

PROFESSIONALISM AND PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IN AMERICAN EXPATRIATE
ENGLISH TEACHERS IN ABU DHABI PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Council of
Texas State University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in School Improvement

December 2017

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DEDICATION

I would like to thank my friends and family, particularly my wife Victoria and children, Diego and Luna, for their continued love and support. Additionally, thanks are due to my mother, Anne Odum, for her continued support, and to my late father, George A. Odum, who inspired me to always push myself academically.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would also like to thank my chair, Dr. Duncan Waite, for his support through the years as a professor, mentor and chair. I would also like to thank the other members of the committee, Dr. O'Malley, Dr. Aidman and Dr. Straubhaar for their support through this process.

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ABSTRACT

This study highlights how American teachers of English new to Abu Dhabi and Abu Dhabi public schools perceive the concepts of professionalism and professional identity. The study also examines if this perception changes for the participant group as they become more experienced in their new settings.

Using qualitative research methods, specifically semi-structured interviews, which were analyzed according to an inductive reasoning approach (Patton, 2002) and reconciled with extant theoretical perspectives, through this, the study sought to describe the interaction between the participants' perceptions of professionalism and professional identity and their own reflections on their practice. The theoretical perspective on professionalism and professional identity is drawn from Goodson and Hargreaves' model of "postmodern professionalism" from their 1996 book *Teachers' Professional Lives*. Additional perspectives on teacher identity derived from the analysis of identity formation as found in Connelly and Clandinin (1999); Beijaard, Verloop, and Vermut (2000), and Gee (2001).

My final objective for this study was to develop conclusions about how teachers' perspectives of themselves as professionals and of teaching as a profession are impacted through the experience of being an expatriate teacher in Abu Dhabi public schools.

Keywords: professionalism, professional identity, Abu Dhabi, expatriate, postmodern professionalism

I: INTRODUCTION

There is a saying in the expatriate community in the United Arab Emirates that an expatriate's arrival is simply the prelude to their departure. The difficulties of adjusting to a new school, a new system, a new student population and a new school culture, added to the strain of adjusting to life in a foreign country with different institutions and cultural norms, often proves to be too much for expatriates over an extended period of time.

Teachers in transition experience a dissonance that can be specific to a particular discipline, a result of differing pedagogical approaches, or a result of organizational dissimilarities (Seah, 2003). Teachers interpret these differences according to their own system of values (Bruner, 1996). These values are malleable, and time and experience serve to alter them to fit the needs of new contexts (Bourdieu, 1984).

Some of the difficulties expatriate teachers encounter suggest that there is a conflict between expectations and adaptive strategies. That is, expatriate teachers are faced with a professional situation so far outside their experience as to render their conditioned ideas of proper professional behavior inadequate to meet the needs of the context. Through this study, I explored if teachers' perspectives of themselves as professionals changed through their experiences as expatriate teachers in Abu Dhabi Public Schools, and if they did, how and why they changed and how this affected their practice. I sought to understand the expatriate teacher experience in Abu Dhabi to help make it more rewarding and efficacious. Additionally, by examining expatriate teachers' perspectives on professionalism and professional identity, the study provided an addition

to the extant literature on the effects of cross-cultural adaptation, deprofessionalization and, more generally, the American expatriate teacher experience.

I investigated the changing perspectives on the concept of professionalism and professional identity among American expatriate English teachers in Abu Dhabi public schools who are both new to Abu Dhabi and the Abu Dhabi Education Council (ADEC). Data were collected through a series of interviews taking place throughout the school year 2013-2014. This study looked at how new teachers' views on professionalism and professional identity change through their experience in the Abu Dhabi public secondary schools.

Defining Identity

Some of the problems associated with examining professional identity are rooted in the difficulty of defining identity. Identity is understood generally as a person's conception and expression of their own and other's individuality or group identifications (Weinreich, 1986). Essentially, identity is an individual's definition of themselves and others, in regard to both self-concept and identification with a larger group structure.

The debate between essentialist and nonessentialist perspectives on identity mirrors the larger structuralist/poststructuralist conflict which has informed the social sciences and humanities, arguably, since Giambattista Vico in the eighteenth century. The contemporary perspective supports the nonessentialist position, with the literature asserting that: identity is malleable and formed through multiple contexts (Beijaard, Verloop, & Vermut, 2000; Gee, 2001); that there is a communicative and emotional

context to identity (Gee, 2001; Hargreaves, 2001); and that it is constructed in part through narratives (Beijaard, Verloop, & Vermut, 2000; Connelly & Clandinin, 2006).

Teachers' identities as professionals change as they enter different contexts and traverse a process of positioning, repositioning and reflection. This process is a constant negotiation between the values and standards the individual teacher brings from their experience and training and the values and subsequent structure of the new community which may emerge from a completely different set of experiences and perspectives.

Teacher identity has a real effect on the way that teachers interact with others within their community/context. Teachers' identities influence their assumptions about the community as a whole, their colleagues and their students. Expectations for student behavior, knowledge and skill, and expectations for students' potential and perceived relationships to teachers and administrators can be points of conflict when teachers' previously-held concepts conflict with the values of the new community as experienced by the teachers in question.

An additional consideration examined in this study is the broader concept of professional identity in teachers. Whereas teacher identity refers specifically to a teacher's perception of one's self as a teacher, professional identity refers to the teacher's perspective of one's self as a professional.

Defining a "Profession"

What defines an occupation as a profession is a contentious question. Esland (1980) asserted that the concept of an occupation as a profession dates to the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. With the advent of an increasingly techno-rational

episteme, occupations were seen as increasingly in need of structure or what Shenhav (2002) termed “systemization.” This systemization was promoted by engineers and technocrats and was seen as an epistemological shift away from a deontological perception of ethics and standards towards an instrumentalist pragmatism which offered a more scientific prescription for effective organizational structures and occupational imperatives. This shift also affected the way social welfare was approached. Esland (1980) asserted that the move towards a technical-rationalist perspective of the world paved the way for the creation of two types of professional occupations, the industrial-managerialist, which includes banking and engineering, and the social welfare professions, including medicine and education.

Despite this description of the origins of professional occupations, there is still the question of how to define a profession. From a functionalist/ trait perspective, professions are separated from other occupations through the possession of a privileged status (Esland, 1980) and the provision of services requiring the possession of complex knowledge. In this model, teaching can be considered a profession. However, some researchers assert that teaching is a quasi-profession and better served by a designation of “craft profession” rather than a true profession in the traditional sense (Pratte & Rury, 1991). This contention emerges chiefly as a function of the assertion that a true profession requires highly specialized knowledge as well as a clear determination of work quality. Burbules and Densmore (1991) claimed that presenting teaching as a profession is actually harmful to the aims of teaching, namely student learning. Harness (2012)

claimed that the designation of teaching as a profession distances the teacher from the people they serve.

A New Model for Teachers' Professional Preparation

The authors of the landmark study *A Nation at Risk* (United States, National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) claimed that a large part of the blame for the decline in American preeminence was due to a mediocre school system and poorly performing teachers. The report called for professionally competitive salaries for teachers. It included a demand for increased teacher input in terms of curriculum development and textbook selection. Salary, when considered an external metric for the measurement of occupational prestige, was dramatically low at the time of the report. The report also called for increased teacher mastery over subject matter, declaring that “half of the newly employed mathematics, science, and English teachers are not qualified to teach these subjects” (p. 20).

A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century (Carnegie Forum on Education and Economy, 1986) took on this latter challenge and offered suggestions for changes leading towards increased professionalization for teachers. This professionalization took the form of the elimination of undergraduate teaching certification programs, replacing them with undergraduate programs centered on content area expertise and graduate-level programs to prepare pre-service teachers for the actual practice of teaching. Following theoretical preparation in a graduate program, the report suggested an extended clinical internship intended to prepare teachers in a classroom environment. The model for these suggestions was the medical profession and, like medicine, includes a certification

through a state licensing agency. Taking the suggestion that teacher preparation should follow a standardized model nationally, there is a movement towards universal teacher licensing through a state agency that is becoming standard in the United Arab Emirates with the goal of full compliance by 2019 or 2020 (Pennington, 2017).

The United Arab Emirates

To understand the perspectives of teachers on professionalism and professional identity, it is important to examine the context in which they work. In this section I discuss the environment in which the American expatriate faculty find themselves. Some of the key factors of the United Arab Emirates context are the importance of Islam in the culture, the ubiquity of guest workers, and the hierarchical power structure which defines the professional and political spheres.

The United Arab Emirates is a small country in the Middle East, roughly equivalent in size to the state of South Carolina. The United Arab Emirates is situated on the Arabian Peninsula, bordering Saudi Arabia, Oman, the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman. Established in December 1971, the United Arab Emirates is made up of seven Emirates: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Um Al Qwain, Ras Al Khaimah, and Fujairah. Prior to independence and federation, these emirates had been separate and autonomous states connected with each other by virtue of affiliation with the United Kingdom as a part of a protectorate known as the Trucial States.

The country's economy is based on petroleum production. The United Arab Emirates is known to contain 10% of the world's available oil reserves and 4% of the world's natural gas (UAE Government, n.d.). The country is currently the third largest

exporter of oil, at 2.6 million barrels per day (UAE becomes, 2008). The Emirate of Abu Dhabi has over 80% of the country's land, and produces 90-95% of the country's oil and gas. This wealth has provided the opportunity for Abu Dhabi to create what is possibly the world's largest sovereign wealth fund, the Abu Dhabi Investment Authority (Davidson, 2009a). This economic power has led the city of Abu Dhabi to become what is believed to be the richest city in the world (Gimbel, 2007).

The Emirate of Dubai lacks the wealth and capital of its southern neighbor Abu Dhabi but is the better known of the two, internationally. Dubai has focused its economic development efforts towards becoming the business and tourism center of the Middle East. The Emirates of Abu Dhabi and Dubai are the wealthiest of the seven Emirates and command the most political power within the federation (Heard-Bey, 2001).

The recent political history of the United Arab Emirates is dominated by the figure of Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahyan. From federation until his death in 2004, Sheikh Zayed occupied the dual roles of ruler of Abu Dhabi and president of the United Arab Emirates. Even today, years after his death, he is a beloved figure in the country owing to a vast reform program whose progress would make the country unrecognizable to visitors from twenty years ago (Hawley, 2007).

Photographs of Abu Dhabi from the 1960s show a small, ramshackle town comprised chiefly of reed huts surrounding a small fort made of dried earth (Heard-Bey, 2001). Today, the skyline is dominated by massive skyscrapers which line the waterfront parks and walkways. The streets are occupied by late-model Mercedes and Range Rovers, and the sky above is filled with Boeings and Airbuses shuttling in and out of a

bustling international airport. One of the most striking changes in the United Arab Emirates concerns the role of women in Emirati society. Rugh (2007) provided an interesting metaphor that reflects the intergenerational differences between Emirati women illustrating the revolutionary changes that have occurred:

The thin wiry grandmother kept a herd of goats on the large family compound and each day swung her goatskin "churn" to make fresh butter for the family. She talked of her family's annual treks on camel taking days to reach the coast (a car now makes it in little more than an hour), and told me to punch her stomach to see how firm it was. Her daughter, in her forties, was seriously overweight and sedentary, and complained of medical problems including heart disease and diabetes. She was the first generation to move into palaces with imported servants to take care of basic household needs. Her daughters, in their teens and twenties, typified the modern generation, with fluency in foreign languages, and an obsession with the latest fashions and diets. The grandmother was illiterate, the mother read basic religious texts, and the girls were enrolled in the local university where they would stay until they graduated (p. 5).

This transition from traditional occupations, such as herding and other agricultural activities, to financial comfort and stability, to access to postsecondary educational opportunities, mirrors the development of the Emirati educational system discussed later in this chapter.

Population and demographics of the United Arab Emirates. The country's wealth in terms of natural resources lies in stark contrast to the human capital situation.

To develop the country's infrastructure, economy and politico-social institutions, large numbers of foreign nationals have been recruited to provide labor and know-how. In 1971, the population of the nation was estimated to be 500,000. In 2008, this figure had expanded to 4,621,399 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008). The ten year period from 1996-2006 saw a population growth of 75% (Samir, 2006). Current predictions estimate the United Arab Emirates national population, growing at a rate of 3.38% per annum, will double in the next 21 years. This growth ranks sixth in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, 2011).

The Emirati people have experienced a rapid decline as a percentage of the population. In 2008, more than 80% of the population were foreign nationals (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008). It is projected that by 2025 Emiratis will make up less than 1% of the total population (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008). A little more than half of the foreigners in the United Arab Emirates are from South Asia, a quarter is from other Arab states and Iran, and about 10% are from Western Europe, the Americas, and East Asia (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008). South Asian laborers comprise a large portion of the expatriate population. These laborers are brought in to work and then are repatriated. There is a minimum salary required for expatriates in order for them to bring their families and thus there is a more than two to one male to female ratio in the country (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008). The age dispersion in the country skews relatively young. Nearly 50% of the population is in the 25-40 age group and over 50% of Emiratis are under 20 years of age (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008).

Emirati society. Emiratis may make up only a small proportion of the population; however, they firmly control the power structure in the nation. All foreign nationals, regardless of income, social standing or tenure in the country, are technically guest workers.

Foreign workers are necessary, economically, because the local Emirati population resides at the highest strata of a rentier state (Davidson, 2005). This structure is reliant upon high levels of rents, as well as wealth derived from natural resources, to guarantee economic stability. Rentiers are a special group, one which is not required to actively participate in production; rather, the incomes derived from the rent collected provide economically for the rentier. Expatriate teachers, as educated workers, enjoy a relatively privileged status within the rentier state (Bataineh & Alsagheer, 2012).

The expatriate community must accept an exchange of sorts to live in the United Arab Emirates. Lack of participation in governance and of certain freedoms are accepted in exchange for the chance to live in a tax-free environment that offers safety and financial security (Armitage & Powell, 1997). Teachers are informed of the strict policies on what can be said on social media and what the consequences may be if these rules are violated (McCrum, 2015).

Emirati society remains essentially a tribal and patriarchal system, despite the appearance of industrial capitalist structures, with Islam as the dominant cultural force (Vine & Al Abed, 2001). Tribal societies are loosely organized into segmented units (Rugh, 2007). The relationship between these units is hierarchical and situation-

dependent. Loyalty is primarily reserved for family; however, networks of alliances can expand or retract according to circumstances.

The Emirati family is central to the tribal system. Members of the extended family are the first people Emiratis turn to for support. This orientation is rooted in a pre-industrial economy. In the past, the economy of what is now known as the United Arab Emirates centered on pearl production, date farming and camel herding. The necessity for expanded workforces in times of harvest or migration led to extended family members being sought out for support. Territorial disputes would also precipitate the need for an expansion of the defined tribal unit in order to increase military resources.

The tribal structure reinforces the power of in-group biases (Masuda & Fu, 2015). This structure tends to insulate the Emirati population from the large expatriate community, in that the local population tends to socialize exclusively within their tribal unit (Heard-Bey, 2001). Traditionally, power is shared between the rulers and the followers, with the decision making taking place through the consensus of all adult males. Therefore, an important part of the leader's role is consensus-building. The nomadic nature of traditional Emirati society meant that if an individual, or group, did not agree with the decisions of the leader, they could move to another area with a different ruler (Davidson, 2005).

The advent of the petroleum-based economy ushered in a change in the governance of the tribes. A paternalistic system based upon the wealth of the various tribal sub-units developed (Rugh, 2007). As some leaders became incredibly wealthy, the system of paternalistic sharing of resources led followers to become increasingly

dependent on their leaders' largesse. This dependency involved a trade-off, however. As the people became more dependent on the wealth of the ruler, more and more people deferred to the ruler as the primary decision-maker (Davidson, 2005). However, while it is true that the ruler has the final say, there remain traditional methods by which the people have their voices heard. *Majlis*, traditional tents where people sit and converse over tea and refreshments, offer a setting in which individuals may meet with their leaders and have their grievances heard. Leaders are seen as benevolent figures with genuine concern for their people at the forefront of their minds (Davidson, 2005; Heard-Bey, 2004; Peck, 2001).

Islam in the United Arab Emirates. The role of Islam in Emirati society cannot be understated as a cultural force. Islam "is not merely a religion in the western sense of the word, [it] dominates the cultural, moral, social, economic, legal and political spheres. Thus, Islam is the inescapable common denominator for life in a Muslim society" (Heard-Bey, 2004, p. 135). The holy book of Islam, the Qur'an, provides Muslims guidance in all areas of life. Islam is the main unifying force for local people, and Arab expatriates. Islam, with an emphasis on the believer/non-believer dichotomy, coupled with a culturally tribal society, creates a situation where insider/outsider perspectives play a major part in the relationships between locals and expatriates.

Expatriate lives. The population of the United Arab Emirates is over 80% expatriate (Snoj, 2015). However, only a small percentage of them are citizens of Europe, North and South America. Expatriate citizens of Western countries are predominantly part of the professional community; in that most of the unskilled labor

force is provided by the South Asian expatriate community (Snoj, 2015). The term “expatriate” it should be noted is reserved in the United Arab Emirates context for highly skilled Western workers. Low-wage/ low-skill workers, be they laboring in construction, retail or as domestic “help,” are identified as “migrants” (Mahdavi, 2013). The UN recommendation on terminology for the interpretation of statistics on international migration specifies a migrant as “any person who changes his or her country of usual residence” (United Nations, 1998, p. 17). However, this definition stands in contrast to the connotation of the terms “migrant” and “expatriate” in the United Arab Emirates. Kunz (2016) found that defining the “expatriate” involves a complex construction of racial, gender, class and colonialist power structures which renders the term difficult to use without subjecting it to a critical analysis. The difference in formal use of the term expatriate in the United Arab Emirates, as opposed to the UN recommendation on the term’s proper usage, reflects both the complex hierarchies at play in the society of the United Arab Emirates, as well as a broader distinctions among the individuals who move abroad, distinctions rooted in colonialism and based on a constellation of racial, financial and power relationship factors.

In terms of quality of expatriate lives, the United Arab Emirates stands up well in rankings of various professional destinations. Multinational banking and financial services company HSBC (formerly known as the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation), which provides many expatriate-specific services, conducts an annual survey of expatriates. It has found that the United Arab Emirates rates as the second best expatriate location, second to Singapore, based upon measures such as financial

opportunity, ease of travel, and availability of quality of private schools. Over two thousand individuals were contacted for the survey and were asked to rate locations on metrics including longevity, earnings and savings, luxury, and accommodations. The only area in which the United Arab Emirates registered in the negative was in the category of longevity, with only 45% of respondents noting that they had lived abroad for more than five years (HSBC, 2008).

Safety is a positive factor for expatriates in the United Arab Emirates. Crime is of low concern and there has never been a large-scale terrorist attack within the country (Overseas Security Advisory Council, 2009). Cars may be left unlocked and children run through neighborhoods unattended (Overseas Security Advisory Council, 2009). It is thought that heavy penalties, including long prison sentences, hefty fines and deportation, for transgressing the laws keep expatriates from bending the rules (Overseas Security Advisory Council, 2007). Although the risk of crime and terrorism remain low, the US State Department has occasionally issued warnings to Americans living in the United Arab Emirates to be aware of possible threats (United Arab Emirates, 2015), and in December of 2014 an American teacher was murdered by an Emirati woman who reportedly had been influenced by radical fundamentalism (Alexander, 2014).

Education in the United Arab Emirates

History of education in the United Arab Emirates. The history of education in what is now the United Arab Emirates may be divided into four distinct periods of development, which mirror the development of the nation as a whole: The period prior to 1903, 1903-1953, 1953-1972, and 1972 to the present (Heard-Bey, 2004). Before 1903,

there was no formal education system in any of the seven emirates which now constitute the United Arab Emirates (Heard-Bey, 2004). Children's education centered on traditional skills such as herding and raising camels and goats, fishing and pearl diving, as well as the care of other family members. The focus of education was learning the skills required to survive in the harsh desert climate. Additional educational opportunities were limited to religious education taught by a local *mutawa'a* (local leader). Religious education focused on learning reading and recitation of the Qur'an. This took place wherever space was available, including the teacher's home or perhaps a mosque. Payment was arranged between the student's parents and the teacher. This system was called *al katateeb* (Heard-Bey, 2004).

Beginning in 1903, with the opening of schools in the commercial districts in Dubai and Sharjah, formal education in what is now the United Arab Emirates began developing towards more modern models (Al Hai, 1990; Suliman, 2000). Despite the introduction of modern curricular models, the focus of the schools was chiefly religious. Funding for the schools came from wealthy local businessmen and these resources were threatened by the decline of the pearl industry in the 1920s. The closing of some of these schools led to a revival of the *al katateeb* system. In 1938-39, a group of merchants pressured the ruler of Dubai, Sheikh Said Al Maktoum, into creating a department of education (Davidson, 2008; Davidson, 2007). This reform, however, was short lived, lasting until shortly after World War II.

The collapse of the European colonial system following World War II led much of the Arab world to assert its autonomy and create national educational systems.

