

# Toward Increased Professionalism in Teaching English as a Second or Other Language through Pre-service Trainee Teacher Mentoring in the United Arab Emirates

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## ABSTRACT

For a variety of reasons, both historical and sociological, the feasibility – as well as the very desirability – of mainstream teaching securing the status of a profession (in the sense of established professions such as law, medicine, architecture, and engineering) has long been questioned (e.g., Burbules and Densmore, 1991). If this is the case as regard regular, mainstream education, what then is the situation in relation to the subfield of teaching that is teaching English as a second or other language (TESOL)? Sadly, few if any would likely doubt that the field has so far failed to achieve the status of a recognized profession. There are numerous causes of this failure, though some especially salient reasons – less than stellar public perceptions of the fields of English as a second language/English as a foreign language, employment standards of the private sector, that is, the (in) famous English language teaching industry, the initial training and qualifications of those in the field, and discriminatory practices – will be highlighted in the following discussion. In addition, the second half of this paper draws and reflects on a trainee teacher mentoring scheme at a federally-sponsored institution of higher education in the United Arab Emirates – now sadly discontinued – which the author participated in for 3 years between 2011 and 2015, and which, it is argued, exemplified programs which can go some not inconsiderable way toward combatting a number of the obstacles currently preventing the field of TESOL achieving the status of a legitimate profession.

**Keywords:** TESOL, Teacher Training, Trainee Teacher Mentoring, Professionalisation, Professional Development UAE

## 1. THE PROBLEM OF PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND OR OTHER LANGUAGE (TESOL)

### 1.1. Professionalism in TESOL

It has to be conceded that the terms profession, professional, professionalism, and professionalization, when employed in the context of TESOL – and perhaps, more broadly, even in connection to mainstream

teaching – may strike many (and perhaps even some of those in the field itself) as somewhat odd, if not an oxymoron. Maley (1992), for example, himself a committed and dedicated member of the international applied linguistics/English language teaching (ELT) community, opts to employ scare quotes when using the term profession in relation to his chosen field. Johnston (1997), in the title of a much-cited article, asks whether English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers can be said to have careers, that is, in effect, whether TESOL can be said to be a profession. All three teachers in his qualitative case study of EFL teachers in post-1989 Poland “had had a previous occupation” (p. 267), and there existed a distinct “lack of an overarching EFL career narrative” in their life histories (p. 268). In short, the subjects of Johnston’s (1997) study lacked career stories and thus also lacked professional identities, and thus, arguably, were not members of a profession proper. Crookes (1997), in turn,

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asserts that EFL teachers, along with many factory workers, suffer from “alienation” (p. 67) and work under conditions which serve to preclude the kindling, fostering, and growth of professional standards (p. 68), and further refers to the “deskilling” of the tasks and duties performed by those within the field (p. 68). It is this “reshaping” of teaching and teachers’ responsibilities which leads Warschauer (2000, p. 518) to predict that “educators, including those at the university level, face the threat of having their work “deskilled” and shifted into the service categories.”

Of course, the semantics of the term professionalism are intricate and multifaceted and there may well be as many working definitions as there are researchers in the field of professionalism and professional practice itself. Alatis (1987), for instance, exemplifies the various different ways the terms professional and professionalism can be, and are, used. According to Alatis, TESOL Inc. is a “professional organization,” and a “professional association,” which maintains “professional relations” with other bodies, (p. 9). Not all aspects of professionalism are necessarily tangible, though. Alatis asserts that “growth in quality and degree of professionalism” is not “quantitatively measurable” (p. 9-10). Over time, continues Alatis, the TESOL Newsletter has taken on “a more professional appearance” (p. 10), and the organization strives to have the annual TESOL convention cover “all professional aspects of the field” (p. 11). “TESOL publications are of a high professional and technical quality” (p. 12), and “TESOL provides services to its affiliates in many professional ways” (p. 13). Special interest groups associated with and affiliated to TESOL have “expanded considerably – in functions, in numbers, and in professionalism” (p. 13), and TESOL has given “professional assistance” to such affiliates (p. 14). One “professional service” TESOL partakes in is the “preparation of standards for language teaching programs and professional preparation programs” (p. 14); TESOL has a “Committee on Professional Standards” (p. 14-15), and through award and scholarships TESOL has “demonstrated its professionalism” (p. 15). In short, TESOL has “become more professional” (p. 15), and the annual convention is “highly professional” (p. 19).

Such multifarious uses of the lexemes professional and professionalism do not, unfortunately, tighten up or otherwise disambiguate the definition of the lemma profession, but actually only serve to make it more indistinct and vague. Farmer (2006) alludes to this nebulous notion of professionalism in TESOL when, in a way which is reminiscent of Walter Lippmann remarking that “it is

interesting to note that the general reader of a newspaper has no standing in law if he thinks he is being misled by the news” (Lippmann, 1922, p. 306), he states that “ELT professionals are not normally sued for professional negligence, and that perhaps reflects a vagueness about what they promise to do for their clients” (p. 161). To the extent that the vagueness alluded to by Farmer (2006) indeed exists, it arguably only does so from the point of view of the practitioners, that is, EFL teachers and their institutes; the students (read, “customers”), for their part, appear to be quite clear as to what is expected from their teacher(s), both in and outside of the classroom, or at least that is the case for the 35 European, Asian, and South American students enrolled at private EFL language schools in New Zealand surveyed by Walker (2001). Walker notes (p. 189) that according to the informants; in the study,

the ESOL (English as a second or other language) teacher was expected to be highly qualified, to know her subject, to be well prepared, to be aware of her clients' goals and to continue to develop herself professionally. In the classroom, the teacher was expected to be a skilled practitioner, for example, by getting everyone involved, teaching lively, interesting, relevant lessons and being a good time manager but, above all, by being flexible.

