing compounds as open and free in contrast to the restricted life outside compound walls. Given this stark contrast, it was not surprising that the EFL teachers interviewed chose to live most of their lives separated from the local culture.

Regarding the question of teachers' acculturation into Saudi society, Rugh (2002) informed us that it was not only expatriates from Europe and the US that failed to connect to the local culture, but Arabic speaking teachers from other Middle Eastern countries often failed to acculturate (p. 412). He reported that these teachers were unfamiliar with "local history and culture in the Gulf, and may even be disdainful" of the local culture (Rugh, 2002, p. 412). If teachers sharing the same language and a similar cultural background were unable to acculturate, why should it be expected that our subjects would fare any better? Additionally, the Feldman and Thomas (1992) career management study reported that of the expatriates surveyed in Saudi Arabia, Europe, South America, and

Japan, those in Saudi Arabia were the least likely to acculturate and hold positive perceptions of the local culture (p. 280). In light of these studies, our subjects' responses to questions of acculturation were consistent with the experiences of other expatriates and teachers in Saudi Arabia.

  Recommendations. This study has placed a great deal of focus on teachers' experiences and perceptions of social distance in Saudi Arabia, but it has failed to ask a few pertinent questions. Firstly, while the teachers were asked about their cultural and linguistic experiences, they were not asked if they were disappointed by the cultural distance they reported facing.   Additionally, the subjects were considered in isolation without questioning whether or not foreign teachers acculturate in other EFL contexts. Further study could be done to see if English teachers acculturate in other environments. Finally, and most importantly, no inquiry was done to ascertain the students' perception of cultural distance between themselves and their teachers and whether or not they viewed it as in issue of concern. If students are studying English as a lingua franca rather than to interact with English speaking culture, they may not be concerned with their teachers' understanding of their culture or acculturation to it; conversely, they could feel that the cultural distance precluded effective teaching. As it is students who most benefit or suffer from their teachers' attitudes, it would be advisable to examine their perspective.

Second Round of Interviews

  The initial round of interviews and the first three research questions established the context in which our subjects are living and working, while the second round of interviews dealt with the subjects' motivation, job satisfaction, and their relationships

with students. As the role of teacher empathy and positive attitudes towards students and their cultures was recognized, as well as a scarcity of research on teacher motivation, this line of questioning was developed to position this study within the framework of motivation studies in SLA.

   Research Question 4: *If teachers feel a great cultural distance, what effect does this have on foreign teachers' attitudes towards their students? What effect does this have on the teachers' motivation?* When discussing teacher motivation, researchers generally recognize that teachers are motivated by the intrinsic motivators, such as a love of the subject matter being taught and the joy of working with students, while extrinsic motivators, or hygiene factors, such as salary and career path are less present. The lack of these hygiene factors can lead to dissatisfaction with the teaching profession and teacher burnout. In stark contrast to most teacher motivation research, the teachers included in this limited sample of teachers in Saudi Arabia reported that they had "fallen into" the teaching profession out of convenience and seemed more motivated by money than the joy of teaching or interacting with their students. Regardless of whether the social distance between the subjects and Saudi Arabian culture was the cause of this or even played a role in it, it became apparent that, for the majority of the teachers interviewed, money had become the primary, if not the only, motivator.

   Unlike teachers in many parts of the world, a lack of money was not an issue for these teachers. They reported moving to Saudi Arabia for financial reasons, and for those who stayed the longest, money seemed to be enough to keep them in a place that they did not consider home.   However, while the majority reported being motivated by money and content with their salaries, they did not report being content with their jobs and were

prepared to leave. Of the five subjects that reported enjoying their work, four have left

Saudi or the teaching profession or both since being interviewed, and the others who

reported being unhappy have stayed. The same factors that limited language acquisition

and cultural contact created difficult conditions for the subjects who bemoaned their

situations. Poor work relationships, both with students and coworkers, contributed to the

low level of job satisfaction and commitment to teaching reported. Two of the teachers

who complained the most about the living and work environment in Saudi have lived in

the country for 5 and 10 years, respectively, and are currently extending their contracts,

though they report being unhappy with their jobs, their students, and Saudis in general.