Support for educational development within what is now known as the United Arab Emirates came from its neighbors in the Persian Gulf region. Newly-discovered oil wealth allowed Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain to aid Emirati educational development.

The opening of a Kuwaiti-backed boys' school in the emirate of Sharjah in 1953 ushered in the third age of education in the United Arab Emirates (Al Hai, 1990; Suliman, 2000). The next twenty years saw a slow expansion of educational opportunities across the emirates. In 1958, Sheikh Rashid Al Maktoum re-established the education department in Dubai and a small school was opened in Abu Dhabi in 1959 (Al Fahim, 1995). Around this time, Abu Dhabi became the first emirate to use public funds to support education, which previously had been under the direct patronage of the rulers (Khlaifat, 1992).

After federation as a nation in 1971, the United Arab Emirates rededicated its national interest to the development of education. In 1972, the Ministry of Education took over the control of schools, which had previously been operated by other countries, and initiated a process of developing a state-run school system. Throughout the 1970s, the number of state-run schools increased from 129 to 383 (Davidson, 2007).

Structure of education in the United Arab Emirates. The nation-wide United Arab Emirates Ministry of Education and Youth is the governing body responsible for the public and private education systems in all of the seven emirates which constitute the United Arab Emirates (Bataineh & Alsagheer, 2012; Davidson, 2007). For public schools, the ministry has responsibility for the construction of facilities, hiring of staff, determining curricular standards and providing administrative support in terms of

materials, professional development and human resources (Bataineh & Alsagheer, 2012). For private schools, the ministry is mainly concerned with licensure and inspection of the schools for essential quality standards (Bradshaw, Tennant, & Lydiat, 2004).

The ministry operates within each of the emirates through dedicated councils which discharge the ministry's responsibility within their assigned emirates (Abu Dhabi Education Council, 2011a). In the emirate of Abu Dhabi, the Abu Dhabi Education Council (ADEC) assumes the responsibility for management and oversight for the emirate's schools (Abu Dhabi Education Council, 2011a).

The Abu Dhabi Education Council (ADEC). The Abu Dhabi Education Council (ADEC) oversees public, private and higher education institutions in the emirate (Abu Dhabi Education Council, 2011a). The emirate is divided into three geographical zones: Abu Dhabi (comprising the area surrounding the city of Abu Dhabi), Al Ain (comprising the area surrounding the city of Al Ain), and Al Gharbia (also called "the western region," comprised of all the schools west of the two main cities, including some outlying islands). In 2010, the emirate of Abu Dhabi had 126,294 students in 305 public schools, with 10,758 teachers. Emirati nationals make up 73% of students in public schools. In school year 2006-2007, expatriate students from Arabic-speaking countries were allowed to enroll in Abu Dhabi public schools, with fees charged to parents. Private school attendance accounted for 165,020 students in 184 schools and 9,445 teachers in 2010. Emirati nationals make up 25% of this population (Abu Dhabi Education Council, 2010).

Grade level structure in Abu Dhabi public schools. The school system is divided into three “cycles.” Cycle 1 is roughly equivalent to elementary or primary school and is made up of grades one through five. Cycle 2 is equivalent to middle or intermediate school and is comprised of grades six through nine. Cycle 3, high or secondary school, has grades 10-12. Schools are gender-segregated for students and staff. There are 265 public schools under the auspices of the Abu Dhabi Education Council (Abu Dhabi Education Council, 2011b).

Student performance in Abu Dhabi public schools. In 2005, only 16 percent of seventh grade students were performing on grade level for all subjects and 68 percent were two or more years behind (Lewis, 2010). These measures are according to the Abu Dhabi Education Council’s own standardized examinations, developed through a contract with Pearson Education (Lewis, 2010).

Education reform in Abu Dhabi. The emirate of Abu Dhabi has implemented many different development initiatives recently, with the goal of moving beyond a purely petrochemical economic base towards a more diversified economic structure which is better able to weather future changes in energy production and consumption patterns. One of these development initiatives is the reform of the education system. One part of this reform is a push to improve English language and critical thinking skills for students in the emirate’s public schools (Salem, 2010).

In 2010, the Abu Dhabi Education Council (ADEC) announced a ten-year strategic plan to improve the knowledge and skills of graduates in Abu Dhabi public schools. The plan includes the adoption of the New School Model (Abu Dhabi Education

Council, 2012), a curriculum model derived from the New South Wales, Australia educational system. The New School Model includes reform in the teaching of English skills; development critical thinking abilities; and encouragement of cultural/national identity. The adoption of the New School Model is part of a goal to standardize the curriculum, teaching, support and resources system-wide (Abu Dhabi Education Council, 2012).

The New School Model includes stipulations for Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) with education service providers, mainly from the United Kingdom, the recruitment of western-trained teachers to incorporate English into the classrooms, and a program of professional development to instruct teachers in student-centered pedagogy (Abu Dhabi Education Council, 2012). This program was implemented first in elementary schools (Kindergarten to grade three) and secondary schools (grades 10-12). Each year of the program another year was added to the program, with the middle school years rolling out in 2013 (Abu Dhabi Education Council, 2012). Implementation of the program in high school (called “Cycle 3” in the ADEC vernacular) has thus far been limited to English language classes, although there has been some discussion of expanding the program to mathematics and science courses (Constantine, 2010; Salem, 2010).

The success of the program is reliant upon attracting quality teachers and administrators from English-dominant countries to work in Abu Dhabi schools. To do this, Abu Dhabi Education Council offered attractive tax-free salaries, free housing and no-cost health insurance for teachers and dependents (Sankar, 2012). The population of

teachers attracted to Abu Dhabi included people from the UK, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the United States.

Expatriate teachers. As a result of the emergence of the global economy, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of employees moving out of their home countries to find work (Harzing, 1995). This trend is of particular interest to educators because increasing numbers of foreign countries are seeking out qualified English teachers, particularly those educated in English-speaking countries, in an effort to better prepare their youth to compete internationally (Brown, 2004).

Abu Dhabi School Context. At the secondary level, schools in Abu Dhabi are completely single-gender. In the male schools, the entirety of the staff, from the administration to the custodians is male. In the female schools, the staff is all female. Regardless of gender, Emirati nationals always occupy the administrative positions in Abu Dhabi public schools. They serve as the managers for the rest of the staff and are also in charge of student discipline matters which transgress beyond the classroom. The teaching faculty is a mix of Arab expatriate teachers, who teach a variety of subjects from mathematics to science, to Islamic studies and Arabic. Expatriate teachers from Anglophone countries are confined to the English departments in Abu Dhabi public secondary schools. Emirati nationals are encouraged to take up teaching as a profession; however, the number of Emiratis teaching is small compared to these other groups. This mix of nationalities creates a professional community where a diversity of backgrounds, and experience, is the rule rather than the exception.

Researcher's Perspective

One of the reasons why researcher positionality is an important issue to be addressed is that I was also an American expatriate working in Abu Dhabi public schools. I believe that teaching is a hybrid occupation involving both traditionally-understood aspects of a profession, such as a commitment to client needs, a specialized set of knowledge, a lengthy and formal training and a high level of autonomy in practice (Etzioni, 1969). I believe that teaching possess an element more akin to interactive performance requiring attention to the interplay of audience and self (Milojkovic, 1982). In this second understanding of teacher professionalism, the teacher is understood to possess both a command of their subject matter, as well as having a strong understanding of group dynamics, excellent social skills and the ability to use a range of leadership approaches to suit the context, audience and institutional norms. My own experience in Abu Dhabi has been one of intense reflection on my own perspectives on professionalism and professional identity. This is the origin of the study. To alleviate any problems that may arise owing to my own bias, I continually reflected on the information gained and analysis rendered so as to make sure that subjectivities did not affect the gathered information and conclusions as much as is possible.

II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Motivations for Expatriation

It is important when looking at the professional identities of expatriate teachers in Abu Dhabi to look at the reasons why these teachers have become expatriates in the first place. The expansion of the global economy is a major factor in the increased level of expatriation (McKenna & Richardson, 2002). With the recent acceleration of globalization, countries previously on the periphery of the global economy have become some of the most dynamic and rapidly developing areas (Lakhera, 2016). To solidify this development, many countries have turned to improving their human capital through education. Thus an expanded need for qualified teachers and educators. There appears to be no shortage of American teachers willing to fill this need. Even in the face of teacher shortages in their home countries, a significant number of teachers have expatriated to developing countries in recent years. The international educator recruitment firm Reach to Teach saw an increase of applicants from 1,488 in 2008 to 3,784 in 2009, with an estimated 70% being American teachers (Yam, 2009).

McKenna and Richardson (2002) presented a framework for interpreting research data on expatriate teachers' motivations to move abroad seeking employment. They grouped their data using four metaphors: the explorer, the seeker after new experiences and adventure; the mercenary, where financial gain is of high importance; the architect, whose interest is in career advancement; and the refugee, who expatriates for a new start or to escape a negative personal situation in the country of origin.

Exploration. McKenna and Richardson (2002) described the motivation of expatriates involved in their study: “For many ...expatriation was driven not by a desire to enhance their career opportunities but to explore more of the world” (p. 70). This supports Dewar’s (2000) finding that 62% of Canadian teachers working in New Zealand were “influenced by the opportunity to travel” (p. 6). A report from the Australian senate (2003) stated that “travel opportunities were frequently cited as reasons for going abroad” (p. 2). The report further concluded that many teachers “were attracted to overseas teaching because it is a characteristic of the adventurous spirit of Australian teachers” (p. 4). While that study did not look at the motivations of Australian teachers to teach abroad and thus the “adventurous spirit” of that group is not relevant, their idea that the motivation for expatriation may arise from a desire to travel and experience new lands and cultures may be an important factor in why people move abroad for work.

Financial motivation. There is a common perception that expatriates in the Middle East come to the region mainly for financial gain (Warneke & Schneider, 2011). Against this stereotype, some research (Chong, Ling, & Chuan, 2011; Dewar, 2000; McKenna & Richardson, 2002) suggests that financial gain may not be a primary motivating factor in expatriation generally. McKenna and Richardson (2002) showed only three of thirty participants in their study cited financial gain as the chief factor in their decision to move abroad to teach. However, this study found that once the teachers moved overseas, money was a major factor in their decision to stay. Dewar (2000) found that money was not a deciding factor in the decision to teach abroad.

A 2000 study of 119 student teachers in Singapore (Chong, Ling, & Chuan, 2011) showed five intrinsic motivators for becoming teachers: belief in the value of teaching and learning, self as a role model, sense of calling, sense of professional identity, and professional growth as an educator (Chong, Ling, & Chuan, 2011). When asked, the Singaporean student teachers involved in this study consistently emphasized abstract values related to the importance of teaching as a social good, rather than as a vehicle for financial gain. This sense that the role of the teacher is one that produces social benefit, coupled with the findings that the student teachers in the study found that professional identity and professional growth as an educator as major motivators for becoming teachers, indicates that the strength of intrinsic motivators weighs powerfully in the motivation to enter the teaching field. The role that abstract motivations, as opposed to concrete motivators such as salary and benefits, play in expatriates' decision to move abroad is important to consider in the analysis of how expatriates view themselves professionally.

Financial motivations for teaching abroad could also be connected to more general motivations for entering the teaching profession. Papanastasiou and Papanastasiou's (1997) study comparing the motivations of education students in Pennsylvania and Cyprus found that students in Pennsylvania were more likely to offer intrinsic motivators as reasons to become teachers, while extrinsic motivators were most strongly seen in the students from Cyprus. Factors identified in students' decisions to become teachers included: variety of benefits, internal motives, status of the profession, interpersonal influence, and academic ability. The factor "internal motives" was the

strongest identified motivator for the Pennsylvanian students, while “variety of benefits” and “status of the profession” were the most influential factors for the Cypriot students. These findings suggest that teachers’ cultural backgrounds may play a role in their motivations for teaching.

Other research (Broman, 2000; Elliott, 2002) suggests that financial considerations do play a major part in teachers’ decisions to work as teachers outside of their home country. The rewards for teaching abroad can be considerable, with Broman (2000) asserting that most “overseas teachers can save anywhere from \$5000 to \$45000 dollars a year” (p. 1). Elliott (2002), looking at Australian expatriate teachers, affirmed this in that teachers were attracted to jobs abroad where the salaries were much higher than in Australia and offered benefits such as travel and housing assistance. Elliott concluded that these reasons have caused thousands of teachers to leave Australia and seek employment abroad.

Career advancement. The opportunity to advance one’s career is often cited as a reason some teachers chose to seek employment overseas (Bahr, 1998; Dewar, 2000; McKenna & Richardson, 2002). New teachers who find obtaining a first job difficult seek jobs abroad as an opportunity to make themselves more competitive in their native country. Bahr (1998) asserted that “these first-year teachers are not only adding new words to their vocabulary, they’re adding classroom teaching experience to their resume” (p. 5). Other studies find that, while career advancement may not be the primary motivator, it plays an important part in the decision-making process when considering going abroad for employment (Dewar, 2000; McKenna & Richardson, 2002).

Personal motivations for expatriation. There are also personal reasons for moving abroad that are beyond the search for new experience, financial motivations and the chance to move forward in their career. Some teachers desire an escape from their lives back home and hope that a drastic change in environment may facilitate this (Armitage & Powell, 1997; McKenna & Richardson, 2002).

Despite the varied reasons for expatriation, some teachers find that through seeking employment abroad they can escape from problems associated with their lives in their home countries (McKenna & Richardson, 2002). Armitage and Powell (1997) suggested that “some intending expatriates want to make a fresh start, to try to save a failing marriage or after a divorce” (p. 506). Whatever the reason an individual has for moving abroad, it is inevitable that they will encounter cultural differences that will have to be navigated.

Expatriates and Cultural Differences

Expatriate teachers find themselves faced with many cultural differences to which they have to adjust. Some differences, like the availability of familiar consumer products and food items, are easier to adjust to than more fundamental differences such as how the individual perceives and interacts with the world around them (Gilly, 1995).

Two fundamental cultural differences are the perceptions of time and of gender. Studies emphasize the role of flexibility and self-efficacy in teachers’ success (Soodak & Podell, 1993; Woolfork & Hoy, 1990; Zimmerman, 2000) and in the success of expatriates (Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985). Tung (1981) referred to this specific kind of flexibility as general psychological flexibility and asserted that individuals who

demonstrate higher levels of general psychological flexibility adapt better to both unfamiliar professional and personal situations. Tung also found that individuals who demonstrate greater psychological flexibility demonstrate less ethnocentricity and a greater tolerance for ambiguity. Gentile, Halperin, and Cochrane (1993) found that psychological flexibility correlates significantly with adjustment to a new environment. Von Kirchheim and Richardson (2005), in a study of expatriates from North America and the United Kingdom working as teachers in a “small Caribbean state,” (p. 410) found a strong correlation between reported self-efficacy and successfully adjusting to the host country. This result is in line with previous findings (Black, Gregersen & Mendenhall, 1992; Black & Mendenhall, 1989; Black, Mendenhall & Oddou, 1991). However, the Von Kirchheim and Richardson (2005) study differed from the other studies in that it found no profound influence between psychological flexibility and successful adjustment to the new cultural context. The authors hypothesized that the measure of flexibility used in the study was not appropriate for the context, an educational system characterized by a rigid set of standards in which deviation from the standards was discouraged. This means that psychological flexibility was not as useful to adjust to a rigid work environment as it would be in a less structured context.

Difference in the experience of time as a cultural difference. Differences in the subjective perspective of time is an issue likely to arise in cross-cultural settings (Marcus & Slansky, 1994). Setian (1972) and Malmberg (1992) suggested that western cultures place a high value on punctuality in private and professional spheres. This is in

contract to Arab cultures, where socializing prior to commencing business activity is expected (Marcus & Slansky, 1994).

Expatriate teachers new to working in Arab countries may be distressed by the differences in how time is perceived. Bagnole (1977) suggested that clear distinctions between time-oriented tasks are not made in the Arab world, that events are not seen as clearly distinct and time-bound. In western cultures, the concepts of schedule and timetable pervade professional thinking about time. With this structure of time-bound outcomes and objectives, western cultures can be seen as “future-oriented” as opposed to a “past-oriented” Arab culture (Zaharna, 1995, p. 251). Setian (1972) stated that, in the Arab culture, the future is “too remote” (p. 294) to be actionable, and that it is determined only by God.

Zaharna (1995) further explained the Arab perception of time by noting that the Arabic language lacks the equivalent of the English future tense. Al-Khawalda (2001) concurred to a point with Zaharna stating that the multiple methods of expressing futurity in English, such as “one will” or “one is going to,” are absent in Arabic; however, Al-Khawalda separated from Zaharna by saying that the future tense does indeed exist in Arabic and is best translated as “he will do” (p. 70).

Setian (1972) claimed that the temporal vagueness in the Arabic language is reflected in the behavior. One example is the difference between “on time” and “in time.” For the Arabic speaker, there is no clear distinction between these two terms, whereas, for an English speaker, these terms represent different situations. Setian (1972) described how this example would look in practice. A student in the Arab school context

would see himself as being “on time” if he arrived in the classroom at 11:15, if the teacher usually begins teaching at 11:15, even if the formal time for the beginning of the class is at 11:05. A western teacher may find this kind of cultural difference frustrating and difficult to adjust to.

Gender and Participation

Expatriate teachers may find unequal gender participation in society to be an area of concern (Fairley, 2011). Specifically related to the classroom experience, gender issues relating to student participation may be more pronounced in the Arab world because of external societal features (Fairley, 2011). Cultural differences relating to views on gender participation are more pronounced in mixed-gender classrooms (Mynard & Almarzouqi, 2006), where female learners may be encouraged to take on a more passive role relative to their male counterparts, as Fairley (2011) observed in Egyptian classrooms. In this context, female learners may be disadvantaged compared to male learners. Sunderland (2000) stated that teachers tend to speak more often to male students than to female ones, according to studies done in the 1970s and 1980s. These results are supported by more recent research conducted by Jones and Dindia (2004), which found that teachers initiated communication more often with male learners. However, Sunderland (2000) claimed that these results should not be construed to mean that female students are simply “passive victims” (p. 150). Rather, she claimed that the results should be seen in the light of the findings that male students speak to teachers more than their female counterparts. Female students may dominate the classroom in ways not measured by frequency of student-teacher classroom interaction, indicating that

a deeper level of gender participation may exist that challenges superficial views of gendered domination in the classroom. Additionally, the ways in which communication is used differs between genders (Shehadeh, 1999). These studies reflect studies in the United States that found that teachers interact with boys more often than girls by a margin of 10 to 30% (Measor & Sykes, 1992); however, it may be that teachers are interacting more with boys because of the greater perceived need to keep boys on task (Erden & Wolfgang, 2004).

Al-Barwani and Kelly (1985) found that, in Oman, education has been traditionally perceived as more of a masculine requirement and, therefore, women have faced a number of challenges in this regard. In the years since their study, there has been a shift in the reality behind this perception, with men and women graduating from university at almost equal rates (Al Shaibani, 2011). This may corroborate what was mentioned by Sunderland (2000) regarding different types of domination which exist in the classroom, where female students may surpass their male counterparts in terms of interactions such as communication with teachers during instruction.

In the scope of this study, however the classroom environment is gender segregated and therefore studies of gendered advantage or disadvantage are of limited utility. More helpful is the research which deals with the perceptions of education in the Arab world relative to gender which provides look at a cultural difference to which western expatriates have to adjust.

Cross-Cultural Adjustment

In addition to the specifically education-related differences that expatriates may face in their transition abroad, it is important to look at the cross-cultural adjustments that the expatriate teacher makes throughout the experience of expatriation viewed more holistically. Cross-cultural adjustment is defined in various ways (Black, 1988; Oberg, 1960). Oberg (1960) initially developed the concept of cross-cultural adjustment. He asserted that “culture shock” is “an occupational disease of people who have been suddenly transplanted abroad” (p. 177). In that the cross-cultural adjustment process requires both a behavioral and cognitive response to the new culture, people who suffer from culture shock might exhibit the symptoms of helplessness, frustration and anxiety (Ward & Kennedy, 2001). However the term “culture shock” soon fell out of use in academic vocabulary being replaced with the terms “cross-cultural adjustment,” or, more poetically, “sojourner adjustment” (Black, 1988; Li & Hall, 2015).

The word “adaptation” can also be used in the context of cross-cultural research to refer to the same process. It is often defined as the process of a change in behavior to better fit a new situation or environment (Berry, 1997; Ward & Kennedy, 1999). Berry defined “adaptation” as “changes that take place in individuals or groups in response to environment demands” (p. 13). Adaptations can happen immediately or over an extended period of transition (Li & Hall, 2015). Not all studies, however, agree that the two terms are interchangeable. Matsumoto, LeRoux, Robles and Campos (2007) drew a distinction between “adaptation” and “adjustment,” referring to “adaptation” as “the process of altering one’s behavior to fit in with a changed environment or circumstances, or as a

response to social pressure”; while “adjustment” was defined as “the subjective experiences that are associated with and result from attempts at adaptation” (p. 77).