It is interesting to note, however, that in the 10 top satisfaction drivers for EFL clients compiled by Walker (2001), the desire for the teacher to be professional was ranked in sixth place, only one place ahead of the importance of a conveniently-located center. It is also worth pondering the fact that, in their study of 79 students undertaking initial teacher training at the University of Sydney, Australia – a significant percentage of which were studying TESOL – Manuel and Hughes (2006) found that out of the 17 factors ascertained by the researchers, professional status was the sixth most frequently cited factor influencing the decision to teach on the part of the trainees, which while being one place above financial remuneration was also simultaneously two places below “lifestyle.” Similarly, Kassabgy et al. (2001) found in their study of 107 experienced EFL teachers in Egypt and Hawai'i that having “a profession that is prestigious” was the second of the five least important considerations relevant to those surveyed.

## 1.2. Professionals in TESOL

Returning to the semantics of professionalism, one useful definition of the term – or at least of one aspect of the term – in the context of teaching not touched on by Alatis (1987) in his discussion of the growth and development

of professionalism on the part of TESOL Inc. is that of perception. Coldron and Smith (1999. p. 712), for example, argue that “Being a teacher is a matter of being seen as a teacher by himself or herself and by others; it is a matter of acquiring and then redefining an identity that is socially legitimated” (emphasis mine). To the extent that this gloss is valid, those working within TESOL are certainly not teachers, and thus, not professionals, for TESOL practitioners, in short, have not always necessarily been held in the highest regard by the public at large. At least part of the reason for this less than ideal perception on the part of the public may well be the somewhat less than ideal coverage that EFL teachers have received in popular publications, and which – it must be stated – they have received for quite some time. Indeed, such coverage goes back to at least 1933, when George Orwell’s autobiographical reportage down and out in Paris and London was first published. In this work, Orwell relates his time as a poverty-stricken English tutor-cum-plongeur (dishwasher) residing in the slums of Paris and leading a parasitic-like existence on the fringes of society. A “man who has gone even a week on bread and margarine,” writes Orwell from bitter experience, “is not a man any longer,” but rather merely “a belly with a few accessory organs.” More contemporarily, as a reporter on leave from Thailand, Amit Gilboa inadvertently stumbled on, and then later revisited to covertly research and document, a group of EFL teachers in Cambodia engaged in what Lorimer and Schulte (2012. p. 32) would doubtless refer to as “English-teaching tourism” and who in Clayton’s (1990) terms would surely constitute “unreal teachers.” The secondary title of Gilboa’s (1998) book Off the rails in Phnom Penh – namely, Into the dark heart of guns, girls, and ganja – will make the primary themes of this ethnographic description (and thus the EFL teachers’ activities, interests, and lifestyles) more than apparent.

Similarly, readers of Chang’s (2008) account of the trials and tribulations of girls from villages in the People’s Republic of China who, as a result of the liberalization of the country’s economy and its subsequent rapid and massive industrialization, relocated from the countryside to cities to work in the country’s burgeoning manufacturing/assembly sector, will encounter descriptions of private sector EFL which are far from superlative<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, the whole of

1 It is not just the manufacturing/assembly sector in China that has flourished since the implementation of the Open Door Policy; the EFL industry has mushroomed in the country, too. Indeed, in 2003 there were an estimated 3000 privately-operated English language training centres in the city of Shanghai alone (Qiang and Wolff, 2003). Unfortunately, it is often the case that in many of such EFL outlets, “students

chapter 9 (“Assembly-line English”) of her book, *Factory Girls*, is devoted to private English language training centers. At one such center, students it seems were encouraged to shave their heads to demonstrate their cult-like commitment to the task at hand, and other centers were in fact thinly disguised pyramid schemes whereby “English teachers” had to initially purchase textbooks and other materials from their employer and then, in turn, sell them on to students.

In addition to such popular accounts, we need only consider the nomenclatures, particularly those of a metaphorical bent, employed in relation to the EFL teacher, and how these differ from those typically used to refer to their typical mainstream counterpart. For while the latter has variously been described as a “conduit”, “nurturer”, “competitor”, “manufacturer,” “scaffolder,” “tool-provider,” “structure-giver,” “style-adjuster,” “coach,” “doctor,” “repeater,” “entertainer,” “delegator,” “lover or spouse,” “mind-and-behavior controller,” “abdicator,” even as a “hanging judge” (Oxford et al., 1998), a “decision maker” (Freeman, 1996), a keeper of “a fortress besieged from within and from without” (Elbaz, 1981), “a dilemma manager” and “broker of contradictory interests” (Lampert, 1985), and even, somewhat esoterically, a “Dostoevskian novelist” (Lensmire, 1997), and a “rain dancer” (Hole, 1998), the EFL teacher, on the other hand, has been described as a “postmodern paladin” (Johnston, 1999), comparable to a medieval knight errant, a predatory and exploitative restless traveller (p. 259), and “teacher fodder” (Maley, 1992. p. 98).

Perceptions and descriptions of those engaged in the private English as a second language (ESL)/EFL sector, which as noted by Nayar (1997. p. 26; fn.13; citing figures from Hanson, 1995) “is worth £5 billion a year to Great Britain alone”<sup>2</sup> and which is just one Canadian city, Vancouver, generates some 760 million Canadian dollars of annual revenue (Breshears, 2004), are also somewhat less than glowing. In their book, *Tokyo: City on the edge*, for example, Crowell and Forman Morimura (2002) note that “Until about the mid-80s, any native speaker of English, provided he or she conformed to the stereotype image of a native speaker, i.e., not of Asian descent, could waltz into town, pick up a teaching job and quickly be earning \$100 an hour.” According to the authors, there has been a recent, though modest, improvement in standards. “Now, however, those

are given as language teachers anyone who happens to want to “experience” a year in China” (Weissmann, 1991. p.49).

2 The ESL/EFL sector is also dovetailed together with the resulting (multi-billion dollar) textbook industry (Mahboob, 2011).

wishing to teach English need some sort of qualification, if only a bachelor's degree" (p. 14). Duff and Uchida (1997) also refer to EFL teachers at private schools in Japan, noting that there appear to be more than a few "whose primary motivation is an attractive salary and an exotic cultural experience" (p. 457)<sup>3</sup>.