Asked about the importance of money and whether he had abandoned his

principles by teaching just for the money, S11 commented, "I haven't sold my soul, I've

just rented it for three times its market value for two years." In addition to demonstrating

his level of job satisfaction, this shows the fiduciary value he assigns to his work.

Evaluation. What does this suggest for English language education in Saudi

Arabia? What happens when teachers are offered more compensation for their work than

they have ever earned? Does it change the classroom dynamic when teaching is, under

normal circumstances, a profession that is more generous with intrinsic rewards than

financial rewards? S11 gave some insight into the role money played in his work

motivation, "it's not just money. It's not simply a 20% raise. It's nothing close to a

realistic pay increase from jobs in other places, it's like 200 to 300% more money and

400 to 500% more money saved than most other jobs."

For those subjects interviewed who stayed in Saudi Arabia, acceptance of a

certain living situation was accepted if only for financial gain, and the intrinsic

motivation factors of work no longer seemed to play a role. Enjoyment of teaching,

interactions with students, work relationships, teacher identity, intellectual satisfaction,

and cultural experiences all took a back seat to salary.

Expectations. I had wondered if the cultural distance had an effect on teachers'

motivation to teach, their interaction with their students, and on their job satisfaction. The

research revealed that the majority of the teachers studied were not satisfied with the

traditional motivations for teaching, like a love of the subject, autonomy in the classroom,

intellectual stimulation, career advancement, etc.; but, in return for the salaries they

perceived that they could not earn elsewhere, they accepted certain living and work

conditions that they would not otherwise tolerate.

I had thought the subjects might have a problem with cultural distance; but, while

they acknowledged it, it seemed to be an accepted facet of life in Saudi Arabia. S10

commented on the social distance, saying that he was paid generously *not* to have a

problem with the cultural distance. His belief was that he was paid to fill a niche and put

up with certain conditions; for the money, he was totally willing to do so*:*

> If your job is an illusion and you've stopped fighting that illusion, you've bought
> into the illusion to the point where it doesn't pay to break down those barriers
> anymore. Why? Because, if you break down those barriers and start to care, then
> you have to face the fact that you've been put in an impossible situation. For a
> teacher faced with an impossible learning situation there are only two roads to
> take: down one road the very impossibility becomes pressure release, if failure is
> absolutely inevitable then failure itself becomes impossible. You're free, you can
> do what you want, wait for a teachable moment like a hitchhiker with a podium
> and grab it, and damn the educational consequences of missing out on the rest of
> what you think you're supposed to be doing. Down the other road is Sisyphus,
> perpetually rolling the boulder up a hill he can never conquer, and even if a
> paycheck awaits you every time you collect the boulder and start rolling again, the
> damn thing just gets heavier and heavier until it becomes an existential weight,
> until you've become so numb to everything around you don't even see the hill
> anymore, you're just pushing blindly forward.

Previous Research. The nature of our subjects' motivation is paramount to this study, as research covered in the Literature Review identified the importance of intrinsic motivation to teaching, with Pennington (1995) asserting that "intrinsic rewards in the way of intellectual satisfaction in their subject area, work process, and human interaction" is the prime motivator for entering the teaching profession (p. 89). Teacher satisfaction is of great import to the classroom dynamic and the learning process, as teacher motivation and student motivation exist in a symbiotic relationship, whereby teacher enjoyment drives student achievement. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2010) confirm this, stating that a "teacher's level of enthusiasm and commitment is one of the most important factors that can affect learners' motivation to learn" (p. 170).

Conclusions. In light of these findings, teachers coming to Saudi Arabia should be prepared to face a significant cultural chasm. Employment issues, like cultural distance and interaction with host cultures, should be addressed by professional teacher organizations and teacher preparation program if educators are to adapt and apply their skills in places like Saudi Arabia.

It could be conceivably hypothesized that some of the least qualified people to teach English in Saudi Arabia are highly paid westerners who will most likely never acculturate, learn the language, or truly understand the perspectives of their students. With an unemployment rate in Saudi Arabia of over 20% and over 100,000 bilingual and bicultural Saudi students pursuing higher education overseas, there is a large pool of potential teachers who could better satisfy the needs of the population. The overwhelming presence of foreign EFL teachers in Saudi Arabia is a sign of the *native*

speaker fallacy, the belief that native English teachers are inherently better than their nonnative colleagues.