My study uses the term “cross-cultural adjustment” in the context of expatriate teachers because most of the important cross-cultural studies have used this term in their frameworks (Black & Mendenhall, 1989). Additionally, in light of the distinction between “adaptation” and “adjustment” (Matsumoto, LeRoux, Robles & Campos, 2007), I aimed to investigate the factors and features of expatriate teachers’ adjustment rather than the behavioral changes needed to adapt to the new environment.

A number of studies have identified or developed the features or factors of expatriate cross-cultural adjustment (Aycan, 1997; Black & Stephens, 1989; Ward & Kennedy, 2001). Some scholars divide cross-cultural adjustment into socio-cultural adjustment and psychological adjustment (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 2001). There are also studies that add a third dimension of work adjustment (Aycan, 1997).

“Socio-cultural adjustment” focuses on expatriates’ skill in adapting to the new host environment and learning how to function properly within their new context.

“Psychological adjustment” centers on expatriates’ well-being and emotions (Swagler & Jome, 2005). “Work adjustment” refers to expatriates’ perspectives of their new work role, and their commitment to the new organization and required tasks (Aycan, 1997).

Emotional well-being. The role of emotional well-being is useful in an analysis of expatriate adjustment to a new environment. Its usefulness is reflected in other definitions of “cross-cultural adjustment.” Black and Gregersen (1991) defined cross-

cultural adjustment as “the degree of psychological comfort with various aspects of a host country” (p. 463). Some theorists suggested that cross-cultural adjustment is the process whereby feelings of uncertainty are reduced when people move into a new environment (Black, 1990; Black & Gregersen, 1991). However, most of the researchers agree that cross-cultural adjustment is a multifaceted construct and not simply a byproduct of emotional phenomena (Black, 1988; Black & Stephens, 1989; Black, Mendenhall & Oddou, 1991).

Progressing beyond the simple definition of cross-cultural adjustment towards an analysis of the experience, Black, Mendenhall and Oddou (1991) reviewed a number of studies that investigated the phenomenon of cross-cultural adjustment empirically or theoretically in relation to a wide variety of expatriation scenarios. They concluded that the cross-cultural adjustment process consisted of five dimensions: “pre-departure training,” “previous overseas experience,” “organizational selection mechanisms,” “individual skills” and “non-work factors” (p. 293).

In terms of adjustment over time, cross-cultural adjustment has been divided into four stages, forming a U-shaped curve that includes: “a honeymoon period,” “depression,” “adjustment” and “acceptance” (Black, Mendenhall, & Oddou, 1991). In this study, I used cross-cultural adjustment to represent the following process. When an expatriate is placed in a new environment, (s)he often does not know what behavioral norms to conform to (Black & Gregersen, 1991). A period of time for learning and observation in the new environment is needed to determine and follow the rules of the new culture, both the explicit laws of the country, and the implicit standards of etiquette

that govern interpersonal behavior. Additionally, expatriates might also need to adapt to the new environment more generally, such as becoming used to the climate and the local food. During this process, the expatriate may have feelings of uncertainty, anxiety, and discomfort (Selmer, 2004). Furthermore, researchers indicated that measurement of cross-cultural adjustment should also take into account the process of expatriates being able to perform effectively at work (e.g., Shimoni, Ronen, & Roziner, 2005).

Theories of cross-cultural adjustment. Since 2011, most scholarly research relevant to cross-cultural adjustment has addressed issues relating to business expatriates (Black & Gregersen, 1991; Black & Stephens, 1989; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985; Tung, 1981). According to Mendenhall and Oddou, the attrition rate for expatriate assignments from 1965 to 1985 was between 25 per cent and 40 per cent. Other studies (e.g., Black, 1988; Tung, 1981) have shown different failure rates in overseas assignments. Failure rate in the context of this research is defined as a premature return; that is, when expatriates return to their home country earlier than expected. However, the failure rates posited in these studies range widely, between approximately 16 per cent and 40 per cent.

Tung (1981) investigated US expatriates' failure to function effectively in a foreign environment and revealed that the most important reason why US expatriates fail in overseas assignments is their inability to adjust to the different physical or cultural environment. Failure in overseas assignments costs a considerable amount (Black, 1992; Black & Stephens, 1989), and, as a result, more attention has been paid to cross-cultural adjustment. It should be noted that the use of premature return as the chief indicator of failure in this context was seen as inadequate by Harzing (1995), who pointed out that the

premature return of an ineffective employee may be viewed as a preferred outcome when considered against the ineffectual employee's continued work abroad.

Lysgaard (1955) looked at Norwegian expatriate students and their adjustment to the United States. Oberg (1960) developed the "culture shock theory" to support Lysgaard's study, and other researchers developed further cross-cultural adjustment models. These models are described briefly below.

The u-curve hypothesis. Lysgaard (1955) claimed that cross-cultural adjustment could be divided into three stages. The first, the introductory stage, involves expatriates observing the new cultural patterns, exploring new environments and enjoying the differences as an adventure. After the first stage, the enjoyment of the novelty disappears and expatriates try to integrate into the host country society to satisfy social needs. In the third stage, when they fail to integrate, frustration and alienation can develop and the expatriate potentially blames the host society (Lysgaard, 1955). Lysgaard posited that the cross-cultural adjustment process follows a "u-shaped curve" over time. Although the u-curve theory is still a commonly used heuristic in cross-cultural adjustment studies, some suggest that those studies are not well-supported and overly general in their conclusions (Ward & Kennedy, 1996). Studies have demonstrated that not every expatriate's experience follows the u-shaped curve, and some might even skip some stages (Forman & Zachar, 2001). For these reasons, the u-shaped curve and cross-cultural adjustment stage models have been criticized for being too broad and thus largely inadequate for academic purposes (Forman & Zachar, 2001; Ward & Kennedy, 1996).

Oberg's four stage model. Oberg (1958) refined Lysgaard's assertion by defining "culture shock" in pathological terms, and dividing cross-cultural adjustment into four stages. The initial stage is the "honeymoon stage," when expatriates are most excited about the new environment. This can last between a few days and six months, depending on the individual. The second stage begins after the excitement wanes. Expatriates start to have negative or aggressive emotional responses to the new environment, and experience difficulties in the process of adjustment, such as difficulties with shopping, transportation, language, and housing. This stage is critical for the success of the expatriate's experience in the host country in that if the expatriate manages to successfully navigate the difficulties, adjust to the norms, most will stay. If the difficulties are not overcome, the expatriate is more likely to leave the host country early. In Oberg's third stage, expatriates try to understand the differences between their native culture and the host culture. Expatriates begin to perceive the local culture positively, instead of simply criticizing what is different and difficult. The fourth and last stage is when the expatriate completes the adjustment, accepts the new context and customs and begins to enjoy them (Oberg, 1960).

Criticisms of the u-curve hypothesis. Because of the "u-curve" model's enduring popularity as a heuristic device it has attracted some critical attention. Ward (1996) critiqued its lack of empirical support and its predictive value, and suggested that it be abandoned: "The u-curve has been on trial now for almost 40 years, and the time is long overdue to render a verdict. Despite its popular and intuitive appeal, the u-curve model of sojourner adjustment should be rejected." (p. 290). This position is supported further

by the Ward, Bochner and Furnham (2001) in a review of the research concerning culture shock's effects on international students. Berardo (2006) recommended that practitioners scale back the use of the model because its high variability between individual experiences leads to a lack of predictive value.

Additional perspectives on cross-cultural adjustment and "culture shock."

Building upon Oberg's (1960) research, some scholars asserted that cross-cultural adjustment includes between five to eight stages (Adler, 1975). Adler characterized "culture shock" as a transitional experience and as "a set of emotional reactions to the loss of perceptual reinforcements from one's own culture, to new cultural stimuli which have little or no meaning, and to the misunderstanding of new and diverse experiences" (p. 13). In this view, the expatriate finds themselves in a place that lacks the perceptual stimuli that they unconsciously use to navigate their environment. For Adler, culture shock has five stages: Contact, the initial encounter with the new environment; Disintegration, the breakdown of the expatriate's native cultural norms in the face of a new system of cultural rules and expectations; Reintegration, when the new environment's norms fuse with that of the expatriate's and the two begin to become an amalgamated system; Autonomy, the stage at which the expatriate begins to operate as an individual actor within the amalgamated system developed through the prior stage; and Independence, in which the autonomy developed through the entire process creates the ability to determine and adapt to social systems beyond the ones encountered previously.

Black, Mendenhall and Oddou's cross-cultural adjustment model. Black, Mendenhall and Oddou (1991) reviewed the cross-cultural adjustment studies published

between 1956 and 1990, both theoretical and empirical, and integrated them into a cross-cultural adjustment framework. While this framework was not empirically tested by its creators it has been supported by a subsequent empirical study (Shaffer, Harrison & Gilley, 1999). My study divides cross-cultural adjustment process into two phases and five dimensions. The two phases are chiefly temporal-spatial in orientation and are comprised of anticipatory adjustment and in-country adjustment. The five dimensions are experiential-cognitive and consist of: (1) pre-departure training, (2) previous overseas experience, (3) organization selection mechanisms, (4) individual skills and (5) non-work factors (Black, Mendenhall & Oddou, 1991).

The first three dimensions-- pre-departure training, previous overseas experience and organization selection mechanisms-- are aspects of the phase of anticipatory adjustment and occur before the expatriates' departure from their home country. Black (1991) and other researchers (Masgoret, 2006; Winkelman, 1994) suggested that previous cross-cultural experience and cross-cultural training before departure potentially play an important part in cross-cultural adjustment in that they may help expatriates have more accurate expectations upon entering the host country, and thus may reduce the shock, anxiety and uncertainty after entering the host country. Black, Mendenhall and Oddou (1991) claimed that for international assignments, the criteria for selecting the right person and mechanisms for integrating that person into the new environment are the most important organizational factors in anticipatory adjustment. Black, Mendenhall and Oddou suggested that where it is possible to select individuals for overseas assignments from a wide range of relevant criteria and from a pool of candidates, the closer the

candidates match the international assignment's needs, the more easily and quickly they will succeed in cross-cultural adjustment as expatriates. The last two dimensions relate to in-country adjustment, which only takes place after the expatriates' arrival in the host country.

Louis' model of the adjustment process. In terms of personal adjustment to a new cultural context, Louis (1980) offered a useful construct comprised of three constructs: change, contrast, and surprise. "Change" happens when there is an objective difference in an important external feature between the old and the new environment. The more changes there are and the more unfamiliar the individual is with the new context, the greater the difficulty in adjusting.

Conversely, "contrast" is a function of changes that are recognized internally and are "perceived products of the individual's experience in the new setting and role (i.e., features identified as figures against the background of a total field)" (Louis, 1980, p. 331). In this sense, change could be understood as external phenomena, while contrast refers to the individual's internal perspective in relation to differences between the old and new environments. The third construct, surprise, has to do with the difference between the individual's expectations (conscious or unconscious) and the reality of the situation.

Louis' (1980) work here is focused on the central question of how the individual makes sense of their new context. To a certain extent, when faced with a new situation, the individual operates at an unconscious level; responding to the new situation according to learned patterns of behavior. In this sense, adaptation to a new country is

similar to adaptation to a new workplace. The unspoken norms of a new country structure acceptable personal behavior, much like the organizational norms of a new workplace dictate professional behavior. Because the organizational culture is a cognitive frame of reference, the individual will adopt patterns of behavior taken from their past experiences of the organizational culture (Bourdieu, 1977). This is especially true when the new situation is similar to the context of the individual's prior experience.

When confronted with a novel situation, or surprise, individuals use conscious, rational means to resolve confusion (Abelson, 1976). When events occur in a way the individual does not expect them to, the individual must rationalize the events through an analytical process of reassessment (Festinger, 1957).

Professional transitional adjustments. Studies of expatriate adaptation to cultural differences in a professional context have centered mainly on professionals in the private sector. However, some studies exist (e.g., Kostogriz & Peeler, 2004; Peeler & Jane, 2005; Remennick, 2002; Seah, 2003) that specifically look at the adjustment of expatriate teachers, both in government-sponsored and private schools.

The large-scale immigration of professionals from the former Soviet Union to Israel in the 1990s led to a number of expatriate teachers working in the Israeli school system. Remennick's study (2002) compared the personal narratives of thirty-six former Soviet school teachers of mathematics and physics. Of these 36, 20 remained in teaching and 16 left the profession. These teachers reported conflicts due to language/communication (having to teach in Hebrew), adapting to a different curriculum, and issues with a difference in student/teacher relationships.

A study in Israel using a narrative approach looked at immigrant teachers and the conflicts that arose from having to cross religious “borders” between Jews and Arabs (Elbaz-Luwisch, 2004). A major theme in the teachers’ narratives was the importance of developing a strong teacher identity that allowed them to find a “sense of place” between the cultural, religious and political boundaries experienced between different groups (Elbaz-Luwisch, 2004).

Expatriate Teachers in Australia

Recent studies on internationally-trained teachers in Australia (Cruickshank, 2004; Cruickshank, Newell, & Cole, 2003; Kostogriz & Peeler, 2004; Peeler & Jane, 2005; Seah, 2003) have shown that expatriate teachers face many barriers to full inclusion into the teaching community in their new countries. Practical barriers such as problems transferring credentials and language skill deficits are often compounded by problems in accessing community resources, such as mentor relationships and the implicit knowledge within the school. Peeler and Jane’s (2005) study included the case of a Korean teacher in Australia who experienced a feeling of powerlessness in her position due to a competitive relationship between staff members and the difference in the cultural role of teachers in Korea versus in Australia. In Korea, the relationship between student and teacher was more hierarchical, while in Australia the teacher/student relationship reflected was more egalitarian, as demonstrated through more informal communication between teachers and students, interpreted by several teachers in the study as a lack of deference.

Brislin and Pedersen (1976) suggested that the most successful cross-cultural training is that which takes into account a careful analysis of both the multiplicity of cultural schemata that expatriates bring to their international experience and forethought concerning potential conflicts which may arise from immersion into a new cultural context. It is unreasonable to expect that teachers will teach without expressing their cultural values (Seah, 2003). School administrators need to take into account the individual teaching backgrounds, teaching experiences and prior training when developing bridging structures in the training of expatriate teachers (Cruickshank, 2004). Teachers have a responsibility to reexamine their own cultural assumptions in regards to education and pedagogy to better understand cultural conflicts that can arise in their professional practice.

Professions and professionalism

What is a profession? What distinguishes a professional as a professional? How do we determine what occupations are professions? According to Esland (1980), the concept of “professions” emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as a result of industrialization and the expansion of technological rationalism as an epistemological ideology. Advanced societies have seen a growth in professional occupations as a result of the corporate capitalism of the twentieth century emerging from and supplanting the entrepreneurial capitalism of the nineteenth century, and the establishment of government-created social institutions which provide for citizens’ welfare (p. 224). According to Esland, these factors have established two types of professional occupations: the industrial managerialist professions typified by banking, engineering and

industrial psychology; and the social welfare occupations such as medicine, social work and teaching (p. 225). Esland held that:

Compared with the independent practitioner of the last nineteenth century, most professional workers are now salaried employees within large organizations.

Even in the areas of training, curriculum, and validation, some professions find that their regulations of entry and practice are determined by state departments rather than by their professional associations (although the associations are likely to be consulted). (p. 223)

Esland (1980) additionally claimed that the professions are intimately involved in the creation and dissemination of knowledge, contributing to the epistemological perspectives prevalent in society as a whole (p. 215). This perspective is similar to Mills' (1956) view that "as critics of morality, and technicians of power as spokesmen of God and creators of mass sensibility," workers in professional occupations have established a sizable base of power by which they influence the ideological perspectives of the society in which they operate (p. 4).

Functionalist definitions of the professions. Research into the professions from a functionalist perspective started in the 1930s through the attempt to define what characteristics delineated professions as opposed to other occupations (Esland, 1980; Johnson, 1972; Taylor & Runté, 1995). The structural- functionalist perspective on professions, utilizing a trait model, claims that the clearest delineating characteristic of a profession as opposed to other occupations is that they enjoy a privileged status (Esland, 1980) and provide services based on complex knowledge. Another aspect of this

designation of professional is that these occupations are characterized by autonomy on the job. This is the foundation of professional status in that it is only through autonomy from supervision and external control that the professional can best apply his expertise (Densmore, 1987).

Although scholars are varied in their identification of the exact characteristics of professions (Labaree, 1992; Larson, 1977; Lieberman, 1956) there is wide agreement that professions are characterized by the following traits: a set of knowledge and practices applied within a specific occupational capacity; a period of training and education necessary to master said knowledge and practices; a service-orientation; an ethical code specific to the occupation and regulated by the members of that occupation; a high degree of autonomy; high levels of remuneration; and a system of colleague-driven selection, training and advancement within the field (Darling-Hammond, 1990; Dreeben, 1988; Esland, 1980; Larson, 1977; Legatt, 1970). Different occupations vie for the status of profession by claiming to possess these attributes (Doyle, 1990). Occupations “become real communities whose members share a relatively permanent affiliation, an identity, personal commitment, specific interests, and general loyalties” (Larson, 1977, p. x).

The occupations work through a sort of exchange with the clients they serve. Competence and quality are exchanged for autonomy in both practice and ethical regulation, although the latter has eroded through the change from the individual practitioner-oriented model to the corporate organizational-oriented one (Esland, 1980). For this exchange to take place and to persevere the occupational group must establish a

body of knowledge which is reserved and inaccessible to the untrained. This body of knowledge provides the equipment for competent and quality labor (Labaree, 1992).

Functional trait model for defining professions. What professions were studied to draw these conclusions? Much of the research utilizing a functionalist trait model (Esland, 1980; Labaree, 1992; Pickle, 1990; Runté, 1995) looked at medicine and law as points of departure with the assumption that the traits exhibited in these occupations accounted for their status as professions. This literature has focused on the characteristics that the professions possess and the criteria that they are assumed to satisfy rather than looking at these traits as products of a particular ideological perspective related to professional status for occupations. For example, in the 1960s, “there was a belief that almost any occupation could undergo professionalization if it reflected the generally-held values of progress, rationality, science, specialized expertise, and above all, the desire for money and status” (Runté, 1995, p. 6).

Conflict theory model for defining professions. Conflict theorists, as opposed to the functional trait perspective, contend that there is no essential definition of “professions” or “professionals” (Densmore, 1987; Runté, 1995). Friedson (1983) stated that, “there is no single, truly explanatory trait or characteristic that can join together all occupations called professions beyond the actual fact of coming to be called profession” (pp. 32-33). Runté claimed that the traits used in the functionalist definitions of a profession were never adequately defined themselves in that there was never any explication of exactly how much training or education was required, how rigorous the certification process was, and how removed from common sense the privileged

knowledge required was before an occupation could be defined as a true profession. The current thinking is that, in light of the inability to precisely define characteristics whose presence or absence determine “profession” status, functionalist trait models are inadequate.

Is teaching a profession. Different attempts to place the teaching occupation in the category of a profession have focused variously on subject knowledge, practical knowledge and analytical skills (Wise, 1989); experience (Clement, 2002); an emphasis on management skills (Stronge, 2002); the quality of teaching practice (Hoyle, 1980); degree of commitment to the occupation (Morrow, 1988); specific behaviors of teachers (Hurst & Reding, 2000); and a balance between commitment to change, learning, subject knowledge, knowledge of pedagogical methods, and the character of the individual teacher (Sokkett, 1993).

Tracking the emergence of professionalism as a concept, Sykes (1999) found many challenges to the classification of teaching as a profession, including the impression that teaching is an easy job capable of being performed by anyone. He contended that the development of standards to ensure a highly-qualified workforce is essential in establishing professionalism in teaching. Sykes asserted that, while teaching may not be currently considered a profession in his estimation, increased standards and emphasis on professional development is both an easily achieved and necessary step towards the occupation’s establishment as a true profession.

Research suggests that teacher professionalism is an essential aspect of excellence in instruction. Schleicher and Stewart (2008) stated that countries which

perform well on international education rankings “recruit strong teacher candidates, promote sound subject matter preparation, offer induction programs that support new teachers during their first few years of development, and offer ongoing professional development” (p. 49). These countries, Schleicher and Stewart claimed, establish teachers as knowledge workers, with a corresponding level of autonomous decision making and problem solving discretion. This level of professionalism, according to Schleicher and Stewart, is one of the key features, along with high universal standards; accountability and autonomy; and personalized learning, to achieving successful test scores for these countries (2008).

What is professionalism. Professionalism pertains to the quality of an individual’s work, the standards of practice in the field as well as the individual’s character which informs this practice (Hall & Schulz, 2003). Professionalism may also be defined as the possession of professional knowledge which influences practice and the values and attitudes that create and reinforce practical standards (Moyles, 2001; Murray, 2006; Osgood, 2006).

Theoretical research on professionalism and teaching. The concept of professionalism as applied to educators has radically changed over the years. Hargreaves (2000) posited that there have been four “ages” of professionalism and professional learning. The first is the “pre-professional age,” in which teaching, as a practice, was seen as “managerially demanding but technically simple” (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 156). This means that the standards of practice were seen as commonsense, the training based on a practical apprenticeship and the chief demands lay in keeping students’ attention,

covering the content, motivating students and achieving mastery (Hoetker & Ahlbrand, 1969; Westbury 1973).