This "pent-up demand for English in places such as Eastern Europe, China, and Vietnam" writes Swales (1997), has led to "enterprises dangerously close to language trafficking" (p. 377). Perhaps, then, "language trafficker" can be added to the list of terms used to refer to EFL teachers in the private ELT sector. Arguably capping it all; however, Breshears (2004) recounts how, after revealing at a conference she was attending that she worked within the private ELT sector, she was, albeit light-heartedly and/or ironically, referred to as "the lowest of the low." This latter label may be a tad excessive, even if meant in jest, though it is undeniable that recruitment standards in the private sector can certainly be quite low. One of the 23 EFL teachers in South-East Asia studied by Mullock (2009), for example, landed their teaching post in Thailand after being approached on the street by a representative of a local language school. To put it mildly, then, TESOL has not always been cast in the best light, either in popular accounts or through monikers with contemporary currency. The field and its practitioners have not only been disparaged in popular publications, however. On the contrary, various aspects of the field have increasingly been criticized in academic studies, too.

### 1.3. Pre-service Training within TESOL

One such aspect to have received critical academic attention is that of pre-service TESOL training courses (e.g., Johnson, 1994; Warford and Reeves, 2003), including the course's practicum, if such a component exists (e.g., Brinton and Holten, 1989), and lesson observations and teaching mentors (e.g., Freeman, 1982). Watt and Taplin (1997) also criticize many such courses and express outright indignation at the existence of 1-week TESOL training courses, stating that for such "programs to be part of the professionalization of the field they need to have academic and professional standards for application and entry that beyond merely being able to pay the tuition. No other profession would

tolerate indiscriminate entry; nor would its clients" (p. 72). Ferguson and Donno (2003) also question the effectiveness and appropriateness of month-long pre-service TESOL certification programs, and, interestingly, cite figures which suggest that only around 10% of CELTA graduates progress to the DELTA, a distinct lack of career progression which would surely be all but unheard of in other professions<sup>4</sup>. "One wonders also whether the very shortness of the initial EFL teacher training may play an unhelpful role in constructing a public image of TESOL as a craft which is easy to enter and to pursue, provided one is a native speaker and has the right kind of personality," state Ferguson and Donno (p. 28).

Thomson (2004) goes somewhat further and explicitly criticizes the quality (or rather, the lack thereof) of many TESOL certification courses in Canada, a country more typically renowned for its progressive, liberal education system and high educational standards and achievements. Echoing Watt and Taplin (1997) he remarks, drily, that "admission requirements for any program should go beyond the ability to pay tuition" (p. 45), and reports damningly that some 6 of the 10 courses he examined "either do not specify the level of training held by instructors, or they unashamedly acknowledge their staff's lack of TESL-specific training beyond the programs TESL certificate" (p. 50). "It is clear from the examination of these 10 TESL "certificate" programs that the requirement of substantial theoretical and applied linguistics content is rarely met" (p. 49). Govardhan et al. (1999) also lament how many such pre-service TESOL training courses in the USA appear to be "padded" with modules of, at the very best, only tangential relevance to education, let alone ESL/EFL, such as, to cite an example from one course examined by the researchers, women as Transformational Leaders (p. 120). Govardhan et al. argue that many courses they surveyed suffer from "an overinfusion [sic] of elements from linguistic theory," "an overemphasis on theoretical aspects of second language acquisition," "a somewhat insular and narrow perception of ESL and TESL," and "a fragmented perception of methodology as a collection or battery of various discrete methods" (p. 122). "What is required," argue Govardhan et al. (p. 123),

<sup>3</sup> Of course, not all 'backpacker teachers' remain as 'tourist teachers' or drop out of casual TESOL altogether. Joint developer of the very first Master's degree in the teaching of English for specific purposes (ESP), Professor Emeritus John Swales recounts (Swales, 1993. p. 283) how for some five years he was a "vagrant in Europe and around the Mediterranean, supported by various accumulations of small-time ESL jobs."

<sup>4</sup> The Cambridge CELTA – the Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults – and the Cambridge DELTA – the Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults – are pre-service and in-service TESL/TEFL teacher training certificates, respectively. Both are certified by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate and accredited to numerous providers in various countries.

is not just instruction in the various, ritualized, name-brand methods; rather, what novice teachers need is the ability to assess the propriety, feasibility, applicability, and practicality of any one or all methods against a certain set of political, sociocultural, and pedagogic situations that they are going to be working in.

Similarly, in their study of EFL/ESL teachers on an intensive English program in the western United States, Crookes and Arakaki (1999) report that their informants “complained readily that their graduate teacher education programs were heavy on theory and light on techniques” (p. 17). However, when classroom techniques are studied there can nevertheless also exist some inadequacies in the methods covered. Grosse (1991), for example, highlights the shortcomings of many methods components of pre-service TESOL courses, drawing attention to the fact that “excessive attention is devoted to coverage of individual methods that are rarely used, such as the Silent Way and Suggestopedia” (p. 43). “An absence of readings from (and training within) the broader field of education” continues Grosse, “tends to marginalize our profession and narrow our viewpoint. We need to promote knowledge of and integration into the educational mainstream” (p. 43). Richards and Crookes (1988) also critique the taught component of many pre-service TESOL courses, pointing out, arguably somewhat bizarrely, that, at least for teachers surveyed in Japan, Chomskyan generative transformational grammar was covered by many in their course. More positively, the authors remark, the “stringent requirements for exemption from the practicum” they encountered in their research, “perhaps reflects the increasing professionalization of the field of TESOL” (p. 13), though they do also note that some practicum practices, such as “unsupervised field experiences” (p. 23), are obviously of questionable benefit.

#### **1.4. TESOL Versus “the Professions”**

In a personal reflection on the trends and developments in TESOL in the 30 years immediately before the publication of his article, Richards (2002. p. 29; citing Freeman, 1982) writes that “Training assumes that teaching is a finite skill, one which can be acquired and mastered”, while, on the other hand, Richards notes that “development assumes that teaching is a constantly evolving process of growth and change.” It would seem that on both counts – training and development – many pre-service TESOL courses fall somewhat short of the mark. None of this should come as any surprise, of course. After all, none other than former TESOL president David Nunan – in his president’s message, no less – stated that the field of TESOL had “a weak disciplinary basis and low

standards of practice and certification” (cited in Lorimer and Schulte, 2012. p. 31). TESOL thus arguably has some way to go before being able to achieve the status of, say, architecture, engineering, or the practice of law or medicine.