Limitations and Recommendations. It is conceivable that certain aspects of teaching in Saudi Arabia, such as the way curriculum is structured, the expectations of teacher and student roles in Saudi language programs, etc. make the variable of teacher motivation irrelevant.

It is also possible that the research questions, which primarily involved social distance and teacher motivation, were not the right questions to be asking in the Saudi context. Money emerged as the primary motivator for the teachers who had stayed the longest in Saudi Arabia. What does it mean for teachers and the students when money is the only motivator? If money, an extrinsic factor in teaching, is the sole motivator in a profession that typically operates on intrinsic motivation, how does this affect the classroom? What do the students perceive? Do they see motivated, competent teachers or do they see mercenaries, and how does this affect their performance? Are teachers less effective, or less dynamic, as a result of their financial motivation? Teaching effectiveness and student perception of foreign English teachers should be included in future studies of foreign English teachers in Saudi Arabia.

A limitation to this study is that university teachers were not interviewed. Further exploration into the motivation of English teachers in Saudi Arabia could include a larger sample with feedback with a greater variety of programs to ascertain if teacher motivation was affected in different ways.

Another deficiency of this study was that the experiences of other expatriate teachers and local teachers were not surveyed. In future investigations, it might be

beneficial to investigate how teachers rank and rate their motivations, and to see how the responses shift depending on the nationality of the respondent, on the breadth of their experience, etc. To expand the perspective and significance of the study, further work could compare the experiences of teachers working in Saudi Arabia to those teaching in similar environments or cultures.

Chapter 6

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter presents a summary of the key findings and the resulting

conclusions. It begins with a restatement of the aims and methodological approach of the

research. An evaluation of the study's contribution to the field follows and includes the

significance of the research, as well as its limitations and suggestions for further study.

Research Aims

This study explored the lives of English teachers in Saudi Arabia and the effect

their living situations played on their attitudes and motivation to teach. It investigated the

role teachers' living situations play in their motivation to acculturate, as well as on their

perspective of the social distance between themselves and the Saudi culture. Finally, it

considered their attitudes and motivation to teach, as well as their job satisfaction and

work relationships. To address these issues, the following questions were posited:

1. Do EFL teachers in Saudi feel isolated from the host culture? If so, what are the
   conditions that cause this?

2. Do teachers acculturate to Saudi society? If so, to what extent? If not, why?

3. How do EFL teachers in Saudi Arabia perceive the social distance between
   students and teachers?

4. If teachers feel a great cultural distance, what effect does this have on foreign
   teachers' attitudes towards their students? What effect does this have on the
   teachers' motivation?

Method

An exploratory and interpretive approach was considered appropriate for the aims

of this research topic. To study the individual experiences of English teachers and

present the complexity of the teaching situation in Saudi Arabia, a phenomenological

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approach was adopted in which a small, purposefully selected group of English teachers took part in two in-depth, semi-structured interviews where they were asked to describe their experiences living and working in Saudi Arabia. The semi-structured interview format was chosen to elicit a variety of responses and to allow the researcher to adapt the interviews to unanticipated responses and topics as they arose in conversation. Two discussion guides were utilized to ensure that relevant questions were asked. These guides were constructed from possible questions and topics and can be found in the appendix. The first interview guide included topics that Oxford (1996) deemed "of greatest note to L2 learning motivation investigators," and included attitudes, beliefs, goals, demographics, and experiences (p. 186–7). To address issues of cultural distance and acculturation, questions were taken from Robert Gardner's (1985) Attitude/Motivation Test Battery and from John Schumann's (1978) Acculturation Model.

The first round of interviews established teachers' attitudes towards the Saudi community, their students, the Arabic language, and their perceptions of cultural distance.   The interviews were transcribed and analyzed to uncover recurring themes in teachers' descriptions of their experiences. Emphasis was put on understanding individuals' interpretations and on discovering meaning as the participants interpreted it. The recurring themes and constructs were used to develop the interview guide for the second round of interviews, which examined teachers' motivation, career and job satisfaction, as well as their relationship with students. To address issues of teacher motivation, questions were taken from Martha Pennington's (1995) seminal research into the motivation of TESOL teachers' motivation and work satisfaction. Additional

perspective was gained from Dörnyei and Ushioda's (2010) call for further research into teacher motivation.