The second age of professionalism was the age of the autonomous professional. This period, beginning roughly in the 1960s (Hargreaves, 2000), is characterized by a kind of “licensed autonomy” (Dale, 1988), in which teachers were allowed autonomy and improved standards of conditions (material reward, job security, etc.) in exchange for fulfilling state mandates and requirements (Helsby & McCulloch, 1997).

Hargreaves (2000) called the third period of educational professionalism “the age of the collegial professional” (p. 162). In this period, the model of the autonomous teaching professional was seen as too limited to properly address the complexities of the contemporary educational landscape. The increased autonomy allowed in the previous age meant that teachers who had to develop new methodologies to teach in ways that they had not learned were faced with relying on an uncoordinated support structure (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1996). These problems began to be addressed starting in the mid-to-late 1980s (McLaughlin, 1997), as the role of the teacher began to expand to emphasize collaborative planning, consultation and joint work with colleagues. These efforts made it easier to share resources and methods, as well as to develop strategies for dealing with the increased demands instituted by school administrators and state regulatory bodies (Hargreaves, 2000). Some of the driving factors in the increased need for collaboration have been the changes in the substance of what teachers are expected to teach (Britzman, 1991; Campbell, 1985), the need for wider knowledge of teaching methods (Joyce & Weil, 1980), the integration of students with a wide variety of needs into ordinary classes

(Woods, Jefferey, Troman, & Boyle, 1997), and growing cultural diversity (Cummins, 1998). These selected issues illustrate a shift from the third age of the independent and autonomous “expert” practicing a pedagogy judged chiefly from the achievement of performance indicators mandated from official entities external to the school community (Helsby & McCulloch, 1997) towards a model of the teaching professional as a creator of standards and practices. In this age, “professionalism” is defined through collegial and collective interactions toward the development of new methods and in the face of increased pressures from reform initiatives.

The advent of the postmodern age, beginning in the 1970s, was driven by new power relationships in economics (Ruccio & Amariglio, 2003), politics (Aronowitz, 1988; La Caze, 2007), and communications (Garcia Capilla, 2012; Steinkamp, 1997), among other fields. As a result there has been a shift in the conception of what constitutes personal (Berzonsky, 2005; Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Levine, 2005) and socio-cultural (Yuval-Davis, Anthias, & Kofman, 2005; Phinney, 2005; Weber, 2001) identities. Included in this postmodern change in the perception of power dynamics are shifts in the conceptions of professionalism and professional identity.

Hargreaves’ (2000) fourth age of professionalism, ironically, is an age characterized by increased deprofessionalization of teaching preparation standards in countries such as England and New Zealand, with more emphasis being placed on conforming practice to satisfy standard measures of quality rather than encouraging autonomy and creativity (Barton, Barrett, Whitty, Miles, & Furlong, 1994), increased control of the content and methods of teaching (Bishop & Mulford, 1996), and additional

burdens provided by the reform initiatives handed down from policy makers removed from the actual practice of teaching and ground-level educational labor (Webb & Vulliamy, 1993). Smyth (2001) noted that this constitutes a “substantial contradiction” (p. 39) and the “ultimate irony” (p. 89) of teachers’ work in the modern era. He asserted that: “[Teachers] are supposedly being given more autonomy at precisely the same time as the parameters within which they are expected to work and against which they will be evaluated are being tightened and made more constraining” (Smyth, 1991, p. 224).

To successfully navigate this new age, Goodson and Hargreaves (1996) proposed a set of seven principles for postmodern professionalism: The opportunity and responsibility to exercise discretionary judgment; opportunities and expectations to engage with the moral and social purposes and the value of what is taught; commitment to working in collaborative cultures with colleagues; working authoritatively, yet openly and collaboratively, with other stakeholders; a commitment to care for students, not simply to placate the superficial needs of satisfying artificial measures of progress; a self-directed search for continuous learning related to one’s own expertise and standards of practice rather than the obligations imposed through an ever-changing series of reform initiatives; and the creation and recognition of high task complexity. In the study here, I use these seven principles as a framework for discussing teachers’ perceptions of professionalism.

Research on teachers’ views on professionalism. How do teachers view professionalism? Does the environment in which the teachers operate affect this view? Troman (1996) looked at teachers’ perspectives of professionalism in the midst of a

school reform initiative. Studying a particular school in England, and taking into account the restructuring of the English educational system beginning in the mid-1980s, Troman found that the differences in views of professionalism, as well as the changes in environment which affected these perspectives, were partially determined by the length of time teachers had worked in the field, as well as the number of changes teachers had experienced in their career.

A Danish study of teachers' emotions during a reform process and how the process affected the teachers' view on professional identity (Van Veen, Slegers, & Van den Ven, 2005) found that the way teachers perceive their identity as professionals is vitally important to their motivation and reaction to change. Storey (2007) found that teachers coming to the profession later in life, with previous professional experience, were more accepting and relaxed about the performance standards and evaluations that characterize the push for more professionalism in teaching in England.

Tichenor and Tichenor's study on teachers' perspectives on professionalism.

Perhaps the most pertinent study found in relation to this study is Tichenor and Tichenor's (2004) investigation of the views of current teachers on what it means to be a professional and to exhibit professionalism in the field of education. The researchers conducted focus-group interviews with elementary school teachers at four schools partnered with university programs for teacher education.

Tichenor and Tichenor (2004) analyzed the teachers' comments using a five-category model derived from Sockett (1993): character; commitment to change and continuous improvement; subject knowledge; pedagogical knowledge; and obligations

and working relationships outside of the classroom. They found that teachers defined a professional as those who are caring, nurturing, friendly, resilient, patient, flexible, confident, well organized, creative, conscientious, dedicated, moral, and ethical, has positive attitudes, is dressed neat and clean, and passionate about their work. The teachers in this study also viewed characteristics such as determination, patience, courage and respect as essential contributors to their professionalism.

Tichenor and Tichenor (2004) found that teachers believed that the desire to change and improve, as well as the possession of subject knowledge were important aspects of professionalism. They also found that the teachers interviewed believed that part of being a professional is the responsibility to collaborate with their peers, a finding that reflects those found by Shacklock (1998), where caring and reciprocal relationships with students and colleagues was asserted as an important part of teachers' professional roles.

Deprofessionalization

How do changes in the labor activity of teaching relate to perceptions of professionalism? Apple (1989) and Hargreaves (1994) offer an analysis of the *deprofessionalization* of teaching and its relationship to "intensification." Apple (1989) claimed that restructuring the work of teachers, removing its aspects requiring judgment and conceptual skills, have left teachers with repetitive tasks which only represent a portion of the true process of teaching. The transformation of, particularly, elementary level teaching from primarily male to primarily female (p. 58) is pointed to as a contributing factor to this process, with the formalization of the profession, lengthening

school year and patriarchal familial norms playing a part in this transformation. The intensification of teachers' work, and the increase in administrative layers, have removed decision-making responsibility from the classroom and reflected the reduced autonomy present in other professions.

Hargreaves (1994) expands the concept of intensification by outlining some characteristics of labor intensification. He described intensification as having the following traits: a lack of time, with little time for relaxation or individually-directed professional development; a situation of chronic and persistent overload; a shift from time spent caring for students towards time spent handling administrative tasks; mandated diversification of expertise, demanding that science teachers teach cross-curricular written composition skills, for example, and the production of packaged curricula and pre-ordained pedagogical methods. Hargreaves warned of the danger of teacher burnout as a result of feelings of guilt which may emerge as the importance of "care" is subsumed by the imperatives imposed from increased intensification of teachers' work.

The question of intensification's role in affecting teachers' work was addressed by Ballet, Kelchtermans, and Loughran (2006), who claimed that the issue is much more complex than asserted by earlier researchers. They offered three refinements to the intensification thesis: that there exist multiple sources of intensification and that it cannot simply be attributed to external pressures (from administration, curricular demands, etc.); that the effects of intensification are in fact mediated by school boards, the schools, and

the teachers themselves; and that the impact is “differentiated,” meaning that different teachers experience the phenomenon in different ways.

Apple and Jungck (1990) conducted a study to describe the feelings of teachers utilizing a prepackaged curriculum for a computer course. The materials were not presented to the teachers framed as a form of deskilling or deprofessionalization. They found that some teachers felt unable to integrate their own judgment, ideas and expertise because of the workload. This reflects Apple’s (1989) earlier contention that the use of prepackaged curricula constitutes a form of deskilling, in that teachers are no longer part of the creative process in relation to the curriculum, but rather simply executors of a program imposed from without. However, some of the teachers in the 1990 study found the curriculum useful, in that they reported that they did not feel qualified to teach the material without it. The fact that a number of the teachers indicated that they felt that the curriculum was useful to them, and that it saved them preparation time begs the question of what the teachers’ perspectives on the use of the curriculum would have been had it been presented to them as a form of deskilling or deprofessionalism, and indeed how teachers themselves define professionalism and deprofessionalism.

Effects of deprofessionalization on teachers’ work. What are the effects of a teacher’s view of deprofessionalism? Gitlin (2001) studied two American schools regarding the impact of the threat of intensification and deprofessionalism had on teacher decision-making. Gitlin found that the desire to contain intensification, meaning to abrogate the negative effects of intensification on teachers’ work, led to a kind of “defensive teaching” (p. 229), employing techniques that are based more in fact-based

instruction and routine tasks and less susceptible to subjective assessments of quality.

This study found variation between the schools in regard to conception and execution of policy. Also, Gitlin discovered that, at the schools studied, work was not always intensified and that teachers adjusted their practice with the intention of forestalling the threat of intensification. These adjustments included the use of prepackaged curricula, which led to an underutilization of teacher creativity and, in some cases, to poorer teaching.

This resonates with the “proletarianization thesis” advanced in relation to teachers by Lawn and Ozga (1981), who claimed that, over time, the intensity of teachers’ work leads to increasing number of workers being deskilled, with conceptual and judgment-based skills being usurped by management. Note that this application of the proletarianization thesis differs from the position of Derber (1983), who claimed that the deskilling of non-industrial workers occurs primarily in the realm of “ideological proletarianization,” meaning that the worker directs their labor towards the goals and values of the organization, subsuming their creative and autonomous professional character. Apple (1989) went further, claiming that the process of deskilling inevitably leads to reskilling teachers into clerk-type skills and that intensification, due to the time constraints created by its imposition, lead teachers to have less time to reflect on their practice, further reducing their capacity for autonomy and judgment-based skills.

The effects of intensification on teachers’ work can be seen even where the students being taught are not under the scrutiny of state examinations. A case study of an experienced elementary school teacher in California, conducted by Wills and Sandholtz

(2009), found that the teacher's practice in relation to a student not subject to state testing was characterized by a minimization of personal discretion. The researchers found that the time constraints and contextual pressures imposed by the atmosphere of a deprofessionalized institution altered the teacher's expression of professional autonomy in subtle ways, despite the fact that the student was not subject to examination by the state. Wills and Sandholtz (2009) termed this situation "constrained professionalism" (p. 1065).

Wong's (2006) study explored teachers' perceptions of their daily practice in the context of an educational decentralization reform program in China. Wong posited that the delegation of power from a central organization to subordinate groups often creates a competitive, performance-based system which can intensify teachers' roles. She concluded that teachers, under a system that promotes a competitive and performance-based climate of education, lack autonomy, are being marginalized as the conception and execution of teaching and pedagogy is removed from teachers' control and handed over to the external groups producing the standardized materials (curriculum and assessments). Wong found that teachers in this system feel the need to conform their teaching to the content of the standardized materials, leading to the diminishment of their decision-making opportunities in regards to the needs of their classrooms.

Conversely, research into changes in teachers' work in Australia suggests that deprofessionalization can have a positive influence on teachers' perspectives on their professionalism (Robertson, 1996). Robertson claimed that the process of "proletarianization" of teachers through increasing standardization of their labor leads to

greater reflection and a critical perspective on practice. However, she drew a distinction between the outcomes of deprofessionalization and the processes of deprofessionalization, asserting that the opportunities for increased critical reflection lie within the process, as teachers become more “learner managers” than autonomous professionals.

Clearly teachers are a potential source of opposition during a period of transition.

The potential for conflict arises during periods of fundamental restructuring when the prevailing ideology of an occupational group differs sharply from that of the new regime. Having been steeped in more than three decades of the ideology of the welfare state and notions of ‘social uplift’, teachers are likely to question those reforms which legitimize private rather than public interests, and which might lead to further inequity and social injustice (p. 39).

Identity

The definition of identity formation operant in the present study is drawn from literature on both adult development and teacher education. The literature reveals four basic assertions concerning a definition of identity formation: identity is formed and dependent on multiple contexts (Beijard, Verloop & Vermut, 2000; Gee, 2001); identity is formed in relationship with others and involves emotions (Gee, 2001; Hargreaves, 2001); identity is shifting, unstable and multiple (Beijard, Verloop & Vermut, 2000; Gee, 2001); and that identity involves the construction of meaning through narratives (Beijard, Verloop & Vermut, 2000; Connelly & Clandinin, 2006).

These statements form a picture of identity as a malleable structure developed

through experience and vital to the creation of meaning. Thus an understanding of the narratives which define the individual's identity is essential to understanding how that individual operates in the world. The aim of the present study aligns to this assertion in that the chief goal is to understand the way the expatriate English teacher experience in Abu Dhabi affects the professional identity of the participants.

Theoretical perspectives on identity. Questions about human identity are complicated (Cozart, 2009). Aspects such as geographical location, historical and social context, gender and cultural heritage play powerful roles in the formation of an individual's identity and how that identity relates to organizations and structures in which that individual is embedded (Bourdieu, 1984). Teachers' identities, and the negotiation of those identities, have an impact on what happens in schools (Cochran-Smith, 1995) and with the functioning of the relationships (between teachers, students, administrators, support staff, parents and other stakeholders) which constitute the organization.

Jenkins (2008) contended that people appear to have a good sense of themselves and those around them as they locate themselves within the world. However, as clear as an individual's operational sense of their own identity may be, there are situations in which the issue of identity must be more closely analyzed. One such situation is when the question of cross-cultural identity are raised (Godina & Choi, 2009), such as when an individual takes on a professional assignment abroad (Lindgren & Wåhlin, 2001).

Gee (2001) posited that "when any human being acts and interacts in a given context, others recognize the individual as a certain 'kind of person' or even several different 'kinds' at once" (p. 99). In this view, an individual's identity may be seen as

situated within a particular context and thus variable, depending on the individual's position in relation to that context. Wenger (1998) holds that the individual's participation within a community, as understood to be a part of the larger concept of "context," is instrumental in the formation of identity. Identity, in this sense, is "produced as a lived experience of participation in specific communities" (p. 151) and partially responsible for engendering a sense of belonging in the individual.

Teachers' positioning within new contexts. When teachers become part of school communities, they have undergone a process of positioning and exchange, before finding their place within the community. This process involves a negotiation between the individual's values and beliefs and those of the new community, which has its own "practices, routines, rituals, artifacts, symbols, conventions, stories and histories" (Wegner, 1998, p. 6). Because this applies to all individuals entering into a new context, and thus all teachers moving into a new school community, this negotiation experience also relates to non-expatriate teachers, however the challenge of integration within a new community increases the greater the difference between the previous and new contexts.

Why does identity matter? Cochran-Smith (1995) posited that, in examining teachers' identity in relation to their contexts:

This kind of examination inevitably begins with our own histories as human beings and as educators—our own cultural, racial, and linguistic backgrounds and our own experiences as raced, classed, and gendered children, parents, and teachers in the world. It also includes a close look at the tacit assumptions we make about the motivations and behaviors of other children, other parents, and

other teachers and about the pedagogies we deem most appropriate for learners who are like us and who are not like us. (p. 500)

Therefore teachers' identities inform their assumptions about the motivations and potentiality of their students, their colleagues, and the wider community. This can have a great effect on the success a teacher has in achieving their pedagogical objectives.

Narrative inquiry. Narrative inquiry offers an opportunity to explicate identity through the stories individuals recount about themselves. This method also offers the researcher the opportunity to catch a glimpse of the how individuals construct their cultural and professional identities. Bruner (2002) offered that life narratives "reflect the prevailing theories" that inform an individual's identity (p. 694).

Essentialist perspectives on identity. Two chief theoretical orientations for the question of identity exist: essentialist and constructivist (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Gosine, 2002; Somers, 1994). Essentialism, in regard to identity, is the concept that there is an innate set of attributes that define an individual. These attributes make the individual distinct from others who do not possess the same attributes. According to this perspective, these attributes are also not based on context and are not mutable (Cartwright, 1968).

The history of the essentialist perspective is rooted in the philosophy of idealism, a concept which extends at least as far back as Plato and extends through the Neo-Platonists of the early Common Era, the Cartesian revival of rationalism in the Enlightenment, and the eighteenth and nineteenth Continental tradition--of whom the exemplars would be Kant, Leibniz and Hegel-- and into the present in the figures of John

McDowell and WVO. Quine (Dunham, Grant & Watson, 2011). This perspective has informed the question of identity through both the resolution that the self, and consequently agency and identity, are aspects of a collective identification with a larger group. This view was held by both Hegel and Marx, and informed their concepts of *geist* and universal class, respectively. The essentialist view of identity claims both that there is a split between the personal and professional identity of an individual (Alcoff, 1988; Zaretsky, 1994) and that there is a core and static self within all individuals (Calhoun, 1998). Essentialists posit a group identification in which members of a particular set (be it race, gender, sexual orientation, profession, nationality, etc.) possess characteristics that emerge from a unified and unique social experience from which a sense of self emerges. This represents a shift from the individual-dominated work published through the 1970s (Cerulo, 1997). Appiah and Gates (1995) went so far as to label the “holy trinity” of gender/sexuality, race/ethnicity, and class as the primary discursive sets in social science research.

Constructivist perspectives on identity. Counter to the essentialist perspective, the constructivist, or anti-essentialist, view holds that identity is a shifting and negotiable entity that challenges the idea of unified group experiences. Cultural theorists, such as Hall and du Gay (1996), and post structural feminists like Fausto-Sterling (1992) and Butler (1989) have questioned the validity of rigid group identities and even the idea of a stable individual sense of self. This rejection of a core identity is important for the present study in that I did not attempt to determine any greater answer to the question of what is the root identity of American expatriate English teachers who participated in this

study. Rather, I focused on an exploration of how the participants incorporate their professional, personal and situated identities into their present context in a constructed and negotiated sense (Day & Kingston, 2008).

For poststructuralists, the affective functions in regard to identity formation are power and language (Britzman, 1994). For these theorists, it is inadequate to think about identity without considering how the network of power relations within the self lives and operates. For teachers, some of these power relations that lead to a constant reconstruction of teacher identity include administrative practices, changing educational policies and assessment practices.

Britzman (1994) emphasized the importance of language in teacher identity discourse when she wrote that:

When practices become texts they must be read not as guarantees of essential truths, or as literal recipes for action, but as representations, as fabrications of particular discourses as they implicate the voices of teachers and researchers in larger interests and investments. (p. 72)

A poststructuralist perspective places identity as a site for conflict and creation. The self is seen as varied and multiple and these multiple conceptions of self contend for primacy within certain situations. They are constructed and reconstructed as the individuals negotiate their way through multiple contexts (Alcoff, 1988).

A poststructuralist position on identity positions experience, knowledge and subjectivity as key elements in identity formation. The importance of subjectivity, being specifically how the individual places him/herself within a particular context such as a

school, as several researchers attest.

The definition of identity in the present study. The definition of identity used in this study is of two parts. The first part, self-concept, is both a useful cognitive device for making meaning of the world as well as a product of the workings of said device replicating itself, essentially that the meaning that self-concept constructs from the world is used as context in which to reconstruct self-concept (Damon & Hart, 1988; Lewis, 1990). Self-concept, as a cognitive tool, functions by storing experiential memories, organizing life events, and as an apparatus for emotional and motivational action (Markus & Wurf, 1987). Self-concept operates as an apparatus in that it provides a consistent anchor from which the individual can make sense of who one is and what to expect from themselves and other people (Oyserman, 1993). By providing a store of experiential memories, organized chronologically, the self-concept creates a template useful to developing strategies to deal with individuals' relationships with the people and the world around them (Andersen, Glassman, & Gold, 1998).

The second part of the definition of identity is taken from social identity theory, which views identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his membership of a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to this" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 63). In the scope of this present study, the social group identity under scrutiny is that of teachers, and more specifically American expatriate teachers of English new to Abu Dhabi public secondary schools. In anticipation of possible alterations to the participants' perceptions of professionalism and of their professional identities defining how identity is formed and developed is

important.

Definitions of professional identity. Professional identity, sometimes termed occupational, work, vocational, or career identity (Skorikov & Vonracek, 2011), has been described as “self-meaning connected with work” (Olesen, 2001), or the “conscious awareness of oneself as a worker” (Skorikov & Vonracek, 2011, p. 693). It is therefore analogous to the “sense of self” central to the concept of identity, although it can be considered to be more contextually specific (Billot, 2010). The contextual nature is, to a large extent, a consequence of the communities within which one practices and the levels of one’s participation within these communities. Professional identity is often a “nexus of multi-membership” of several communities of practice (Wenger, 1998).