Of course, there are many significant differences between traditional, established professions such as architecture, engineering, law, and medicine, on the one hand, and TESOL on the other, not least the fact that as noted by Oxford et al. (1998. p. 45), the “common sense approach holds that teachers, unlike engineers, doctors, lawyers and the majority of other professionals, cannot draw readily on either a clear set of theoretical principles or an accepted corpus of scientific research with which to solve the concrete problems of their vocation” (Mullock, 2006). Nevertheless, hopelessly inadequate pre-service courses cannot assist the field of TESOL in its endeavor to achieve the status of a profession. In addition, we also have to recognize that, as noted by Richards (2002), “Due to [the] lack of consensus as to the theoretical basis for language teaching, the kind of professional preparation teachers may receive varies considerably from country to country or even from institution to institution within a country, as a comparison of MA TESOL degrees in Canada and the United States reveals” (p. 28). Nevertheless, as even the cursory review of the relevant literature above rapidly demonstrates, pre-service TESOL courses appear to suffer from numerous shortcomings, most if not all of which must surely detract from the field being perceived as – and ultimately achieving – the status of a legitimate profession.

#### **1.5. Marginalization of TESOL and TESOLers**

With non-professional status comes marginalization. Varghese et al. (2005) refer to the “disempowered and marginalized profession” that is language teaching (p. 37), and state that “many teachers experience professional and even social marginalization both in schools and outside them” (p. 23). This marginalization is often reflected in the somewhat poor working conditions experienced by many in the field. Golembek (1998. p. 453) gives an example of such less than ideal conditions:

Simply walking into Jenny’s (a participant in the study’s) classroom made it clear that she had to work hard to overcome the negative physical environment. Students were seated in a semicircle in a large room strewn with soda cans and newspapers from previous students. Jenny had her papers arranged on a long table in front of the blackboard. In front of the table was an overhead projector and a desk at which she sometimes sat. The blackboard, table, and overhead served as the sphere in

which Jenny did her teacher-fronted activities, such as previewing the class, demonstrating the articulations of sounds, and presenting homework [...] the dominant voice that Jenny had to compete with was that of the heater, which blew without any regular volume or rhythm.

Indeed, the very location of ESL/EFL practitioners' workspaces can also often have a very real marginalizing effect. In their study of four schools in Ontario, Canada, for example, Bascia and Jacka (2001) note (p. 340) that in two of the schools they visited ESL classes were conducted in portable cabins a distance away from main teaching buildings, a point leading the two researchers to refer to what they term the "spatial reinforcement of ESL's low status." Crookes and Arakaki (1999) also note how, although originally setting out to solely investigate sources of teaching ideas exploited by ESL teachers in the western United States, their research in fact ultimately compelled the two researchers "to look at how difficult working conditions affect the professional behavior of teachers" (p. 15).

In addition, the marginalization of ESL/EFL teachers is not necessarily linked in any simple fashion to notions of financial reward. Johnston (1999), for example, points out that even though in some contexts (such as Japan, and to an even greater extent, the Arabian Gulf) expatriate EFL teachers often enjoy highly lucrative remuneration as part of attractive employment packages, "their very identity as foreigners renders them marginal in social and often professional terms" (p. 257) (Simon-Maeda, 2004, and Neilsen, 2011, and, for a discussion of how expatriate EFL teachers can come to be mentally and physically isolated, Alptekin and Alptekin, 1984). Marginalization is not limited to expatriate teachers, however. Breshears (2004) who works on "the periphery of an already marginalized profession" (p. 24), that is, in the private ELT sector in Vancouver, has no qualms with being labeled as marginalized, if not made something of a pariah. This is since, remarks Breshears (p. 24), TESOL simply "lacks the social standing granted to many other professions." For Auerbach (1991), working within a critical pedagogy-oriented framework, marginalization of ESL instructors, at least in the USA, is simply a "fact of life" (p. 1). Furthermore, according to Auerbach, this marginalization is far from accidental; rather, marginalizing ESL instructors serves, in turn, to marginalize the students, whose "marginalization is necessary to keep the system functioning as it does" (p. 2).

### **1.6. TEMT (Teaching English as a Mother Tongue)**

One does not need to be a radical, liberationist pedagogue such as Auerbach to see that a further element which is

necessary to keep the TESOL system functioning is that of the "native speaker," a controversial term (Kabel, 2009; Paikday, 1985; Rampton, 1990) and increasingly nebulous concept (Brutt-Griffler and Samimy, 2001; Leung et al., 1997; Nero, 1997) which unfortunately gives rise to discriminatory practices not becoming of an educational enterprise purportedly aspiring to become a recognized and respected – and thus equitable – profession. Indeed, it could be argued that discriminatory practices are rife in the field of TESOL. In a study of 77 online advertisements for ELT posts (42 in East Asia and 35 in the Middle East), for example, Mahboob (2013) reports (p. 76) that two posts alluded to the desired race of applicants ("white" and "Caucasian") and (p. 79) 88% of the advertisements harbored some discriminatory element. As noted in an earlier study conducted by Mahboob, "if ELT wants to develop into a profession rather than remaining a largely unlegislated industry, then it should aim to eradicate all forms of discrimination" (Mahboob, 2009. p. 38).

One should not make the mistake of assuming that such blatant discrimination is peculiar to the Far, or the Middle, East. For while it may be true that charity begins at home, so too, it seems, does discrimination. In their survey of 90 ELT institutions in the UK (universities and other institutions of higher education [HE], institutions of further education, British Council-accredited private language schools), for example, Clark and Paran (2007) relate that (p. 422) more than 70% of respondents considered native speaker status to be either moderately or very important, and further, employers not only "think being an NES [native English speaker] is important, but they also make hiring decisions based on it." Non-native English-speaking (NNES) teachers of English are thus arguably marginalized within what is already a marginalized field (p. 408), a regrettable situation which is by no means trivial. Indeed, as noted by Clark and Paran (p. 412), "discrimination in employment in ELT, that is, against NNES teachers, could have political and economic consequences, as well as raising questions about the academic integrity of UK institutions." Add to this the fact that TESOL is quite literally riddled with (largely unexamined) ageist practices (Templer, 2003) and one perhaps sees at least part of the reason why the field cannot yet boast of being a fully-fledged profession.