Findings

During the first round of interviews, which dealt with teachers' reasons for coming to Saudi Arabia, their attitudes towards the culture and language, and their experiences dealing with Saudis, three themes emerged: the English teachers interviewed came to Saudi Arabia for financial reasons; while most came with the desire to learn Arabic, few learned the language; and the high level of social distance between Saudis and expatriates often precluded any immersion in the culture or real cultural experiences. The interviews also uncovered that the teachers did not consider Saudi Arabia home, and almost all were prepared to leave as soon as their financial goals had been achieved or better opportunities arose. The subjects were sojourners, not immigrants.

The second round of interviews addressed the effects of cultural distance, teachers' attitudes towards their students, and their motivation to teach. During these interviews, various themes emerged: the majority of the subjects had become teachers out of convenience rather than by intention; there was a very low level of job satisfaction and commitment to teaching; and traditional teacher motivation factors such as intrinsic rewards, autonomy in the classroom, possibilities for advancement, additional responsibilities, etc. had a decreased role in teacher motivation and satisfaction when compared to other studies in the field. Though the teachers reported moving to Saudi Arabia for the pecuniary benefits, and all reported being satisfied with their salaries, only those teachers who were happy with the intrinsic factors of their work reported being

content with their jobs. To summarize, the first and second rounds of interviews revealed

the following:

1. Money was teachers' primary motivation for coming to Saudi Arabia;

2. Most teachers arrived with the desire to learn Arabic, and eventually lost the motivation;

3. The high level of social distance between the teachers and the Saudi culture prevented any real cultural experiences;

4. The subjects interviewed had "fallen into" the teaching profession out of convenience;

5.   The subjects reported low levels of job satisfaction and commitment to teaching;

6. Unlike traditional teacher motivation research, most of the subjects were more motivated by extrinsic work factors than intrinsic aspects of their jobs;

7. Poor work relationships, both with students and coworkers, contributed to a low level of job satisfaction; and

8. While most of the teachers were motivated by money and content with their salaries, they did not report being content with their jobs and were prepared to leave.

Significance

If these findings are indicative of the broader TESOL environment in Saudi

Arabia, English teachers coming to Saudi Arabia need to be prepared to face a significant

cultural chasm.   If educators are to adapt and apply their skills in places with similar

cultural circumstances, professional teacher organizations and teacher preparation

programs should address employment issues, like cultural distance and interaction with

host cultures.

Another possible implication of the results involves the institutions that hire EFL

teachers in Saudi Arabia and the students in their classes. If it is true that western English

teachers are unlikely to acculturate, learn the Arabic language, or to understand the world their students are living in, it is quite possible that they are not the best candidates to be teaching this student population. Considering the high unemployment rate of Saudi Arabian nationals and the large population of Saudis who have already earned or are currently earning their university degrees in English speaking countries, there is an abundant supply of prospective teachers who could better satisfy the needs of the student population in Saudi Arabia.

This study aimed at uncovering the implications that the cultural environment in Saudi Arabia played on EFL teachers' motivation; however, the findings would have more significance for employers and students than teachers, as the teachers interviewed seemed to have no problem working unhappily in unrewarding work environments when the compensation is plentiful.

Limitations

This study concentrated on teachers' experiences and perceptions of social distance in Saudi Arabia, but it failed to ask a few relevant questions. Though the teachers reported on their cultural and linguistic experiences, they were not asked if the cultural distance they experienced disappointed them.   Additionally, the subjects' cultural experiences were not compared to those of teachers in other EFL contexts. Additionally, teachers surveyed were all native English speakers. To put their experiences into proper perspective, it would be necessary to consider the experiences of other expatriate teachers as well as local Saudi teachers.

While it is the students who will most benefit or suffer from their teachers positive or negative attitudes, no inquiry was done to ascertain the students' perception of

cultural distance between themselves and their teachers and whether or not they viewed it as in issue of concern.