Trede, Macklin, and Bridges (2012) suggested that feelings of “personal adequacy and satisfaction” in the workplace are related to professional identity and emerge as the “individual develops the values and behavior patterns consistent with society’s expectations of members of the profession” (p. 10). In addition, they reported that professional identity forms when a person cultivates the “attitudes, beliefs and standards which support the practitioner role,” and couples it with “a clear understanding of the responsibilities” of being a professional. Furthermore, Oliver and Roos (2007) suggested that professional identity can also be viewed as agency, suggesting that it is the individual’s identity that will determine what they do and also how they do it. This agency notion of professional identity is expressed in the idea that professional or career success is associated with the positive construction of professional identity.

Self-efficacy. An adjunct concept to professional identity is that of self-efficacy,

the belief people have in their ability to carry out tasks. Bandura (1997) emphasized the importance of self-efficacy: “An optimistic sense of efficacy fosters psychological well-being and personal accomplishments” (p. 75). A person who has a strong belief in his/her capabilities engages in tasks with confidence, seeing difficulties as challenges that add to his/her skill set rather than as personal threats. This approach to task engagement leads to the setting of difficult and rewarding goals and fosters a commitment towards their achievement. Conversely the individual with low self-efficacy tends to avoid difficult tasks that can be seen as threats. When faced with setbacks, the person with high self-efficacy recovers quickly and perceives failure as a problem of preparation or effort, both resolvable deficits. The individual with low self-efficacy on the other hand, views task failure as a failure of personal aptitude and focuses on perceived personal deficiencies. This leads to low aspirations in that the issues which precipitated the task failure are not seen as capable of transcendence, rather they are innate aspects of the self. Thus it takes a relatively little amount of failure to discourage the low self-efficacy individual from future efforts. The high self-efficacy individual confronts intimidating situations with the assurance that such situations can be controlled. Such an outlook reduces stress and lowers the risk of depression (Bandura, 1994).

Key features of self-efficacy. Self-efficacy affects the emotive state, the professional aspirations and the persistence of teachers (Ashton & Webb, 1986). Denham and Michael’s (1981) report for the Rand foundation centered on studies in 1976 and 1977 which found that the construct of self-efficacy was positively related to student academic success. Two key features of the construct that were singled out as notable in

the report were the teachers' belief in the effectiveness of teaching to lead to results in the classroom and the teachers' personal belief in their own effectiveness in affecting student achievement positively. Additional research (Ashton, 1984) has asserted that teachers with a sense of high self-efficacy feel responsible for student learning, have high expectations for students and feel a sense of personal accomplishment tied to the achievement of their students. These teachers have a strong interpersonal orientation (Dembo & Gibson, 1985; Kinzie & Delcourt, 1991) and tend to spend more time on student learning (Bandura, 1993).

Expatriate teachers, self-efficacy and professional identity. Individual self-efficacy is an adaptable and situational construct. A change in context or in the people with whom the individual interacts contributes to a continuous process of reconstruction of the perception of self (Bandura, 1993; Kostogriz & Peeler, 2004). For expatriate teachers, the change of professional environment, coupled with the necessity to interact with an unfamiliar group of colleagues and students provide the impetus for an often radical reconstruction of the self, including self-efficacy and professional identity (Canh, 2013). This restructuring of identity is necessary for expatriate teachers who must reconcile their own sense of self-efficacy and professional identity with the professional and social standards of the host country (LoBianco, 1999). The expectation that the expatriate teacher will integrate seamlessly into the host culture's value structure is a common feature of immigrant/expatriate teacher experiences (Farrell, 2000). Redefining success in terms of a different set of social and cultural values, as well as perhaps adopting new pedagogical methods, can create tensions between adapting to the new

educational culture and maintaining previously-held values (Kostogriz, 2002). Peeler's (2005) study of immigrant teachers in Australia found that the sense of self-efficacy and the self-identification as a professional were central components of both the teachers' classroom practice and student learning.

Teacher identity/professional identity. One issue with providing a definitive definition of teacher identity is that there are many conflicting conceptualizations and vague generalization in the literature. As a consequence, the concept of teacher identity is either taken for granted or conflated with professionalism and professional identity. Olsen (2008) argued that the problem with defining teacher identity partially derives from the multiple ways the term "identity" is used in psychology.

What is the use then of teacher identity as a frame for research? The term's utility comes in its application to teachers as individuals whose perspectives of themselves is constantly being reconstructed in relation to others, to their work environments, to their professional objectives and in the cultural understanding of teaching as a social role.

Researchers have explored the concept of teacher identity with an eye primarily towards the professional aspects of the role; that is, teachers' professional identity and perceptions of their professional roles in their practice. It is essential to then examine specifically the professional identity of teachers and then to shift to the broader concept of teacher identity.

Despite a certain vagueness attached to the definition and use of the term identity in the literature on teachers, there are similarities between definitions and uses which provide a useful position upon which to build. According to Rodgers and Scott (2008),

contemporary views of identity share four basic assumptions: identity is dependent on and developed within multiple contexts that bring a variety of forces (social, historical, cultural, economic, political, etc.) to bear on that development; that identity is formed through relationships with others and involves emotions; that identity is constantly shifting, and is an unstable and multiple entity (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004; Britzman, 1994; Danielewicz, 2001; Day, 2002; Day, Elliot & Kington., 2005; Day & Kington, 2008; Olsen, 2008); and that identity involves making sense of the world through constructing and reconstructing narratives (Connelly & Clandinin, 1999).

Definitions of teacher identity. One problem with using the term teacher identity is that the term has been vaguely defined. Following the essentialist/constructivist dichotomy that informs more general questions of identity, teacher identity and teacher role are often confused with each other and thought of as similar by pre service and practicing teachers (Britzman, 1994; Danielewicz, 2001; Flores & Day, 2006; Guadelli & Ousley, 2009; Walkington, 2005). Researchers have labored to draw a clear distinction between teacher identity and teacher role, with identity referring to who a teacher is, and role rather being what a teacher does (Britzman, 1994; Danielewicz, 2001). This distinction between the interior state of being (identity) and the exterior practice of tasks (role) is important in that it allows space between the concepts to examine the relationship between the two and effect one on the other.

Søreide's (2007) research on Norwegian elementary teachers questioned the extent to which teacher education programs could produce prescribed identities. In policy documents, Søreide found that teachers were expected to be "inclusive and pupil-

centered; concerned for the individual pupil, concerned for the social climate of the class, the teacher as care giver, the teacher as democracy-oriented, and the teacher as motivating and inspiring to the pupils” (p. 134). For Søreide, the language on teacher identity embedded in the policy documents exerted a strong governing function beyond the essential auspices of teacher education and educational administration, with the language on teacher identities formed from a competing series of dichotomies that serve to refine teachers’ concepts of their identities.

Even in adhering to policy standards, teachers are still constantly negotiating themselves, their identity, in relation to the changing circumstances in which they enact their role. A substantial body of current research examines the development of teachers’ professional identity (e.g., Andrzejewski, 2008; Atay & Ece, 2009; Beane & Lipka, 1984; Beijaard, Verloop & Vermut., 2000; Ben-Peretz, Mendelson & Kron, 2003; Brinthaupt & Lipka, 1992; Brown, 2006; Coldron & Smith, 1999; Connelly & Clandinin, 1999; Day & Kington, 2008; Gornall, Cook, Daunton, Salisbury & Thomas, 2014; Isbell, 2006; Korthagen, 2004; Lasky, 2005; Lipka & Brinthaupt, 1999; MacDonald, 2006; Maguire, 2008; Ronfeldt & Grossman, 2008; Smit & Fritz, 2008; Smith, 2007; Travers & Cooper, 1996; Woods & Jeffrey, 2002).

Various terms are also used interchangeably in much of the literature. “Professional identity” is used, but also “work-based identity” (Gornall, Cook, Daunton, Salisbury & Thomas, 2014) and “occupational identity” (Isbell, 2006), which keeps the focus of the concept clearly within the realm of labor and work-place roles, as well as “situational identity,” which implies a broader analysis of identity as contextually

constructed (Smit & Fritz, 2008). Following this, the concept of teacher professional identity is less likely to be considered a static entity, rather, teachers' professional identity is more widely considered to be multiple and malleable (Coldron & Smith, 1999; Smith, 2007). The idea that identity is a function of context is supported by Cooper and Olson (1996), who stressed that professional identity is complex and fragmented. Their perspective on identity is that of a multidimensional, multi-layered and dynamic process, thus drawing on the concept of identity as a "thing," in the Heideggerian sense of *das ding*, wherein professionalism is not to be understood as a static concept derivable from general concepts but rather a practice located within a particular space and time and oriented towards a particular purpose, and that the purpose itself has emerged from its own particularities (Gendlin, 1967; Heidegger, 1996).

Teachers' identities is also demonstrated through their practice (Coldron & Smith, 1999), thus providing a link between the concepts of "identity" and "role." Wenger (1998) drew the connection between identity and practice by stating that identity is produced "as a lived experience of participation in specific communities" (p. 151). Conversely, some research seems to demonstrate a connection between the definition of identity and performativity. Lasky (2005), for example, claimed that "teacher professional identity is how teachers define themselves to themselves and to others" (p. 901). This formulation is suggestive of identity both as a non-essentialist element of a person's exterior interactions, emerging from self-perception of his/her own identity, as well as more closely correlated with "role." This performativity-definition of identity as more closely aligned with practice and role offers some distance from the symbolic

interactionist schools' way of defining identity wherein the "self" serves a governing function keeping behaviors consistent and in accordance with individuals' conception of themselves. This function is motivated by the desire of the individual to verify their conception of themselves in the perception of others (Burke & Tully, 1977; Gecas & Burke, 1995; Weinstein, Wiley & DeVaughn, 1966). The performativity approach to identity posits that identity is "shorn of its association with volition, choice and intentionality" (Hall & Gay, 1996, p.14) and further that the discursive element of the presentation of identity serves to "produce the phenomena that it regulates and constraints" (Butler, 1993, p. 2).

While Butler's (1993) work in this instance refers chiefly to the materiality of the body, and the individual's relationship to their corporeal self, the analysis is relevant to professional identity. Positing that the identity is "assumed" by a subject, who then creates exclusionary boundaries, Butler referred to "'unlivable' and 'uninhabitable' zones of social life" (p. 3), against which the subject draws conclusions as to their proper affective fields.

In terms of teaching contexts this analysis is pertinent in regard to teachers' statements regarding their proper place within the greater field of education work. Beijard, Verloop & Vermut. (2000) concluded that most teachers who participated in their research perceived themselves "as a combination of subject matter experts, didactical experts and pedagogical experts" (p. 761). By offering positive positions of role/affective domains within the context of school, in the Butlerian sense, identity emerges through the performance of the perceived proper action affiliated with these

labels.

Relationship between professional and personal identity. So if identity is the way individuals make sense of themselves and the image of the self that is presented/performed for others, then what is the relationship between the professional and the personal? The interrelationship between the professional and personal domains in the question of identity is unavoidable (Day & Kington, 2008). McLure (1993) states that,

Identity is a continuing site of struggle for teachers [it] should not be seen as a stable entity—something that people have but something that they use, to justify, explain and make sense of themselves in relationship to other people and to the contexts in which they operate. In other words, identity is a form of argument. As such, it is both practical and theoretical. It is also inescapably moral: identity claims are inevitably bound up with justifications of conduct and belief.” (p.312).

This sense of “identity as argument” is related both to the professional obligations (to students, peers, administrators and imposed imperatives, etc.) and also to the individual’s sense of personal identity and how that relates to their professional identity as teachers. This interrelationship was developed by Palmer (1998), who maintained that quality teaching emerges from the identity and integrity of the teacher. The author defines identity and integrity as:

By identity I mean an evolving nexus where all the forces that constitute my life converge in the mystery of self: my genetic makeup, the nature of the man and woman who gave me life, the culture in which I was raised, people who have

sustained me and people who have done me harm, the good and the ill I have done to others and to myself, the experience of love and suffering—and much much more. In the midst of that complex field, identity is a moving intersection of the inner and outer forces that make who I am. (p.13)

This expansive definition of identity transcends the professional, through the personal, and into, arguably, the spiritual. In a way it is reminiscent of Bourdieu's (1984) concept of field in its emphasis on identity as a “nexus,” an intersection of influences within a vastly complex environment of collaborative and competing factors. This characterization begs the question of whether a nexus should be understood as a fixed point of convergence or more like a receptacle of influences, reminiscent of Hume's “bundle of impressions”, and if this “nexus” is analogous to Hume's idea is the question of defining identity for naught? Hume (2005) stated,

For my part, when I enter most intimately into what I call myself, I always stumble on some particular perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I never can catch myself at any time without a perception, and never can observe anything but the perception.” (p. 535).

Palmer (1998) continues his exploration of the source of quality teaching by defining the second part of his identity/ integrity formulation:

By integrity I mean whatever wholeness I am able to find within that nexus as its vectors form and re-form the pattern of my life. Integrity requires that I discern what is integral to my selfhood, what fits and what does not—and that I choose life-giving ways of relating to the forces that converge within me: Do I welcome

them or fear them? Embrace them or reject them, move with them or against them? (pp. 13-14).

In drawing a clear interrelation between identity and integrity, Palmer touched on the question of to what extent identity is a choice, and whether or not that choice is reliant on the utility of outcomes in relation to self-perception and operation within a given context.

Mishler (1999), in a thesis regarding craft artists' narratives of identity, posited a process view of identity formation through the use of narrative and life history interviews. He claimed that the stories we tell about ourselves are socially situated actions which are performances producing and communicating meaning through both form and content. Mishler defined identity "as a collective term referring to the dynamic organization of sub-identities that might conflict with or align with each other" (p. 8). He maintained that "our identities are defined and expressed through the way we position ourselves vis-à-vis others along several dimensions that constitute our networks of relationships" (p. 16).

The method of narrative inquiry into teacher identity is explored in the work of several other researchers. Connelly and Clandinin's (1990, 1999, 2006) work over the past twenty-five years presents narrative as a path towards the definition of identity, as well as a way to describe identity's manifestations in practice. Through the presentation of identity by way of stories their approach produces questions teachers ask themselves about themselves. They noted how:

Teachers seemed to be trying to answer different questions. Their questions were

ones of identity. They were questions of “Who am I in my story of teaching?”, “Who am I in my place in the school?”, “Who am I in children’s stories?”, “Who am I in my administrator’s stories?”, “Who am I in my parents’ stories?”, “Who am I in this situation?” than “What do I know in this situation?” Teachers seemed more concerned to ask questions of who they are than of what they know. (p. 3).

Through discovering that the teachers in their study appeared to be more concerned with questions of identity rather than questions of knowledge, Connelly and Clandinin (1999) reinforced the position which calls for teaching to be studied ecologically, from a position that takes into account the contexts from which teacher identity and practice has emerged (Beijaard, Verloop & Vermunt, 2000; Wideen, Mayer-Smith, & Moon, 1998).

This ecological aspect is reflected in the questions Connelly and Clandinin pulled from their interviews. Teachers not only asked who they were, and what their place was in the school context, but also what their role was in the narratives of others with whom they have relationships. In this sense, people’s lived experience is at the same time both individually lived and a part of a larger social narrative that is made up of narrative perspectives of multiple other individuals. Individuals make sense of their experiences through stories (Polkinghorne, 1988). This is true in times of difficult transitions (Riessman, 1993), for which the expatriate experience qualifies.

Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004) observed that teachers shape their professional identity partially by developing an awareness of interconnections between experiences through narratives; stating that, “through storytelling, teachers engage in

narrative theorizing and, based in that, teachers may further discover and shape their professional identity resulting in new and different stories” (p. 121).

Narrative in the international educational context

In the international educational context, narrative has been used as a method of reflecting on the changing identity of expatriates (Kohonen, 2004; Lindgren & Wåhlin, 2001). Lindgren and Wåhlin’s work made explicit the contention that identity construction by individuals who make changes in their organizational affiliations (frequently changing jobs, domiciles, etc.) is in part governed by his/her reflection upon the changing relationship the individuals have with their new contexts.

Kohonen (2004) looked at four expatriates and found that the process of identity construction takes place when the experience allows opportunities for self-reflection and professional development. Factors that complicate the process of identity construction include the effectiveness of professional management, as well as cultural issues. Despite the study’s focus on managers and individuals in leadership positions, there are important correlations with teachers on international assignments.

Craig and Fieschi (2007) defined teacher professionalism as a group of norms that regulate the profession according to values and practices that are embedded in the experience of shared professional goals and responsibilities. Additionally, they claimed that professionalism increasingly refers to a person’s attitude and behavior, rather than membership in a formal group or collective. Similarly, the focus of teacher professionalism is posited as focusing on teachers’ work, specifically the teachers’ perspective on their knowledge and commitment to the position, the development of their

professional judgment, their view of professional ethics and the culture that pervades their schools. In short, a key element of teacher professionalism is teachers' perspective on their own identity as teachers (Ochs, Degazon-Johnson & Keevy, 2011). Significant attributes of teacher professional identity include: a specialized knowledge, a code of professional ethics, professional autonomy, organization and regulation of his/her environment, and an orientation towards public service (Carr, 2000; Shon, 2006).

Summary

The research into teacher flexibility in adjusting to new environments (Black, Gregerson & Mendenhall, 1991; Black & Mendenhall, 1989; Black, Mendenhall & Oddou, 1992; Von Kirshenheim & Richardson, 2005) demonstrates the difficulty that individuals experience moving into an environment characterized by ambiguity, and that success in that area depends on the general psychological flexibility of the individual (Tung, 1981). The clear distinction made regarding the timing and sequencing of tasks made in European cultures, from where a majority of professional expatriate workers originate and including the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, is not as clearly defined in the Arab world (Bagnole, 1977) which is an example of the cultural differences that teachers would have to navigate in a professional environment in order to succeed in adapting to working in Abu Dhabi public schools. Additionally, the vagueness of the Arabic language in reference to the perception of time (Zaharna, 1995) can create additional issues for Western expatriates working in a structured environment such as a school.

The teachers, like other expatriates, undergo the process of cross-cultural

adjustment (Ward & Kennedy, 2001). This process, sometimes characterized by symptoms of helplessness, frustration and anxiety, can also include socio-cultural adjustment, psychological adjustment (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 2001) and work adjustment (Aycan, 1997). These aspects of cross-cultural adjustment refer to the expatriate's emotional well-being (Black & Gregerson, 1991) and can be analyzed through the "U-shaped curve" heuristic (Black, Mendenhall & Oddou, 1991; Lysgaard, 1955). This progression of emotional states range from the "honeymoon period" in the beginning of the expatriate experience, through the nadir of "depression" and on to "adjustment" and "acceptance." Despite the criticisms of the U-shaped curve heuristic (Ward & Kennedy, 1996; Zheng & Berry, 2001), there is some agreement that, while the stages in the U-shaped curve concept may be overly proscriptive, there are clearly defined periods, characterized by different emotional perspectives on the expatriate experience (Oberg, 1960). Of these stage models of expatriate cross-cultural adjustment, Louis (1980) focused on the question of how individuals make sense of their new surroundings. Louis found that one of the most powerful tools used to make sense of the new environment are the organizational norms carried forward from previous workplaces. In order to understand the ways in which the new context operates, people use their previous frames of reference as starting points for the meaning-making process (Bourdieu, 1977). This makes sense when looking at why an individual's perspective of the operational logic of a new workplace would conflict with the assumed structure of a functional, professional space.

The traditional, and generally-accepted (Labaree, 1992; Larson, 1977) conception

of professions is of: a set of knowledge and practices applied within a specific occupational capacity, a period of training and education necessary to master said knowledge and practices, a service-orientation, an ethical code specific to the occupation and regulated by the members of that occupation, a high degree of autonomy, high levels of remuneration, and a system of colleague-driven selection, training and advancement within the field (Darling-Hammond, 1990; Dreeben, 1988; Esland, 1980; Larson, 1977; Legatt, 1970). These do not easily map onto the teaching profession. In Hargreaves' (2000) four ages of professionalism for teaching, the high water mark for teaching as a traditionally-understood profession is the second age, the age of the autonomous professional which began to erode in the mid to late-1980s, which marks Hargreaves' third age of professionalism, the age of the collegial professional. The second age, beginning in the 1960s (Hargreaves, 2000) was characterized by teacher autonomy, pedagogical creativity, increased material rewards and higher job security. The third age of professionalism, beginning in the mid to late-1980s saw an increased emphasis on collegial relationships between teaching peers, and the increased importance of shared resources. While the positive elements of the third age may appear to fit well within the traditional conception of the professional, the reasons for the increased need for collegial planning and sharing of resources contain the seeds of the erosion of teaching as a professional, traditionally-understood. This third age saw an increase in administrative demands on teachers as the result of a growing emphasis on accountability; wherein the teachers' creativity was often placed in the service of devising new ways to approach the various assessments which grew to define this period, and which continues to the present

day. Hargreaves' (2000) fourth age of professionalism is the *Gotterdammerung* of teaching as a profession. It is, in short, the age of deprofessionalization. It is an age where the teacher as the autonomous creator, or even the collegial collaborator, is replaced by the teacher as component. In this age, teachers are less individual professionals with the freedom and autonomy to create, and more aspects of a greater whole, whose role is that of replaceable executors of policy and procedures -- policies they have not had a role in creating-- in the service of accountability standards imposed from outside their community of practice.