However, there has of late been something of a revival of calls for the professionalization of TESOL, both from teacher-researchers (e.g., Brumfit and Coleman, 1995; Murray, 1992) and from the perspective of graduate students (e.g., Lorimer and Schulte, 2011). In addition, there have been calls for professional standards in teacher-research in

the field of TESOL (e.g., Nunan, 1997). The second part of this paper discusses an initiative in which the present writer was previously involved for 3 years, namely, a trainee teacher mentoring program which arguably went some way toward furthering the professionalization of pre-service TESOL training for female neophyte teachers in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and, as such, thereby exemplified precisely the sort of program which can contribute to the professionalization of TESOL on a greater regional or even global scale.

## 2. A UNIVERSITY-BASED TRAINEE TEACHER MENTORING PROGRAM IN THE UAE

### 2.1. The Rapid Development of the UAE

It is arguably the case that one cannot fully appreciate the possibly unique nature, and thus the potential impact, of the trainee teacher mentoring scheme at an institution of HE in the UAE without first knowing something of the cultural and educational milieu in which the training program takes place. Thus, before outlining the mentoring scheme in question, we will first briefly give an overview of the UAE, which in short is a story of rapid development.

"[A]s much change has taken place in a space of 25–30 years," writes Dyck (2010. p. 11) of the UAE, "as would have happened over a hundred years in many other parts of the world." Krane (2010. p. 34) concurs, remarking that the UAE has been driven "through one of the fastest and most thorough modernizations in history." Thesiger (1959/2007. p. 5), too, notes that, "Here (in Abu Dhabi and Dubai), as elsewhere in Arabia, the changes which occurred in the space of a decade or two were as great as those which occurred in Britain between the early Middle Ages and the present day." Similarly, Henderson (1988. p. 15) refers to the development of the UAE as "startling and remarkable." Revenue from oil sales, or "rent," in economic terms, has allowed Abu Dhabi, the capital city of the UAE, to transmogrify itself from a dusty, poverty-stricken fishing village whose inhabitants previously lived in abysmal conditions of poverty to a modern buzzing metropolis described as the "world's richest city" (Tatchell, 2009)<sup>5</sup>. It is arguably the case; however, that nowhere is this rapid development more transformational – and tangible – than in the sphere of education. Indeed, it behoves us to remember that, although Abu Dhabi is now host to global household name institutions of HE such as the prestigious Paris Sorbonne University, which opened a

<sup>5</sup> The UAE has the third largest proven oil reserves in the world, trailing only Saudi Arabia and Iraq, and also holds the fourth largest reserves of natural gas (Shihab, 2001).

"satellite campus" in 2006, and the renowned New York University, which followed suit in 2010, quite incredibly, the city did not have electricity or telephones till 1967 (Tatchell, 2009).

### 2.2. The Rapid Development of Education in the UAE

Furthermore, on a federal scale, while there was a total of 74 government schools and not a single HE institution when Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al Nahyan founded the UAE as a federal constitution in 1971, there are now more than 750 government schools in the country (Clarke, 2006), and some 95 institutions of HE (Saqr et al., 2014). Enrolment at these institutions has also undergone exponential growth. Syed (2003) notes that between 1985 and 1996 the number of students at all levels of education in the UAE soared, climbing by some 67.5%, with the number of schools increasing by 62% in the same period. Within HE, enrolment grew from 28,000 in the academic year 1999/2000 to nearly 35,000 in 2005/2006 (Ridge and Farah, 2012). The growth in student enrolment at the location of the trainee teacher mentoring program to be discussed (henceforth, the case institution), affords an instructive insight – a snapshot if you will – into the development of HE in the whole country. For the number of students at the case institution increased from 502 in the academic year of 1977/1978 to some 12,279 in 2010/2011, of which 3082 students were male and 9197 female, a gender ratio which reflects national trends (Abdulla and Ridge, 2011; Ridge, 2009). However, this (possibly unprecedented) rapid pace of development in the UAE "also produced a violent acceleration in cultural change" (Hokal and Shaw, 1999. p. 173). Indeed, the development of the country has been so rapid and transformational that, according to at least one researcher, the UAE has had to invent "traditions" to "support a sense of cultural continuity and conservatism in a society threatened by its own wealth and the fast pace of change" (Khalaf, 2000. p. 259). One such invented "tradition" according to Khalaf (2000) is that of camel racing, which Khalaf asserts is an "invented traditional sport" (p. 244) and a "new cultural tradition" (p. 246). Such observations are by no means new. Fellman (1973), for example, refers to the putative identity crisis suffered by many countries in the Arabian Gulf region, namely, those of "Bedouin heritage and lineage" (p. 244).

### 2.3. Demographic Imbalances in the UAE

Another ramification of the rapid development of the UAE, and one particularly germane to education in the country, is that of the population demographic imbalance. For the breakneck development of the UAE, exemplified perhaps by the development of the education sector, necessitated

an influx of foreign labor. Indeed, Al-Khouri (2012) notes that there are vastly more expatriate workers in the UAE than there are nationals, and though this is a common situation in the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) – non-nationals outnumber nationals in four of the six countries that make up the GCC – the situation is somewhat more acute in the UAE, where, according to the 2010 census (Al-Khouri, 2012), non-nationals make up some 88% of the populace. This skewed population demographic has had a direct impact on the pedagogical context of the country. In his overview of the challenges faced by ESL/EFL teachers in the Arabian Gulf, for example, Syed (2003. p. 339) notes that a “[r]eliance on foreign teachers” (who form the overwhelming majority of teachers, instructors, professors, and other educators in the country) has “limited the necessary work of training and developing local teachers.” Clarke (2006. p. 225), too, refers to “an influx of expatriate teachers,” in response to which (p. 225–226) “the UAE government has promoted a policy of Emiratization, or nationalization of the workforce.” The mentoring program in which the current author previously participated for past 3 years arguably goes some not inconsiderable way toward countering the limitation alluded to by Syed (2003), as well as contributing toward the policy of the desired eventual indigenization of the workforce espoused by the government.