Recommendations for Further Research

The aforementioned limitations of this study inevitably lead to some future research possibilities. This study involved English teachers in Saudi Arabia and the effect their living situations had on their attitudes and motivation to teach. Just as Martha Pennington sought to gauge the motivation and job satisfaction situation for TESOL educators around the world, it would be pertinent to ask if English teachers acculturate in other EFL environments. Likewise, Saudi is not the only country that offers teachers generous salaries; it would be interesting, then, to study the situation of other highly paid teachers. In Saudi Arabia, and in other environments offering similar benefits, it would be worthwhile to ask if the situation makes the variable of teacher motivation irrelevant or if the teachers become less effective, or less dynamic, as a result of their financial motivation.

If we return to the research questions, we can see that the answers to the first three questions could have been predicted by the available literature, that teachers and other expatriates do not acculturate to Saudi Arabian culture.   It was the final question into the effect of social distance on teacher motivation and teacher/student relations that was the most valid and telling, but also the most limited, as it excluded student input. Therefore, it would be valuable to research the students' perceptions to ascertain if the issue of teacher acculturation is a concern for them and to gauge their perceptions of their teachers' efficacy.

Conclusion

I began this research after noticing that English speaking EFL teachers in Saudi Arabia were not learning the language of their students. I wondered what that meant and how it would affect our personal and professional lives. What I found was that I was perhaps asking the wrong questions, that perhaps the more important question at the root of my inquiry was who were the foreigners teaching English in Saudi, and who were their students, and how did they see each other. It occurred to me that the answer to this might have some greater meaning outside the classroom context, especially in an epoch that has borne witness to great strife between Saudi culture and the West. Unfortunately, what I found was that the teachers I studied lived in a completely different world than their students and, as a result of this, they didn't really see them. Further highlighting the extent of this chasm is that it never occurred to me to ask the students how they felt about it.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide – Interview 1

ATTITUDES AND ACCULTURATION: A QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY OF EFL TEACHERS IN SAUDI ARABIA

Variables to Discuss/Consider in reference to L2 Learning Motivation (Rebecca Oxford, "Language Learning Motivation: Pathways to the New Century" pg 186)

1. Attitudes toward the L2 community, the language, the teachers, and the L2 learning environment;
2. Beliefs about self. Beliefs or expectancies about one's own ability to succeed in learning the L2, based on previous experiences and on attitudes about oneself as a learner (including self-confidence, attributions, self-efficacy, and anxiety);
3. Goals. Content, clarity, and perceived value of goals held… and how those goals were established, where goals are defined as meaning motivational orientation/reason;
4. Involvement. Creative, active, persevering participation of the learner in L2 learning process"

Compound Living
1. Isolation from outside culture or connection to others?
2. Barrier to host culture?
3. Activities inside/outside compound.

Questions from Gardner's Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (adapted to Arabic)
1.   My motivation to learn Arabic in order to communicate with Arabic speaking people is:
2.   My attitude toward Arabic speaking people is:
3.   My interest in foreign languages is:
4.   My desire to learn Arabic is:
5.   My attitude toward learning Arabic is:
6.   My attitude toward my Arabic teacher is:
7.   My motivation to learn Arabic for practical purposes (e.g., to get a good job) is:
8.   I worry about speaking Arabic outside of class:
9.   My motivation to learn Arabic is:

Questions from Shumann's Acculturation Model
1. Social Dominance – perception of status within society
2. Assimilation, preservation, adaptation – giving up one's own culture or holding on to own culture.
3. Enclosure – Share same social facilities
4. Cohesiveness – intragroup contacts
5. Size of L2 group
6. Congruence – similarities/differences between cultures
7. Attitudes - +/- attitudes towards Saudis
8. Intended length of residence

Appendix B: Interview Guide – Interview 2

Motivation for:

       Becoming a teacher
       Staying in profession

 Satisfaction with:

       Career choice
       Current job
       Students
       Coworkers
       Management/supervision
       Working conditions

Initial expectations

Relationship with students

Job skills

Autonomy

Responsibilities outside classroom

Opportunities for advancement

Importance of pay

Commitment to teaching

Stress

Job Security