Goodson and Hargreaves (1996) offered seven principles to successfully navigate this fourth age of professionalism, the so called "age of the postmodern professional." These include seeking the opportunity and responsibility to exercise discretionary judgment; chances to interact with and explore the moral and social purposes of what is taught; to commit to collaboration with other individuals in the community; to seek opportunities to focus care on the students, rather than on artificial, and externally-created, artificial measures of progress; a commitment to self-directed improvement of one's practice and expertise, divorced from impositions from externally-created reform structures; and an emphasis on tasks of high complexity and creativity.

In terms of teachers' perspectives on professionalism, Tichenor and Tichenor's (2004) study found that teachers defined a professional as a combination of a number of characteristics (caring, nurturing, friendly, resilient, etc.) but also that the desire to change and improve, subject matter knowledge, and taking the responsibility to collaborate with their peers were important elements in defining professionalism. These

findings fit nicely into Goodson and Hargreaves' (1996) prescriptions on how to best navigate the current age of postmodern professionalism.

Aligned with Goodson and Hargreaves' model of the age of postmodern professionalism, where the teacher becomes more object than subject in relation to the landscape of the educational system, is the concept of deprofessionalization, and its effects on teachers' work. Gitlin's (2001) work on intensification, a term used to describe an increase in the intensity of work and related to how "the pace of everyday labor influences a teacher's ability to step back and consider broader educational issues or look at these practices in a more holistic sense" (p. 230). In short, intensification is the measure of how work affects teachers' ability to reflect on their practice, and on the state of their occupation. Gitlin found that the greater the intensification of teachers' work, the more they engage in "defensive teaching," that is, lowering the levels of rigor in their teaching and assessments. This, ironically, leads to the idea that the teacher is less essential to the learning process than they truly are, because the curriculum is seen as simple enough to be handled by a lower-skilled worker.

This reaction to intensification relates to the concept of the proletarianization of teaching (Apple, 1989). Proletarianization is the process by which an occupation's work is deskilled to the point where the conceptual work which the occupation used to require, as seen in the autonomous and creative actions characterized by Hargreaves' (2000) second and third ages of professionalism, is taken on by management, further reducing the professional work of teachers, characterized by maintaining expertise and making value judgments, into deskilled actions which may be performed by lower-skilled

workers.

To create and maintain an individual concept of identity, individuals must go through a process of negotiation and discourse with their environments and other individuals who also exist within that environment (Gee, 2001; Wegner, 1998). For teachers, identity matters because it serves as a frame from which teachers make judgments and assumptions about their students, the curriculum and their administration, essentially the totality of their professional environment (Cochrane-Smith, 1995). The present study looked at identity as self-concept and through membership in a social group (in this case, expatriate American teachers). This two-part characterization of identity is not intended to be exhaustive, rather it serves as a base from which to build a better understanding of professional identity.

Professional identity, understood as an individual's sense of self within a specific context, and of the work (Billot, 2010), within a specific role, that of a worker (Skorikov & Vonracek, 2011). Perhaps most informative in relation to the present study is the idea of Trede, Macklin and Bridges (2012) that professional identity forms when individuals adopt the "attitudes, beliefs and standards" which define the role of the worker within that context and apply these to the work with "a clear understanding of the responsibilities" (p. 10) of being a professional within that context. This study provides the opportunity to see both how the professional identities of American expatriate teachers affect their navigation of the context of Abu Dhabi public schools, and how the "understandings of the responsibilities" of the Abu Dhabi public school context affect the American expatriate teachers' concept of themselves as professionals.

III: RESEARCH METHODS

In this chapter, I provide a discussion of research method and design, data collection, the research questions I addressed, a discussion of the participants, and an overview of the theoretical approach I took in the data analysis. Additionally, I address the topics of ethical issues, maintaining the confidentiality of the participants/meeting the criteria for trustworthiness, and researcher positionality.

Propriety of the Research Instrument

The decision to adopt a case study method for this study was born of necessity and of the idea that the experience of American secondary teachers working in Abu Dhabi public schools deserved a close examination.

Internal and external validity. Patton (2002) stated that qualitative research emerges from a “real world setting [where] the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest” (p. 39). In that the phenomenon of interest in the case of this study is the American expatriate teacher’s experience teaching English in Abu Dhabi public schools, and the fact that I share this demographic niche with the participants of my study, the question of validity is vitally important.

Validity as a concern casts a much different shadow in qualitative research than it does for quantitative methods. The disassociation from their research process that quantitative researchers attempt to achieve (Winter, 2000) is impossible in a research paradigm that embraces a naturalistic, or interpretive, relationship with the “phenomenon of interest”.

Hoepfl (1997) asserted that quantitative research is oriented towards the goals of

determining causal relationships, and the assertion of predictability for future situations analogous to the one in question. Qualitative research seeks to understand and to provide illumination on a particular condition set within a particular time and place. This is the difference between the natural and the social sciences.

Natural sciences are “disciplines that deal only with natural events (i.e. independent and dependent variables in nature) using scientific methods” (Ledoux, 2002, p. 34). It is the use of experimentation, as a primary method for gathering data, which is the distinguishing feature between research in the natural and the social sciences. Social science research leans more on observation. Having controllable social environments is not possible, and would therefore be unsuited to the kind of experimentation used in the natural sciences.

In light of the situational quality of the qualitative research process, the immersion of the researcher is an element for consideration. Patton (2002) claimed that the changing nature of reality and the fleeting nature of discreet situations require the presence of the researcher in order to provide a record, and an interpretation, of the subject under scrutiny. This is not to say that validity is less a concern for qualitative studies, only that the subject of the establishment of validity is different. For the qualitative researcher the question of validity is addressed to the researcher themselves and the process by which they obtain and analyze their data.

To determine validity of qualitative research, the chief determinate is the quality of the work itself. The first question in looking at the quality of a study is are the findings worthy of interest (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This relies on the quality of the

study. Studies utilizing a particular paradigm should be measured by the standards of that paradigm (Healy & Perry, 2000). In light of this, reliability is eschewed for dependability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

To ensure dependability in qualitative research, establishment of trustworthiness is crucial. Seale (1999) stated that the “trustworthiness of a research report lies at the heart of issues conventionally discussed as validity and reliability” (p. 266).

Validity in qualitative research is not a fixed concept (Golafshani, 2003). Rather, it is a construct based on the objectives of particular projects and rooted in particular methodologies (Winter, 2000). Creswell and Miller (2000) claimed that the validity of a study is affected by the researcher’s perspective of validity and of their choice of analytical paradigm. Terms such as quality, rigor and trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Seale, 1999) better reflect the interpretive orientation of qualitative research.

In regard to the testing of what here may be called the trustworthiness of the study, the issue of how the study in question relates to other contexts arises. This leads to whether the standard of generalizability is appropriate. Patton (2002) argued for generalizability as one of the criteria for good case studies, depending on the case selected and studied. This positions generalizability as contextually-based. In opposition to this, Maxwell (1992) stated that the generalizability of a study clearly distinguishes between qualitative and quantitative approaches. In terms of the present study, generalizability is a complex question. How well the perspectives of expatriate teachers in Abu Dhabi may be generalized to teachers in other situations is a question of concern. Additionally, the perceptions of five participants could be seen as potentially not

generalizable to the perceptions of American expatriate teachers in Abu Dhabi public schools as a class. However, one of the reasons for the study is to examine the experiences and perceptions of the five participants in question, and to provide a ground from which potential future studies may expand on the themes identified.

Research Questions

In regard to the research questions, I wanted to develop questions that allowed for a good amount of “space”, meaning that there should be enough room, conceptually, within each question to explore a wide array of experiences and perspectives. Allowing for the opportunity for exploration is important in that the key focus of the analysis was more oriented toward rich and accurate descriptions of participants’ worlds in relation to their contexts, and the concepts of “professionalism” and “professional identity”, rather than to conceptualize towards the end of determining core categories, or broad and transferrable patterns.

My interest centered on the questions: What professionalism means to American expatriate teachers of English teaching in Abu Dhabi public secondary schools? Has their perception of professionalism been shaped by their experiences? If so, how? How do they define professional identity and how does that definition relate to their perception of professionalism? Do these definitions affect their professional practice? If so, how? Have these perspectives changed throughout the expatriate teaching experience and, if so, how and why?

Theoretical framework: “seven principles for postmodern professionalism.”

Hargreaves’ (2000) concept of postmodern professionalism served as the starting point

for the development of specific interview questions, which were then elaborated and modified upon in order to serve as guides for conversation and meaning construction.

The first principle of postmodern professionalism is an “increased opportunity and responsibility to exercise *discretionary judgment* over the issues of teaching, curriculum and care that affects one’s students” (Hargreaves & Goodson, 2002, p. 20, emphasis in the original), which leads to questions of autonomy. What power do teachers exert over their work and work environment? How much space/freedom are teachers allowed in their practice? Where are teachers allowed to express the most autonomy, and the least? What are some expressions of autonomy that are indicative of the teacher’s professional context(s)? What are some reactions from administrators, parents and students to teachers’ practice of professional autonomy?

The second principle of postmodern professionalism is “opportunities and expectations to engage with the moral and social purposes and value of what teachers teach, along with major curriculum and assessment matters in which these purposes are embedded” (Hargreaves & Goodson, p. 20). This emphasizes the importance of engaging with the moral and ethical implications of the curriculum and assessment aspects of teachers’ professional practice. This idea is an extension of autonomy, in that the autonomous professional should be both prepared and responsible for the moral and ethical aspects of what is being taught to their students and how their students are assessed on that instruction. The opportunity to interrogate the curriculum and to make decisions based on the needs of one’s students is a vital aspect in the assertion of a professional status for teachers. This principle resists the concept of a post-professional

status for teachers, wherein teachers are simply executors of set curriculums in the service of arbitrary standards for the purpose of standardized exams. I asked about what opportunities the participants had to actively engage critically with the curriculum. What freedom do teachers have to assess and make changes in your teaching practice according to an analysis of the moral and social purposes of the curriculum and assessment structures? What conclusions did teachers arrived at regarding the moral and ethical purposes of the curriculum? How do they express their positions on this matter?

The third principle of postmodern professionalism involves a “commitment to working with colleagues in *collaborative cultures* of help and support as a way of using shared expertise to solve the ongoing problems if professional practice, rather than engaging in joint work as a motivational device to implement the external mandates of others” (p. 20-21, emphasis in the original). This principle lays out a dichotomous relationship between two types of collaborative work/connection. The first, and more preferable, type is the engagement with colleagues in the context of a “collaborative culture,” wherein individuals approach working together as a democratic process of meaning construction focused on the solving of ongoing problems. This is an important distinction in that the focus on ongoing problems makes it clear that the collaboration should be focused on continuous improvement, rather than simply a one-off interaction in the service of a particular crisis. An ethic of help and support is characteristic of these cultures, as well as an activation of shared expertise, which is both a statement of administration-- that is a suggestion of what tools to use during the collaborative process, as well as a reinforcement of the dignity of the individual practitioner. Expertise is

valued as both a means towards a particular goal and as a vital part of the respect that should be afforded to professionals.

This principle led me to construct interview questions that engaged the participants' perspectives of collaboration and teamwork. Questions of what collaboration means to them professionally as well as about their past experiences with collaboration established a basis on which to locate their experiences in Abu Dhabi public schools in terms of collaborative work. I asked them about both the value of collaboration, meaning what is the benefit to administrators, teachers and students to collaborative work, as well as how collaboration is valued, meaning what external validation is given for collaborative effort, also what the goals of collaborative work is in their present context? This exploration of collaboration also included discussions of collaboration among the students. Part of the school reform program in Abu Dhabi public schools includes an emphasis on transitioning from teacher-centered instruction towards a more constructivist model of learning that places the focus on the student/groups of students and their ability to work together to complete more complex projects.

This emphasis on collaboration, and, more specifically, a particular kind of collaboration that emphasizes a heteronomic approach to authority and decision-making, is reflected in the fourth principle of postmodern professionalism. In this principle Hargreaves and Goodson (2002) emphasize, “occupational *heteronomy* rather than self-protective *autonomy*” (p. 21, emphasis in the original), meaning that the authority and

service-focus of a professional's work is generated from multiple sources, in this case "partners in the wider community," rather than deriving simply from the individual.

Looking at the concept of *heteronomy* from the distinction provided by Castoriadis (1997), where *autonomy* is the condition of the process of self-creation of laws and rules, and *heteronomy* is the delegation of said process to external sources, be they historical, traditional, or perceived as divine. In this sense, Hargreaves and Goodson (2002) advocate a collaborative creation of norms and goals, which then serves as this exterior entity to which authority is given. An issue here is whether or not the reification of said rules, over time ensconced in tradition, then may lead the collectively established norms and standards to become static and unresponsive to change. The questions which emerged from this fourth principal focused on sources of authority in the participants' professional experiences, the role of communication, and the processes of communication in the participants' experiences, and the relationship with the community of stakeholders that the participants' context creates.

Hargreaves and Goodson's (2002) fifth principle of postmodern professionalism's emphasis is on the commitment to truly care for students and their well-being, rather than simply to provide palliative, and vaguely defined, service to students. This means that teachers should refocus their commitment to the profession in terms that adhere more to an earlier view of professionalism, that of the expertly educated and trained individual who makes difficult and often unpleasant decisions based on the needs of those whose care are their responsibility. In this sense, Hargreaves and Goodson (2002) call for teachers to act more like doctors and lawyers, where the needs of those in their care

supersede any need to placate them or insulate them from unpleasant realities. The problem is the possibility that teachers are not judged according to their adherence to this higher, professional commitment. A danger exists that the satisfaction of the student/parent/administrator could be given a higher value than the teacher's professional decisions. In such a case, a teacher's advocacy for an unpleasant, but ultimately beneficial, course of action for the student may have negative consequences for that teacher's professional life.

Questions on this principle translated the "anodyne service" in Hargreaves and Goodson's (2002) original formulation into a focus on assessments and student power. Assessments are the defining entity reflecting a new regime of externally-oriented, mostly artificial measures of progress. I asked participants how their students' learning was measured at their campus, how the students perceived assessments at their school, and what level of power students had to affect teacher decision making.

The sixth principle of postmodern professionalism centers on the difference among seeking out continuous professional learning in the service of one's own expertise and quality of practice, and simply satisfying an imposed obligation for professional development and desire for change for the simple sake of change. The importance here is on the self-directed aspect of the principle. In Hargreaves and Goodson's (2002) estimation, there is no one more qualified to assess the gaps in a professional's knowledge than the professional his/herself. A further critique inherent in the principle is against compulsory professional development in an effort towards "compliance with the enervating obligations of *endless change* demanded by others (often under the guise of

continuous learning or improvement)” (p. 21, emphasis in the original). The use of the words enervating and guise are telling here. The choice of the term enervating reflects the authors’ perception of teachers’ frustration emergent from a seemingly unending string of reform packages that demand that teachers adjust and adapt to imposed demands, including demands for trainings which may be seen as irrelevant and/or unnecessary to the teacher’s practice or context.

More curious is the term guise. In using this term, the authors’ appear to assert that the true motivation behind mandatory professional development is something other than the on-going process of becoming a better teacher or school. The question of what the motivation is if not that lies dormant in the work. Guise also calls forth the concept of performance in the definition or formation of the individual’s identity. How much of what we are, or believe ourselves to be, is an act? How much do we simply “perform” our identity? If we are, in a way, acting the part of ourselves, for whom are we performing? How much of our performance is drawn from external sources, that is, who and what are we imitating through our performance?

Questions generated by this principle include questions relating to the teachers’ professional development, how much of that was imposed or self-directed: How the teachers view the professional development program in their present contexts, and how the teachers view the climate of the school related to professional development. Included here are also questions related to the teachers’ perceptions of the reform programs that they have experienced in their career and how the reform program in Abu Dhabi relates to teachers’ experience of educational reform generally.

The seventh and final principle of postmodern professionalism encourages teachers to embrace the “creation of high task *complexity*, with levels of status and reward appropriate to such complexity” (p. 21, emphasis in the original). This principle addresses one of the issues related to the definition of teaching as a profession, whether or not the work of teaching is sufficiently complex to warrant the label of expert. As opposed to doctors or lawyers, occupations traditionally and continuously afforded the designation of profession, teaching has suffered from the misconception that anyone can teach. Additionally, the increasingly removed role of teachers in the creation of curriculum, among other influences such as the popularity of programs such as Teach for America, which enrolls new college graduates in a short but intensive training program and subsequently places them in underserved schools, has ushered in a program of *deprofessionalization* into the occupation, which serves as both a self-fulfilling prophecy (where anyone really can do the job, because the standards are so low), and a useful political tool to degrade the role of the teacher into one wherein the only value is the use-value of the warm body in the classroom.

The idea of increased task complexity should not be novel to anyone involved in education. The mandate to increase exam scores has led to an emphasis on introducing rigor into the curriculum. Rigor should be understood as advanced quality of thought (Bogess, 2007), immersion deep into a subject with an eye toward practical application (Washor & Mojkowski, 2006), analysis with an emphasis on accuracy and detail (Beane, 2001), and an interest in building capacity for understanding material which is complex as well as personally and emotionally challenging (Strong, Silver & Perrini, 2001).

In a sense, increased complexity for teachers is similar to increasing rigor for students (Mitchell, 2016). Students benefit when teachers approach their practice with a knowledge of theory and its practical application in the context of teaching (Pang, 2012). Teachers should analyze their practice accurately and in detail, and they definitely should be confronting material (as well as ethical and moral issues) related to their field that are personally and emotionally challenging (Lewis, 2005; Pang, 2012).

Interview questions coming from an analysis of this seventh principle include asking the participants to rate the complexity of their work, as well as the difficulty. A definite distinction between complexity and difficulty emerges from the literature (Anderson et al, 2001; Sousa, 2011). In short, complexity describes the level of thought process required for a particular task, while difficulty refers to the amount of effort required to complete the thus described task (Sousa, 2011). The point here is to apply a higher level of quality thinking to the practice of teaching.

I asked teachers to describe their work, both in past teaching experiences as well as in Abu Dhabi public schools. Teachers rated the complexity of their work, as well as the difficulty, in order to gauge their understanding and application of the two concepts. I asked teachers about the complexity of the curriculum, with a distinction drawn between skills and content. Teachers also stated what they would change about the curriculum if given the opportunity.

Data Collection

With a focus on discovering rich data, data that reveals the participants' perspectives, feelings, goals and behaviors, structuring the interview process with the

goal of eliciting candid was important. Dispensing with the notion of time as a series of “now-points” which extend forward towards eternity, Heidegger (1996) presented the view that time should be viewed as the unity of the three dimensions of past, present and future; and that, in addressing any particular present, one should focus on both the *Augenblick* (translated literally “glance of the eye” but colloquially as “moment”) as well as the complex of meanings and states which coalesce into a particular moment in time and space.

Each participant gave a series of five interviews, spaced throughout the spring 2014 semester. These were semi-structured interviews, with a core list of questions, which, depending on the answers, were then extended and/or elaborated upon to explore concepts that arise naturally from the interaction.

An added advantage of the semi-structured interview is that it allows for a more conversational interaction, which places the participant at ease and increases the probability for openness and candor (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). Also, the two-way nature of semi-structured interviews allows the participant to ask questions of the researcher, which is useful if questions need clarification.

Setting and participants. I originally recruited research participants by engaging incoming teachers in the fall of 2013. The Facebook group “ADEC Aug/Sept 2013”, a pre-existing group established by teachers to connect with each other for social support purposes, proved valuable in the identification of and communication with potential research participants. Once interest was registered, I then contacted the potential participant and a meeting was arranged.

I ended up with five participants, and a total of twenty-five interviews, five per participant. The participants were not extensively experienced in international teaching. In fact, for all of the teachers their experience in Abu Dhabi was their first foray into international teaching. This too was important in their selection. In order to find teachers who had less experience adjusting to culture shock, I selected teachers with no international teaching experience. Teachers who had taught abroad before may be more used to the process of adaptation to a different cultural environment.

Additionally, the requirement that the teachers be American, and have experience in American public schools allowed me to use common terminology and jargon, the absence of which could have possibly created important misunderstandings through the interview process.

Sampling. I employed a purposeful sampling strategy, intending to get participants who fit the following criteria: American, trained English teachers (not ESL/TEFL), have experience teaching English in a United States public school system, and be new to Abu Dhabi public schools. The rationale behind these selection criteria, beyond the simple convenience underlying the use of any selection criteria, that of reducing the number of possible participants with the goal of allowing for greater depth throughout the research relationship, was to look closely at a subsection of the ADEC expatriate community whose experiences and perspectives may serve to be the most relevant to teaching professionals in the United States. In this way, I used a type of homogenous sampling, while allowing for gender differences and differences in origin within the United States.