#### **2.4. The Trainee Teacher Mentoring Scheme**

The mentoring scheme at the case institution, a gender-segregated, representative Arabian Gulf tertiary institution in the city of Al Ain, in the emirate of Abu Dhabi, began in 2007, and more than 250 final-year students of applied linguistics successfully completed this final-year module before the program was drawn to a close. Administered by the Department of Linguistics, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, the 11/12-week TESOL mentoring program (which took place within a 17-week semester) on the foundation program prepared female students of applied linguistics to work as English teachers in secondary schools and adult education settings. Over the course of the semester, participating students progressed from observing their mentor/supervisor, to, after 3 or 4 weeks of observations, conducting 10- or 15-min teaching activities (micro-teaching), to, by the end of the teaching component of the semester, themselves teaching a full 50-min lesson. The trainees were required to meet their mentor before each teaching session to go through their plan, aims, and objectives, and subsequent to each session had to again meet their mentor to discuss, evaluate, and reflect on their teaching. In addition, the mentor formally evaluated two teaching sessions, one of which had to be the final, 50-min lesson, and, for their part, trainees were required, as an assignment for this exit

module, to prepare a reflective essay on their experience for the faculty professor under whose auspices the teaching practicum program ran (who also attended the final teaching session and who also coevaluated the trainees’ performance).

#### **2.5. Benefits to Trainees and Trainers**

With most of the participating students expressing a desire to become a teacher on graduation, and with the overwhelming majority being national citizens<sup>6</sup>, such a scheme had potential benefits for the educational system of the UAE, for it is generally acknowledged that the school system is somewhat less than optimal in the Arab World, i.e., in the Middle East and North Africa region (Heyneman, 1997), and that ESL/EFL programs in this part of the world are typically below par (Fareh, 2010). As noted by Shaw et al. (1995. p. 10), “despite adequate funding and resources, the effectiveness of the state schools remains disturbingly low.” Hokal and Shaw (1999. p. 173) remark that in schools in the UAE “drop-out, repetition of years, and underachievement are common.” Add to this the fact that English is the acrolectal lingua franca of the UAE (Boyle, 2011; see also Findlow, 2006), and the need for an extended English-medium practicum rapidly becomes apparent. Such mentoring programs also have vital importance for the trainees. Manuel and Hughes (2006. p. 16), for example, note that “Research has clearly demonstrated that new teachers who do not experience adequate induction into the profession are 3 times more likely to resign within the first 3 years of employment compared to those who do experience effective induction.” In addition, mentoring schemes are also of value to the trainees’ supervisors. Moon (1994), in her study of a trainee teacher mentorship scheme in Bhutan, stresses the value of mentoring to the mentors themselves, noting (p. 347) that a mentoring role “offers enormous potential for professional growth” and affords the mentor “a channel for reflection and professional dialogue which may otherwise be missing from the careers of many teachers.” Moon (p. 351) further notes that

For teachers who have spent years teaching the same curriculum, teaching may have become routine and unproblematic [...] However, in the process of working with trainees, [mentors] may be forced to focus on aspects of everyday practice which are clearly problematic for the trainees. This may cause the [mentors] to look at practice in a new light.

<sup>6</sup> As with other federal tertiary institutions in the UAE, 95% of the students at the case institution are Emirati nationals. This student demographic is quite different from that of Sperrazza (2012) who, at a private US university in the UAE, has more cosmopolitan classes.

This is important since although mentoring a trainee teacher counted toward a language instructor's professional development (and thus their annual performance appraisal), mentors ultimately took part on a purely voluntary basis, were thus unpaid, and not granted "release" time from other duties, responsibilities, or activities. Nevertheless, in the opinion of the current writer the mentoring program boasted of a vast array of benefits, not least the fact that the question posed by Hinchman and Oyler (2000. p. 500) – namely, "How do you teach someone to teach someone else?" – Was highlighted and made relevant on a daily basis. Indeed, it was decided by the present writer when first becoming involved with the program to adopt a "double-loop" approach to second language teacher education, as advocated by Woodward (1991; cited in Crookes and Lehner, 1998). Simply put, this approach advises that trainers instruct their charges precisely the same way it is desired for the trainees themselves to teach their very own students in the future. In addition, from a personal perspective, involvement in the mentoring program, as alluded to by Moon (1994) above, given the current writer's teaching a whole new lease of life, and prevented ESL/EFL becoming what Abbott (1987. p. 47) refers to as "TENOR", that is, "Teaching of English for No Obvious Reason," and what Rogers (1982. p. 15) terms "EFNPP", namely, "English For No Particular Purpose."

As for the mentoring program itself, it also boasted of numerous inherent positive elements and features. In her survey of trainee ESL/EFL teachers who had just completed their final teaching practice in the UK, for example, Kennedy (1993) notes (p. 164) that one arguable shortcoming of their pre-service training was its relative failure to foster in the trainees the ability and desire to engage in self-evaluation and critical reflection. To tackle this, Kennedy suggests that what may be required is a shift of focus from the trainee (the one typically observed) to the supervisor (the typical observer). Interestingly, 100% of the 40 trainee teachers surveyed by Kennedy responded in the affirmative to the question as to whether they would welcome the opportunity to see their supervisor teach. In the teaching practicum at the case institution, the trainees observed an academic writing instructor's lessons (the present writer taught on the academic writing strand) for 4 h a week, as well as the lessons of an integrated skills (reading, listening, and speaking) teacher (also totaling 4 h a week of tuition), thus benefitting from some 8 combined hours a week of classroom observation of their two mentors.

In addition, it is, arguably, also important for trainee teachers, especially in the context of the Arabian Gulf, to obtain their pre-service training in the "target culture" and thus under

"target culture conditions," which for prospective female Emirati national teachers is the UAE and teaching female students, respectively. This is of some importance since as Edge (1996) has taken great pains to stress, by attempting to be "professional teachers," ironically, many (well-meaning) ESL/EFL practitioners may have actually inadvertently introduced "disruptive values [...] into other societies under the guise of methodology" (p. 17). Thus, continues Edge,

the TESOL professional abroad who is deliberately moving away from a teacher-centered style of teaching is seen as threatening the position of colleagues in that country for whom the centrality of the teacher is the culturally sanctioned basis of their teaching. The TESOL professional is introducing a lack of proper respect for teachers and, by extension, for elders in general. The TESOL professional who insists on peer correction to foster student autonomy is, from another perspective, demonstrating a lazy and self-indulgent lack of real interest in whether students' work is correct or not.

Similarly, in her study of the construction of professional identity by female EFL teachers in Japan, Simon-Maeda (2004) argues (p. 406) that "teacher preparation programs must consider actual work contexts situated within broader sociopolitical circumstances." Further, in his study of B.Ed. student teachers at an institution of HE in the UAE, Ibrahim (2013. p. 44) notes that "Student teachers should be viewed as emerging professionals and treated as such. They should be allowed to experiment and try new ideas, even if they make mistakes. If student teachers are provided with all of the solutions, they will never learn to solve problems on their own." The pre-service trainee ESL/EFL teacher mentoring program at the case institution benefitted female Emirati would-be teachers by affording them the opportunity to observe, over an extended period of time, two experienced language instructors teach undergraduate female Emirati students in the UAE (Maed's "actual work context") and then for them to teach the students themselves with the support and guidance of their supervisors, who, as recommended by Ibrahim (2013) allows them to experiment, make mistakes, and thus learn to solve classroom-based problems.

## 2.6. Challenges Faced by Mentoring Schemes in the UAE: Pedagogy and Culture

There were of course challenges, however, not least the fact that, most obviously, the states of the Arabian Gulf can often be somewhat tricky places for foreign men, particularly foreign, non-Muslim men unversed in the ways of Islamic countries, to teach and work, especially with

women, what with religious and cultural sensitivities regarding the interaction of unrelated males and females (Hudson, 2011), though female teacher trainers can often experience difficulties, too (Martin, 2003; Hudson, 2012). A further challenge is, as noted by Clarke (2006), student teachers are, through such training, often exposed to “progressive,” “student-centered” teaching methods which may well be at odds with the more “traditional,” “teacher-centered” lessons they experienced at first hand when themselves students both at school and at university. As noted, for example, by Wilkins (2010, p. 395):

Several of the earliest cohorts at Dubai Polytechnic (now the University of Dubai) suffered at least 50% dropout and failure rates. Students who were used to didactic, teacher-centered secondary school education found it difficult to adjust to the student-centered and independent learning that was expected by the British system of HE.

A further challenge can be motivating Emirati student teachers to want to study and work. After all, as noted by Martin (2003, p. 50), the

phenomenal wealth of the nation, bubbling unbidden out of the desert sands, is a gift which requires no labor or sacrifice on the part of the citizens. For what reason should they work, if not for daily support? An expatriate population takes care of that by managing civil offices, the police force, prisons, schools, hospitals, and all public services and commercial enterprises.

It is for this reason that students who opted to partake in the trainee teacher program deserve special recognition, and professional support and guidance. Additional support is also required for the English language medium of any such mentoring programs. In their study of 100 female Emirati B.Ed. students, for example, Saqr et al. (2014) reported (p. 8) that 44% of their informants strongly agreed that English medium instruction was a challenge. If studying in a foreign language is a challenge, what they must be learning to teach a foreign language in said foreign language?

Another challenge, one which has sparked no small debate in the relevant literature, is whether it is possible, even in principle, to kindle and foster a “Western” teaching philosophy with female trainee teachers in the UAE. For example, controversially, and perhaps even somewhat provocatively, some (e.g., Richardson, 2004) argue that despite (or perhaps, because of) the breakneck development such has occurred in

the UAE, the fundamental underlying aspects of culture in the country – what Richardson (2004) terms “Arabic-Islamic culture” – are wholly incompatible with teacher training, especially though not exclusively in regards to personal reflection and professional reflective practices. Richardson (2004) essentially contends that, since Emirati women don *abayas* (black, cloak-like garments, meant to hide the female form) and *sheylas* (head scarves), are driven to and from college by male relatives in vehicles with opaque windows, meet few men outside of the family group, and have their movements restricted (Richardson states for example that (p. 432) many Emirati females are “prohibited from going shopping, traveling to the next city and overseas without suitable chaperones”), and are generally shielded from public display, such Western-styled and Western-oriented pedagogical practices will invariably fail. This is as, asserts Richardson (2004, p. 432), “the knowledge base and understanding of the world to which the young [Emirati] women revert when attempting to construct personal meaning about new situations is very different from their western counterparts,” that is, their mentors, supervisors, and trainers.

More controversially, perhaps, Richardson (p. 433) states that the “value of education for girls appears to be to achieve a better marriage to enhance the family and to educate the next generation, rather than for individual job prospects.” In addition, the “male-dominated society” that is the UAE, continues Richardson (p. 433) “still resists the idea of women thinking for themselves” and, for their part, “Emirati women students still appear to value domination by men” (p. 434). Richardson (p. 435) goes on to conclude that

Although the notion of our trainee teachers acting as “change agents” is explicit in the new B.Ed. curriculum, it would contradict their own view of their “place” in the school hierarchy. They are likely to be treated as “technicians-in-training” rather than a developing professional and are unlikely to openly question the opinions of authority, even if they were examining their own problem-solving in the classroom and reflecting on its personal meaning.

In sum, writes Richardson (p. 435) “it is not unreasonable to suggest that the Arab, Islamic beliefs and values of the society do not readily lend themselves to the transfer of western teacher education concepts and models.”