The sampling in this study is purposeful in order to select information-rich cases toward the most effective use of a small set of participants (Patton, 2002). I selected participants that fit a particular set of criteria (American, experienced in the American educational system, Abu Dhabi public schools represented their first international experience) which provided for a perspective that suited the goals of the research questions (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The sampling approach used in this study could be labelled, “Criterion Inclusive” (Palinkas et al, 2011) in that the sample was constructed by finding participants who possess certain attributes, rather than systematically excluding participants due to identified criteria.

The participants in this study were all employed as English teachers in secondary (Cycle three) schools within the Abu Dhabi public schools system (ADEC). The group was comprised of two females and three males. The participants ranged in age from 25 to 55, and had an average teaching experience of 9.8 years in the United States. For all participants, this was the first year they had taught in Abu Dhabi, and it was their first expatriate experience as well. The participants originated from various areas in the United States. Participants expressed apprehension about participating in the study due to possible retribution from the Abu Dhabi Education Council that could threaten their employment and continued ability to work in the country. For this reason, I gave the participants pseudonyms to maintain anonymity.

Interview space. Interviews were scheduled according to the participants’ schedule and comfort. The typical location for interviews tended to be cafés in or around one of the large shopping malls for which the region is famous. Interviews

usually took place closely after the end of the workday and were timed to allow some measure of distance from the day's professional activities.

The locations of the interviews were chosen to minimize travel time for the participants and to provide an environment conducive to productive conversation. Most interviews took place in public places in the time between leaving work and arriving home. Coffee shops tended to be favored locations. Occasionally interviews took place in participants' apartments.

Techniques. I interviewed each participant five times. Each round of interviews I am calling a "cycle." The first cycle of interviews was an introductory interview, which served the purpose of establishing rapport and a comfortable relationship between the participant and myself. Additionally, the introductory interview acquainted me with the initial perspectives of the participant on the concepts of professionalism and professional identity. These interviews began in the spring of 2014, which allowed time for the participant to experience and reflect upon the Abu Dhabi educational environment and culture. The rationale for this approach is that the initial interview data will provide a background on the participants' perspectives and practice at the beginning of their experience in Abu Dhabi. This also allowed time for reflection upon their experiences to that point, and how those experiences compared to their professional work in the United States. The initial interviews took place in January of 2014.

Subsequent interviews occurred in the latter two terms of the school year. The second two interview cycles in Term Two, and the final two interview cycles in Term Three. This allowed the participants' time to observe a full year in the life of an Abu

Dhabi public secondary school, and to reflect upon how their perspectives on the central concepts of the study may have changed throughout that time. Each interview lasted between thirty and forty minutes.

The second round of interviews in the research cycle focused on questions relating the participants' past experiences as teachers, their preparation to become teachers, the expectations they experienced in their past employment situations, what expectations the participants perceive the Abu Dhabi Education Council as having for them as teachers, how the participants view the changing roles of teachers in the 21st century, and what qualities and attitudes are universal or specific to a particular position or location.

The third cycle elaborated upon themes that arose from earlier interviews. Concepts included the role of authority and professionalism, communication and capability, ethical conduct and compromise in order to be better at their jobs, the physical toll of stress and uncertainty, and the changes that were observed through their reflections upon conflicts.

Analysis

In relation to research design, Charmaz (2006) claimed that a constructivist Grounded Theory approach is consistent with a poststructuralist epistemological perspective by "placing priority on the phenomena of study and seeing both data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants" (p. 330). There was no extricating myself from a connection with my participants, which meant that any objectivist or positivistic approach was not an option.

I took theoretical memos throughout the research. Theoretical memos are short entries that focus on ideas about the codes, concepts, categories and themes that occur to the researcher while coding (Glaser, 1978). In the later stages, when the relationships between categories and themes are important, theoretical memos provide a valuable resource to extrapolate theory from the relationships.

At the conclusion of each interview, I reviewed and reflected on the interview wherein I listened to the recordings of the interviews while logging notes on concepts arising from the interview. After the end of each round of interviews, I reviewed the notes and coded them to identify ideas for further exploration (Glaser, 1978; Patton, 2002). I then reflected on the codes, found areas of elaboration and extension on each idea, which were then interwoven into the questions for the next round of interviews.

Post-Data Collection

At the conclusion of the data collection process, I transcribed each interview, and subjected each transcription to a process of open coding in order to develop initial concepts (Glaser, 1978; Patton, 2002). This process involves going through the transcription line by line and identifying ideas, which are later organized into more inclusive categories. Through this open coding, general concepts and categories emerged. The process of open coding yielded several telling concepts such as: autonomy, quality, confusion, distrust, culture clash, resentment, the feeling of being devalued, and conscience. I will elaborate on each of these in the following chapter.

I then subjected the data to the process of axial coding, where connections between categories emerged, which then led to larger, more inclusive categories and

concepts. I then examined these related more inclusive categories and concepts in relation to the literature to develop themes that shed light on the teachers' experiences.

Ethical Considerations

In that I was also an American expatriate English teacher in an Abu Dhabi public school researcher subjectivities was of critical importance. When beginning the interview cycle, I quickly realized that there was going to be little chance of establishing myself as any kind of objective observer. My position was so similar to my participants, our backgrounds and present contexts so connected in so many ways, it would be disingenuous to try and claim that meaning could somehow emerge *a priori* from a disinterested review of the emergent data.

In classic grounded theory (Glaser, 1998) an objective researcher is not assumed. In this approach researcher bias is instead revealed and accounted for throughout the process. The researcher's perspective is instead treated as more data to be interpreted and integrated into the overall analysis (Charmaz, 2000). In light of this, throughout the process, I took a series of memos exploring my own perspectives on what was being discussed/analyzed. In contrast to classic grounded theory, however, I took the approach that the elimination of researcher bias through rigorous self-reflection was an inadequate method for addressing my perspectives within the study. Instead I took my lead from Charmaz (2003), who posited that theory "assumes the relativism of multiple social realities, recognizes the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and viewed, and aims towards an interpretive understanding of subjects' meanings" (p. 250). In other words, Charmaz (2006) believed that knowledge and meaning are created through an

interactive process that results in a shared reality, or common construct, through which significance and value can be generated. In this sense, the aim of research is to develop a “picture that draws from, reassembles, and renders subjects’ lives” (Charmaz, 2003, p. 270). I felt that a more constructivist approach was warranted because my aims centered more closely on telling participants’ stories, and discovering beliefs regarding professionalism and professional identity, rather than identifying a pattern of behavior towards the better understanding of more discreet phenomena. My approach, in relation to addressing my own subjectivities and pre-conceived perceptions, was one where I looked at my role as a researcher as more of a partner with the participants in the creation of a coherent and descriptive story, telling the tales of American expatriate teachers’ perceptions of professionalism and professional identity through their experiences in Abu Dhabi public schools, rather than a detached arbiter, seeking to somehow universalize the patterns emergent from a disinterested recording and analysis of received data.

Researcher Positionality

In looking at my own perspectives on teacher professionalism and professional identity I consistently noted places of agreement and disagreement with my participants. I chose to use the term “positionality” rather than “bias” or “perspective,” because I believe the term goes beyond these other options toward a description of an individual’s world-view (Foote & Bartell, 2011).

My own view on teacher professionalism is that teaching is a hybrid occupation involving both traditionally understood aspects of a profession, such as a commitment to client needs, a specialized set of knowledge, a lengthy and formal training and a high

level of autonomy in practice (Etzioni, 1969); and akin to an interactive performance, requiring a charismatic attenuation to the interplay of audience and self (Milojkovic, 1982). My own experience in Abu Dhabi has been one of intense reflection on my own perspectives on professionalism and professional identity. This was the genesis of this study. To alleviate any problems that may arise owing to my own subjectivity, I undertook a consistent position, reflecting on the information gained and analyzed in the interest of positioning my own perspective in relation to those of the participants. This runs contrary to a more traditional grounded theory approach, which has been criticized (Charmaz, 2006) for establishing too much distance between the researcher and participants, wherein researchers “assume the role of authoritative experts who bring an objective view to the research” (p. 132). The role of the researcher’s perspective in this, more constructivist approach, is as a data co-creator and co-constructor of meaning with the participants. Where Glaser (1998) posited that researcher bias is a “vital variable to weave into the constant comparative analysis” (p. 3), Charmaz, in my opinion, goes further by asserting that the researcher’s perspective takes on an equivalency with the participants, as co-creator. Rather than taking the identification of patterns in behavior which may be then conceptualized in order to elevate those rendered concepts into forms which account for as wide a variation as possible, the orientation of the more constructivist perspective developed by Charmaz is descriptive and interpretive, with an emphasis on the co-construction of meaning in discourse with the environment, the participants, and the researcher.

The implications of this approach for this study is that, in both the process of developing research questions and in the analysis of the data, I took care to account for my position in relation to the information gathered. By positioning my own perspective next to my participants through the analytical process, I was able to pick up on some of the sub-textual meanings behind their words and was also able to offer a relationship whereby the participants could be more assured of their anonymity.

Meeting the Criteria for Trustworthiness

My experience of the employment culture in Abu Dhabi is characterized by a fear and distrust of superiors. This is fueled by rumors of mistreatment by employers including intimidation and summary dismissal without notice or (apparent) cause. Employees are often told to “keep your head down.” Paychecks are colloquially termed “the monthly apology.”

A good example of the consequences of not “keeping your head down,” in this case taking the form of publicly criticizing the journalistic standards in the United Arab Emirates, is the case of Dr. Matt Duffy. Dr. Duffy was dismissed from his faculty position at Zayed University, Abu Dhabi, after his wife Dr. Ann Duffy was dismissed from her position as Division Manager for P-12 Policy, Planning and Performance Management with ADEC. Both dismissals were accompanied by a revocation of visas, neither were provided with clear reasoning for their firings. Dr. Duffy has gone so far as to provide a list of 18 “best guesses” for his dismissal (Duffy, 2012), including: writing newspaper articles concerning the need to revamp media laws in the United Arab Emirates, starting a chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists at Zayed University,

organizing a conference on censorship in the Arab world with the *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*, a German civil society think tank, and writing an editorial supportive of Madonna's concert in Abu Dhabi.

This environment of apprehension made it very important that interviewees were assured of the researcher's assurances of confidentiality. I told them that neither their names, the specific level in which they teach (except to say that they teach at the secondary level), nor the area of the United States where they came from would be mentioned in the final text of the study. Without exception, the five participants expressed concerns that if their comments to me were interpreted as critical of the government (of which ADEC is a part), and if their identities became known, the result would be detrimental to their careers and continued presence in the country.

Table 1.

Research Participants with Pseudonym, Gender and Age

Participant	Gender	Age	Hometown	Race/ Ethnicity
“Anthony”	M	60	Atlantic City, NJ	African- American
“Laura”	F	55	Detroit, MI	White
“Melanie”	F	28	Seattle, WA	White
“Josh”	M	27	Durango, CO	Hispanic
“Brian”	M	31	Grand Rapids, MI	White

To maintain confidentiality, I kept the recordings off cloud-based storage structures and were maintained them on my personal computer or encrypted flash drives at all times. I identified the participants through their first and last initials only and their place of employment was referred to in only general terms. In the end, all five expressed to me their satisfaction with my reassurances of confidentiality and were candid and expressive throughout the interview cycle.

Limitations

The scope of this study was limited by design. By keeping the number of participants limited to five, I was able to have conversations with greater depth and complexity. However, this size limits the extent to which one can say that these teachers’ experiences reflect the experiences of the greater whole. That, however, was not my

intention. My intention was to go deep into the experiences of this group of individuals and to discover whatever deeper truths might lie within the experiences of these teachers.

Another limitation that was built into the study design was that the participant pool focused on American teachers. When professionals are trained and work within a particular system, they internalize this paradigm as a schema from which they make value judgments about the way the world operates. By examining the experience of teaching in Abu Dhabi public secondary schools through the lens of American teachers, I looked at the experience from a single direction; American perceptions of Emirati educational culture. This single perspective is another limitation to the generalizability of the study's results. However, the intention of the study was to look closely at the experiences of the participating American expatriate English teachers, which presupposes a limited perceptual focus.

Additionally, the self-selection of the participants was another limitation of the study. The danger in self-section sampling is that the participants in the study may reflect some inherent bias in the characteristics of the participants. However, in that this study is an examination of the perspectives of five participants, and how theses perspective fit with, and add to, existent models of professionalism and professional identity, this limitation, while something to account for in the attempt to broadly generalize this study's conclusions, does not necessarily threaten the success of achieving the study's objectives.

Another limitation to the analytical portion of the study is the exclusion of an analysis of the neocolonialist aspects of expatriate teachers moving to the United Arab

Emirates to engage in school reform work. Traditionally, colonizers created school systems and higher education institutions to support the goals of the colonial project (Carnoy, 1974). Workers in colonized countries were seen as bereft of the skills necessary to participate in the colonizers' economic projects, and thus must be educated in order to be useful labor (Spring, 2005). Colonizers saw the native inhabitants as childlike and dependent on the colonizers. Colonizers established systems and institutions which perpetrated this perspective by indeed making colonized people dependent (Memmi, 1965). Those native peoples who could conform to the values important to the colonizers were deemed "civilized" (Carnoy, 1974).

In this traditional colonialist model, the primacy placed on Western epistemological assumptions was interpreted as usurping student needs that are not aligned to the privileged perspectives of the Western colonizers (Smith, 1984). In response, other scholars have advocated for teaching models which are attuned to the communal, emotional and spiritual needs of the students (Freire, 2000).

In this study, the focus is on the teachers' perspectives of professionalism and professional identity, two concepts whose meanings are rooted in the educational and occupational experiences of the participants. Because these meanings developed in the United States, there is an opportunity to build out from the present study an examination of cultural and racial privilege that may inform expatriate teachers' perspectives on their work, their students, and the context of the reform programs in which they are involved.

Because the reform program was initiated by the United Arab Emirates, and the English teachers involved were not situated in positions of authority over the content

taught, or the structure of their pedagogy, I did not consider a traditional analysis of the neocolonialist perspectives of the participants. However, as a suggestion for further elaboration, a study of the concepts of cultural privilege in expatriate teachers in the United Arab Emirates has the potential to yield valuable insights. Of particular interest is American expatriates' privileged transnationalism affects their perspectives of the needs of the native populations (Croucher, 2016). Despite the fact that the education reform was initiated locally, a key component of the reform is an emphasis on the development of English language skills in order to build a competitive economic advantage for students from the United Arab Emirates. By presenting English language skills as essential for economic competitiveness, the reform program appears to be what Alexander Kiossev (2011) calls a "self-colonization" program, whereby a culture succumbs to the cultural power of another without experiencing physical (military or economic) domination by that other culture. This acquiescence to the hegemony of English as a *lingua franca* in the global market may be beneficial to the United Arab Emirates' position in the global economy, however the effects of such a program deserves an examination through the lens of post-colonialism.

Summary

By adopting Hargreaves and Goodson's (2002) seven principles of postmodern professionalism in education as a starting point for this study, I made a conscious decision to adhere to a particular initial perspective. This is not to declare that Hargreaves and Godson's work is in some way the definitive statement on what comprises professionalism. Such an assertion would, of course, be incoherent on its face.

Rather, my choice of a starting point helped me to set a point of reference from which to develop a line of inquiry. Answers emerged from this line of inquiry that served not only to elaborate upon the discreet situation under study, but also to offer a revaluation of the validity of the concept of postmodern professionalism itself.

In choosing a participant pool of similar backgrounds (coming from similar training and previous working environments) working in extremely similar situations, I was presented with the opportunity to turn an analytic lens in two directions. Looking at the experience of teaching in Abu Dhabi public schools from the perspective of an American offers the chance to learn just as much about the American perspective on the role of teacher as a professional identity as it does about elements of the Abu Dhabi public education system.

IV: RESULTS

Introduction

This study is an investigation into the perspectives on professionalism and professional identity of five American expatriate English teachers teaching in Abu Dhabi public secondary schools. I sought to understand how the participants' perspectives developed and, if they changed through their experiences, how and why they changed over the course of their experiences, and if they felt that their experience affected their professional practice.

The following questions informed this study: What does professionalism mean to American expatriate teachers of English working in Abu Dhabi public secondary schools?, How has their perception of professionalism been shaped by their experiences?, How do they define professional identity and how does that definition relate to their perception of professionalism?, How do these definitions affect their professional practice?, Have these perspectives changed through the expatriate teaching experience and, if so, how and why?

During interviews, study participants described their experiences teaching in the United States, their pre-teaching training, their perspectives on teaching as both a student and as a teacher themselves, their perspectives on teaching's role in society and how society perceives teaching as an occupation, their decision to come to the United Arab Emirates to work in Abu Dhabi public secondary schools, their experiences with, and perceptions of, the administration in Abu Dhabi, their experiences with, and perceptions

of, their fellow expatriate teachers, and their experiences with, and perceptions of, students in Abu Dhabi, and of the practice of teaching itself in Abu Dhabi.

Background

Through my analysis, I began to develop a theory to explain how American expatriate secondary teachers of English in Abu Dhabi public schools define professionalism and professional identity. I used grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) techniques in this effort to analyze interview data from five teachers working in relatively similar school environments.

The theory I developed proposes that professionalism is defined as a practical relation to the expectations of the occupation, an approach to interpersonal relationships within the occupational context, as a relation to the level of autonomy and creativity in the expression of occupational activities, and as a function of the individual's commitment to change and improvement. Additionally, professional identity is the self-perception of an individual in relation to how consonant the individuals' behavior in their occupation is with their definition of professionalism.

From each research question, and from the codes which I developed in analyzing the data, I identified several themes. These themes are examined in relation to Hargreaves' (2000) concept of postmodern professionalism in the Discussion chapter.

What professionalism means to American expatriate teachers of English working in Abu Dhabi public secondary schools

In my examination of what professionalism means to American expatriate teachers of English working in Abu Dhabi public secondary schools, I developed the

following categories: the practice of teaching in Abu Dhabi secondary schools is substantially different than the practice of teaching in the United States, teaching in Abu Dhabi public schools requires teachers to make compromises in their definitions of acceptable work quality, external measures of teacher performance are based on image, expatriate American teachers have a generally positive view of their peers and collaboration and, there exists concern as to how the experience is affecting teachers' long term practice.

From these categories, I developed the theme of the experience of teaching in Abu Dhabi public schools presents challenges related to a dissonance in the perception of quality practice. Handy (1999) stated that “to tolerate this dissonance, reduce it by altering either (my) image of reality or the reality, or find a way of explaining or rationalizing the discrepancy” (p. 383). This three-part perception on cognitive dissonance evokes the work of Lindzey and Aronson (1968), who also offered a tripartite set of “direct mechanisms” to reduce the conflict between attitude and behavior: Individuals may either change the attitude or the behavior to resolve the consistency, seek out new information that supports the discrepant attitude or behavior, or decide that the inconsistency is not that important. This last option is described as “trivialization” (p. 560).

This dissonance in the perception of quality stood out for the participants in terms of their motivation for teaching, the issue of grades for classwork, teachers’ performance reviews and the perceived relevance and quality of professional development. Each of these will be discussed in what follows.

Motivation for teaching. When asked about the participants' motivations for teaching, there was a distinct difference between what they recalled about their motivations for teaching in the United States and what they said their motivations were for teaching in Abu Dhabi. Anthony, when speaking about his experiences teaching and interacting with teaching peers in the United States focused on his and his colleagues' long term perspective on objectives for students. Anthony said, "I had colleagues who their main objective was to instill, in kids, skills that would enable them to be lifelong learners." Here the idea that the emphasis for Anthony and his colleagues in the United States was students' skill development for the benefit of these students' lives in the long term. In contrast, when asked about his present motivation for teaching, he focused on a different outcome, one that centers on benefits outside of the classroom. Anthony went so far as to compare himself to teachers he had in the past whom he felt were less than professional. He said, "It's just, you know, so when you're working in this kind of environment, I have found myself just here like the teacher who I hated when I first taught and that was a guy was in it for the walk [because of the assumed ease of the work involved]. And right now, I've stayed here because I want to travel." The teacher that Anthony described was a teacher Anthony had in high school in the United States for whom teaching was merely a way to make a living while doing very little work. When discussing teacher professionalism, Anthony singled this past teacher out for particular disdain. He described how, in the early 1970s, there was a big push in his predominantly African-American high school to provide a more culturally relevant curricular focus to the school. Anthony stated that it went so far that students from the school protested and

many of them ended up getting suspended or expelled from school. The end result of this student push was “we got an African-American teacher that graduated from Howard University as our Afro-American studies teacher. And she taught us, I think a total of three or four lessons throughout the whole year.” The juxtaposition of the intensity of the struggle for respect and recognition by the students, the school’s response, which was greeted with excitement, and the ultimate disappointment of having a sub-par teacher in that course, provided Anthony with an ethical focus when he became a teacher after college. Considering this, his experience in Abu Dhabi, where he “found myself just here like the teacher who I hated when I first taught” is interesting in regard to teachers’ professional identities as it related to the practice of teaching.