Based on personal experience of training young, female Emirati trainee teachers, the present writer, following Clarke and Otaky (2006), would have to disagree with the conclusions

arrived at by Richardson (2004). This is not to say, however, that the premises of her argument are necessarily erroneous. On the contrary, regarding Richardson's assertion relating to the value of education of Emirati girls, for example, many observers – some of whom are vastly more sympathetic toward the “plight” of young Emirati ladies and considerably more positive about their futures – have made similar if not identical comments. In her anthropological study of Emirati families and generational change, for example, Crabtree (2007. p. 577) has stated that “although tertiary education for young Emirati females is a flourishing business, the motivation to study at this level remains somewhat ambiguous to Western academics working in this country.” “[A]cademic studies,” continues Ashencaen Crabtree,

do not appear to be undertaken for the love of learning solely, but rather that families view education at this level as providing the final polish to a young girl’s life, that marks her out as being successfully poised on the brink of adult life, commensurate with Islamic and cultural expectations of womanhood.

In addition, it may well be the case that for many female nationals, undertaking HE “allays the boredom of long days that would otherwise be spent at home” (Crabtree, 2007. p. 581). Martin (2003. p. 52), in a reflection on her time teaching at a university in the UAE, agrees, asserting that university life offers to young Emirati women a “world that [is] far more stimulating than taking care of younger siblings.” It would be a mistake to dismiss such a statement out of hand. In their study of generational change between mothers and daughters in the UAE, for example, Schvaneveldt et al. (2005) note (p. 83) that the former had a mean average of 7.3 children. Green and Smith (2006. p. 268) also note that the grandmothers they studied in their examination of changes of family processes in the UAE had a mean average of 7.2 children, and mothers an average of 8.7 offspring. Somewhat more strikingly, Ridge (2009. p. 3) relates how in a previous study in the less affluent northern emirate of Ras Al Khaimah, some of her Emirati informants lived with up to 23 siblings. HE, then, may well indeed provide relief from caring for younger siblings, and, for that matter, older relatives (Emiratis tend to live as extended families), rather than an academic and intellectual challenge *per se*. Statistics would certainly appear to lend some weight to such an interpretation. For, although women indeed constitute the vast majority of students in tertiary education, they form but a small minority of the workforce, totaling an approximate 28% of nationals employed in the UAE (Aswad et al., 2011. p. 560).

Furthermore, regarding Richardson’s comment that the UAE is a male-dominated society, it is certainly true (at least from an emic, “liberal,” “progressive,” “Western” perspective) that females in the UAE are under- or wholly un-empowered. Out of the 135 countries assessed by Hausmann et al. (2011; cited in Hudson, 2012) according to the role of gender in economic opportunity and participation, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment, the UAE was ranked in 103<sup>rd</sup> place. To give this some perspective, Saudi Arabia and Yemen were ranked as 131<sup>st</sup> and 135<sup>th</sup>, respectively. In addition, as noted by Al-Ali (2008. p. 373), in the UAE, Emirati “women must legally earn less in any given job” than male nationals. At the very least, it is also certainly true that the UAE is “part of the world where gender roles could be said to be more starkly defined than elsewhere” (Hudson, 2012. p. 1). Indeed, “the appearance of the students, be they clothed all in white (male Emiratis wear the *kandoura*, a white, ankle-long, one-piece garment) or all in black (the *abaya*, previously alluded to), immediately accentuates the separation of the sexes in local society” (Hudson, 2012. p. 3).

It is also, without doubt, true that, relative to their male counterparts, Emirati females have somewhat less freedom to enter the community. Crabtree (2007. p. 580), for instance, relates how in one family she interviewed for her study a “21-year old student daughter was not permitted to even visit the nearby grocers conveniently located just across the road, without a fraternal escort to accompany her.” Such “sociosexual controls” (Crabtree, 2007. p. 585) are commonplace in the UAE, and indeed in the whole of the Arabian Gulf. Indeed, one reason why teaching is a popular choice of career for many Emirati women who desire to work is that, due to schools being segregated by gender, it is one of the very few potential work environments which is acceptable to the women’s families (Crabtree, 2007; Bahgat, 1999; Barber et al., 2007; Ibrahim 2012; Saqr et al., 2014; Shaw et al., 1995) and their spouses (Tennant et al., 2014).

However, what is often overlooked (and Richardson is arguably guilty of this oversight) is that, somewhat ironically perhaps, it is the very pronounced gender roles and strict gender segregation in the UAE so criticized by Richardson (2004) and, to a lesser extent, Martin (2003), that actually produce the requisite conditions for emancipatory opportunities to emerge. As noted by Clarke (2007. p. 585), “the chance to study at college for 4 years often offers a welcome change from domestic demands, and for many, teaching is one of the few career options that are acceptable to their families. In this sense, English and English teaching play an empowering role in their lives” (p. 585). In short,

undertaking teacher training “is enabling young Emirati women to take up influential positions in schools as teachers of English in a male-dominated, Arabic-speaking society” (p. 589). Tennant et al. (2014. p. 496) wholeheartedly concurs, noting that “opportunities do potentially exist for (Emirati women) to engage in career planning and to undertake leadership roles.”

In addition, as with the trainee teachers at Zayed University studied by Harold and McNally (2003), and those both taught and studied by Clarke (2007) at a sister institution (the Higher Colleges of Technology), the students who participated in the mentoring/practicum program at the case institution were typically the very first to undertake HE in their family, that is, are “part of the first generation of young women in the UAE to attend university” (Clarke, 2007. p. 585). Simply put, HE for women in the UAE is often emancipating (Abdulla and Ridge, 2011), and this is why those of a strictly critical/liberatory pedagogical bent are often arguably mistaken when asserting that TESOL is necessarily and automatically linguistically imperialistic, socially disempowering, and pedagogically unsound (e.g., Phillipson, 1992). For the mentoring program at the case institution afforded trainee teachers the opportunity to take part in a semester-long training program and thus observe their mentors over an extended period of time, which lent the scheme a high degree of ecological validity. The trainees were “non-native” English-speakers, so the program began to combat discrimination in that sphere of TESOL; were female, so the scheme was emancipatory and liberating; and were Emirati, so the course aided the process of Emiratization, which as noted by Findlow (2005. p. 298), is essential in raising standards in education since “expatriates on short-term contracts do not have personal investment in the system.” How then could such a scheme be seen as anything other than pedagogically sound and highly empowering?

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