Laura shared her experiences working in the United States as being characterized by a similar focus on student success to what Anthony described. Laura recounted that, in the United States, she and a few other dedicated educators, including their campus principal, would meet regularly before school for breakfast at a local restaurant, and that experience was both beneficial to their practice, and reflected well on the campus principal.

She said, “We also researched best techniques and stuff like that that people were using across the country that maybe we could put to work in our classrooms. We also found a lot that we couldn't put to work in our classrooms. But that corrective reading program that I described to you, it really worked wonders. And because my principal was one of our coffee klatch members, he was for this stuff. He was a convert. He's a wonderful guy.”

This administrative participation with teachers' efforts at school improvement is contrasted with Laura's experience with her campus principal in Abu Dhabi. Laura shared, "We do most of the work in that school and our dear principal takes most of the credit for it and never ever said she wanted to meet our teachers that did most of the work, you know, that kind of thing." This apparent resentment over the efforts of the expatriate teacher and their campus administration is a strand that is identified in the category of concern about the importance of grades.

Concerns about the importance of grades. In Abu Dhabi, perhaps as a result of its history as a "Trucial State," affiliated with the British, the educational nomenclature is oriented towards British terminology (Hawley, 1970). Thus, "grades" become "marks" and "grading" becomes "marking." Expatriate American teachers can find themselves switching between the two terms quite frequently as the grades/marks are a central topic of concern for parents and students in Abu Dhabi. This focus on grades/marks is another point of contrast between the participants' experiences in the United States and their experience in Abu Dhabi. Melanie described the standards by which grades/marks are given, in his perspective, in Abu Dhabi. She said, "I mean the administration just expects us to be essentially babysitters who give them all full marks so the only real professional standards we have are within our team and even then of course it can be pretty lax."

This focus on grades, and the standards by which grades/marks are given/earned led some participants to bemoan the perceived lack of quality student work in Abu Dhabi. Brian said, "But quality, what I consider quality, what the educational world considers quality doesn't work here."

According to the participants, the perspective that the Abu Dhabi public schools have too much of a focus on grades (marks) is indicative of a larger trend in the United Arab Emirates on proving quality “on paper.” Anthony stated that, “The objective here is to get statistics on paper that demonstrators state that it’s an ideal program. That's achieved by hook or by crook. It doesn’t matter as long as it’s achieved.” Melanie echoed this, stating,

The thing here is we are number one, we are the best, we are the highest, we are this, we are that but it's always top of this, top of that. I have been here long enough to see how number one, it is a thing. I mean it's on paper it could be whatever you want it to be. Statistics can be used to create whatever you want. When you get grades and then they round it off, which really means round it up. When you have again there are so much rounding off and rounding up that who wouldn’t be rated to top this and top of that.

This issue contrasted with the participants’ stated experiences in the United States, and, at a deeper level, with their perception of themselves as professionals. Anthony said, “It’s very disheartening knowing that... I can do certain things to help these kids and then turn around, have a parent, just basically have an interest in a grade, it’s disheartening as a teacher, as a professional.”

Perspective on teachers’ performance review. Hargreaves (2000) stated that an increasing focus on accountability and standards in teaching practice, imposed externally with an idea towards further regulatory control of teachers’ work, “have also subjected teachers to the micro-management of ever-tightening regulations and controls that are the

very antithesis of any kind of professionalism” (p. 169). In the case of expatriate teachers in Abu Dhabi public schools, the situation is different, however the effects on teachers’ perceptions of themselves as professionals is the same as is described by Hargreaves. As opposed to the concerns of increased constriction and heightened control of teachers’ work voiced by Hargreaves and his concern about teacher evaluations in a post-professional environment, the participants in this study expressed concern that the lack of standards, of feedback, and of relevance to their actual practice reflected a level of amateurism in their campus administrators that did not support their professional growth as educators.

In Abu Dhabi public schools, one of the methods employed to judge teacher effectiveness is the teacher portfolio. In this portfolio, the teacher is expected to include a sampling of lesson plans, assessments and student work. Josh commented on this, saying, “It has been the principal’s observation month, so basically that means like the entire school was preparing the best work portfolio, so, we all know that we need to set such a shining example of professionalism.” The sarcasm here underscores the disdain that the participants expressed at the performance review measures employed at their campuses. Josh, continued to explain, “This is a very much top down, cast this up, check the box culture with that school.” Likewise, Laura concurs with the idea that there is little thought put into the content of teacher performance evaluations when she said that, “They put on that camp. They put on clothes, they act that way, and they perpetuate.” This description relies heavily on terminology related to performance and is in direct reference to teachers’ behavior during observation week and the teacher portfolios.

When asked about his experience of the performance evaluation, Josh was blunt when he said, “The whole evaluation was a joke. I didn’t even really know him. Went into this thinking that, professionally, I know what I’m doing. My only feedback from being a teacher here is that I can’t enter grades correctly so, holistically, I can’t teach.” This equivocation of a relatively mundane administrative failing to a judgment of a teacher’s ability to be a teacher indicates a fundamental misunderstanding of the role of the evaluator, and of the purpose of evaluation.

This perception that the methods and standards by which educators are evaluated in Abu Dhabi public schools comes up again in later categories related to other research questions. Additionally, this sense that the standards which help to define what constitutes quality school administration extends to the participants’ view of their professional development experiences in Abu Dhabi public schools. The idea that the evaluation focused more on superficial elements such as the ability to enter grades, or the contents of a managed teaching portfolio containing items intended to illustrate consistent quality instruction, rather than more reliable forms of evaluation, such as a consistent series of observations, supported the participants’ impression that the image of quality was more important than actual quality in regard to both teacher evaluation and professional development.

Perceived quality of professional development. In contrast to participants’ experiences in the United States, the vast majority of the professional development available for teachers in Abu Dhabi public school teachers is located on campus, and given by other teachers.

Anthony recounted the requirements for professional in the United States, “back home our responsibilities were to attend professional development sessions. We had to receive, or achieve, 500 points within a three years period.”

In contrast, Melanie described her frustration with the professional development program in Abu Dhabi. Melanie said, “In terms of professional development I think that they are way off. I mean, we have done differentiation for like a year now and we have never progressed beyond the initial stage. I got this through my training years ago.”

This is contrasted with Laura’s professional development program in the United States which involved an active administrator and committed teachers working off of identified student needs. This support that Laura experienced in the United States from the administrator for teachers’ professional development and the researching of innovative programs stood in contrast to the perceived effort put into professional development in Abu Dhabi public schools. Laura said, “It seemed like anything that revolved around professional development was just the last, ditch effort and there wasn’t much thought put into it.”

The rigor and relevance of professional development in Abu Dhabi was also concerning for the participants. Brian, speaking to the level of professional development available said that, “Pretty much all of us English teachers say, ‘Oh, this is cool, I got this in college.’ I mean, to be honest, professionally, I’m not developing at all as a teacher.”

Laura, supports the position that the professional development in Abu Dhabi public schools lacks relevance to the issues faced by teachers. Laura, “We needed some

highly effective strategies to get these kids to be able to read simple words, and instead, everything is way above their heads.”

Hargreaves (2000) stated that, “Moving teachers’ professional learning and preparation more towards the school site may increase its collaborative and practical potential, but in excess, if it is severed from the academic world altogether, this strategy will de-professionalize the knowledge base of teaching and dull the profession’s critical edge” (p. 166). This perspective, that moving teachers’ professional development into the school site increases its collaborative and practical benefits may be only true if the professional development offered in the schools is done with the intention of providing practical benefits, and increasing collaborative interactions between teachers. In the experience of this study’s participants, the professional development in Abu Dhabi public schools offered little in the way of collegiality or practical benefits. Melanie said, “Sometimes it just doesn’t happen, so I would like to see more conversations with teachers about what they want to learn in professional development. I want to see more you know, because right now, we’re learning stuff that I did in college years ago, and I just sit there and stare at the wall, or I doddle on my lesson plan and do something else.” Laura was direct about the need for practical training that speaks to the reality of where students are academically. Laura said, “We needed some highly effective strategies to get these kids to be able to read simple words, and instead, everything is way above their heads.”

Tichenor and Tichenor’s (2004) five category model of professionalism. The theme of the experience of teaching in Abu Dhabi public schools presenting challenges related to a

dissonance in the perception of quality practice operates from the participants' definitions of professionalism, which follows Tichenor and Tichenor's (2004) five category model of professionalism which presents professionalism as a function of: character, commitment to change and improvement, knowledge of content, knowledge of pedagogy, and commitment to relationships.

Character. In order to determine the participants' perspective on character, I looked at their statements which made value statements about teachers' ethical standards, and their adherence to those standards. Most of their statements centered on other expatriate teachers, however, there were examples of teachers from the United States which served the purpose of providing a counterpoint to their perspectives on their expatriate peers.

Laura said, "Honest to God, of the eight of us [at her school] who are expats, I would say three of us are truly dedicated to giving their all." This illustrated the idea that the dedication to effort and continual improvement, which is also an element of professionalism for Tichenor and Tichenor (2004), is a part of a teacher's character.

When asked about what made a teacher a professional, Josh said, "a combination of dignity, accountability and resilience." These traits support the idea that professionalism is constructed of the character of the individual, and that construction is, at least in part, developed from how the individual approaches their work, that is, what is their ethical approach to their labor?

Melanie went further when she said, "professionalism is something that starts from your heart and soul. It's what you decided to do with your life and what you've

dedicated your life to doing.” This statement ties the teacher’s character, and consequently their professionalism, into both their dedication to an occupation, as well as making clear the point that this dedication is a part of a decision made by the individual, and the individual’s dedication to that decision. The participants also felt that there was a connection between a teacher’s character and their care for students, including the propriety of the grades assessed for student growth. Josh and Anthony expressed similar concerns about administrators directives regarding grades, and how that affected both the teachers’ professional identity as well as being counterproductive in terms of student growth.

Commitment to change and improvement. The second category of the Tichenor and Tichenor’s (2004) model of professionalism is commitment to change and improvement. The participants’ perspective on professionalism supports this model. Brian, describing his early years as a teacher and the dedication that was necessary to become what he considered a quality professional, “You’re trying to be the greatest teacher, you’re staying up late at night, you’re going into school early to make sure that the objectives are written on the board and the copies are being made because typically you’re staying up late the night before creating the lesson. So then you’re going to get into school early to make the copies and arrange the desks and get all the materials they need and all that stuff.” This description of the effort Josh saw as necessary for teaching success in the early years of his career indicates that by valuing this experience, Josh defined professionalism, at least in part, as making a commitment to improving one’s practice.

Anthony described his commitment to change and improvement when he said, “I have an ongoing evaluation of what worked, what didn’t work, and what could get better.” This approach is similar to the beginnings of a cycle of continuous improvement which can be found in approaches to organizational improvement (Hirsh, Psencik & Brown, 2014). The participants’ perspective on professional development, discussed later in this chapter, relates to this category in that, in the participants’ view, the professional development program in Abu Dhabi public lacked sufficient applicability to student needs, and teachers’ prior knowledge, to count as an authentic commitment to change and improvement.

Knowledge of content and pedagogy. Tichenor and Tichenor’s (2004) third and fourth categories of professionalism are knowledge of content, and knowledge of pedagogy. While the participants did not explicitly refer to the distinction between these two types of knowledge, however the presence of knowledge as a broad category, was referenced as an important element in their definition of professionalism.

Anthony, when asked about his requirements for defining a teacher as a professional, said, “I believe in having expertise in your field, being sincere in that field.” This second element, of being “sincere” in your field speaks to a level of authenticity in regard to one’s base of knowledge that is required for professional status. Melanie’s statements supported Anthony’s when she said, “a successful teacher keeps their education up to date, seeks out professional development opportunities, talks with colleagues, and is unafraid to talk about when they have a flaw.” It is this last clause which further draws a higher standard for knowledge necessary for professionalism. It is

not enough that the knowledge base exists, it must be authentic to the point where the professional has the ability to admit when there are gaps in that knowledge base (Tichenor & Tichenor, 2004).

Commitment to relationships. The fifth category of professionalism for Tichenor and Tichenor (2004) is a commitment to relationships. The participants emphasized the role that relationships play in a successful, and professional teacher. Josh said, “The idea is to help students, to help people achieve something with their life.” This statement on the goals of teaching practice speaks to the idea that the relationship between teacher and student goes beyond the simple transmission of information into areas of life-long importance. Brian echoed this idea when he said, “I think that the objectives change a little bit. Instead of making sure that they are ready for the Ivy League, it turns a bit more into making sure they’re prepared for life.”

How has their perception of professionalism been shaped by their experiences

My inquiry into how the participants’ perceptions of professionalism was shaped by their experiences produced the following categories: The practice of teaching in the United Arab Emirates is characterized by varied difficulties arising from many factors; the experience of teaching in the United Arab Emirates has led to internal conflict between what teachers feel is their proper role, and proper practice, and what they experience; teachers report mostly positive interpersonal relations with others in their position, both English and Arabic speaking peers; external measures of professional quality are not respected as valid by the teachers; and, the experience of teaching in the

United Arab Emirates has raised doubts for the teachers about their own professional identity.

From these categories, came the theme: The experience of teaching in the United Arab Emirates conflicts with how teachers perceive the ideal of the profession, and this has led to uncertainty about their own professional standards.

Administrators and judgments on teaching quality. Teachers spoke about their experiences with administrators in Abu Dhabi public schools as areas of particular conflict in regard to the participants' views of professionalism. Josh stated that, "During my evaluation he [the administrator] said that he had serious reservations about me as a teacher because I failed to enter grades correctly and then also I failed to assert myself during duty in the lunchroom where I showed up late. So I came in late because I was teaching." Relating an evaluation of a teachers' teaching ability to their skill at entering grades into a computer program, or observe the lunchroom, speaks to the deprofessionalization that Hargreaves (2000) spoke of as a threat to the consideration of teaching as a profession. This importance placed on mundane tasks also speaks to Hargreaves' (2000) assertion that to develop a postmodern professionalism, teachers must "ensure that their collaborative energies are directly connected to the task of improving teaching, learning and caring in school." (p. 171). This means valuing teachers' time as professionals. Brian stated that, "I don't know how they do this across the UAE, but in our school the meeting starts 30 to 40 minutes late. They stand in the front with the translator and everything and you just have a guy speaking for 15 minutes or so pretty much in circles not really providing any information it's just saying the same

thing in different ways.” This lack of value placed on teachers’ time extends to class time. Melanie stated that, “I had like five girls come 20 minutes late to class. I sent a note as instructed to the person that needed to be informed, and she told the girls to come and apologize to me and that was it. There was no discussion with the students, there was no call home to parents, there was nothing.” This potentially indicates a lack of institutional standards of quality or behavior in respect to time, or it could be a cultural conflict based upon different conceptions of time between cultures (Setian, 1972). This experience was felt by the participants to have real consequences for the students, and the educational reform program in the United Arab Emirates. Josh said, “It really kind of dehumanizes. It dehumanizes the students as well. I mean they think that they’re creating success for the students but they’re really in the long run, it has a dehumanizing consequence to both the teacher and the student.” This perspective, that the valuing of teachers’ time is a factor in the dehumanization of teachers is reflective of Hargreaves’ point on the direction of teachers’ efforts. When there are not institutional structures that safeguard teachers’ time in the classroom, and time for collaboration and planning, then this creates a structural barrier to creation of a professional environment. These dissonances between the participants’ understandings of quality and the operational realities they encountered in Abu Dhabi public schools, and the necessity of navigating these differences led to some anxiety about their ability to readjust to working in the United States.

Apprehension about participants’ own professional identities. The uncertainty felt by the participants regarding professional standards is revealed through their apprehension about the expectations of their practice in the United Arab Emirates

versus their professional expectations in the United States. The contrast between these two realities lead the participants to question how much of their professional value they were sacrificing by compromising their standards in the United Arab Emirates. Teachers responded with apprehension at how their adaptations to Abu Dhabi standards of practice would affect their sense of themselves as professionals, as well as the professionalism of their practice.

Josh said, “So when you come here you have to make the choice of whether or not you’re going to stay committed to the calling.” In using the term “calling”, Josh adds a layer of meaning to his perception of teachers’ motivation for teaching. A calling, as opposed to a vocation, occupation or job, implies both that the impetus for engaging in the activity for which one is called comes from outside of the called individual. One does not necessarily call one’s self to action. One is sought out and implored to action from the outside. Additionally, perhaps as a function of the calling coming from the outside, there is a sense that, once accepted, the calling imposes a higher standard of duty on the called than would normally attach to an occupation. This question of whether or not commitment to teaching as a “calling” and the kind of teaching that the teachers felt they had to practice in Abu Dhabi was a concept that came up when the participants were asked about their commitment to teaching, their view of the teaching practice in Abu Dhabi, and their definitions of professional practice in Abu Dhabi public schools.

Anthony expressed the idea that his commitment to teaching was affected by how he felt he had to teach in Abu Dhabi. Anthony said that, “So to continue being committed as a teacher, I thought I needed a whole new environment, a whole new

setting for me.” Anthony’s decision to remain in Abu Dhabi in his teaching position rested partly upon how his self-concept as a professional would be affected by his teaching practice.

Brian reflects this concern for the health of his commitment to teaching by stating that, “I don’t have a stronger of a drive as I did”; and “Now that I am here, to be totally honest, the reason I’m here was for the paycheck.” This reduction of the commitment to teaching as simply a function of monetary motivation stands in marked contrast to Brian’s statements about his commitment in the US. He said, “as time progressed, then I found regularly having conversations with students about things other than what the objectives were, instead of saying, ‘today’s learning objectives we’re going to go through literary element and talk about personification’ and what not, it would turn into a lot more of, you know, my boyfriend broke up with me, what do I do?’, kind of that stuff, you know?” By seeing this personal connection as a part of the teaching occupation, and by drawing a contrast between more understood elements of teaching practice, Brian established that teaching involves more than the transmission of curriculum and the facilitation of learning. This connection to students at the personal level demonstrates the caring element of the teachers’ definition of professionalism, and speaks to the commitment to one’s role that is a common element of the teachers’ expressions of their motivations for teaching.

Brian’s stated experiences presents the idea that the commitment to teaching is different in Abu Dhabi than it is in the United States, and that the difference in commitment relates to the teachers’ understanding that teaching means going beyond the

classroom into additional work not necessarily explicitly stated in a job description. These feelings are expressed acutely by Melanie who shared her perspective on her then current level of commitment and care in her role as a teacher; “I don’t care. I don’t care at all. I hardly use my prep time at work unless I absolutely have to do something related to work. I never bring work home. I don’t buy any supplies outside of school. Broken, broken, my passion is broken.” By drawing a distinction between practices that she felt demonstrated commitment to teaching such as effective use of prep time during the school day, working on her lessons at home and buying materials needed for class, and her then current lack of these practices, Melanie underscored the caring element of professionalism manifested in using personal resources for the benefit of her students. It provides further support for the idea that professionalism, as understood by teachers, is a function of teachers’ practice, which will be discussed below.

Melanie continued with a positive view of her prospects for regaining the elements that she felt made her a committed teacher, once she left working in Abu Dhabi public schools. She said: “because most broken things can get put back together, so I’m hoping that somehow I rediscover my passion. I’m not willing to -- I guess I’m broken, not shattered.”

Through my interviews with the participants there was the impression that the experience of teaching in Abu Dhabi public was an experience that strained the teachers’ view of themselves as effective teachers. This view was not only supported by their comments on the behavior of their students, and the administrators’ lack of support in this regard, but also that the curriculum, which they were expected to implement, was more of

an ideal rather than a curriculum developed to address identified needs and skill levels of Abu Dhabi's students. This perspective of themselves as professionals led to the question of how the participants defined professional identity, and how that definition affected their perception of professionalism.

How do the participants define professional identity and how does that definition relate to their perception of professionalism

In analyzing the data in light of the question "how do the participants define professional identity and how does that definition relate to their perception of professionalism?" I constructed the following categories: teachers' professional identity emerges from practice; the quality of work (practice) affects the teachers' image of themselves as professionals; there is an increased sense that teaching is a simple, transactional occupation; teachers have a mixed view of their Emirati managers and a usually positive view of the Arab expats they work with; and the difficulties of the teacher role in Abu Dhabi leads to doubt and questions about the individual's place in the profession.

From these categories, I developed the theme that professionalism is based upon a "practical" definition, the perceived lack of professional practice in Abu Dhabi schools threatens teachers' professional identities.

Professionalism is based on practice. For the participants, the concept of professionalism did not have a set definition, from which practice was modeled, but rather the definition of professionalism emerged from teaching practice. Josh draws the distinction between the performative elements of projecting professionalism and a sense

of understanding the underlying rationale behind these elements. On the difference between the image of professionalism and a deeper understanding of professionalism, Josh commented that, “I think professionalism is sometimes mistaken as the fact you wear a tie, you work every day. You wear a suit, and you were cleanly cut and shaved, and everything. That's a reality, but I think a true professional can understand the reason why they wear a tie.” This idea that teachers who exhibit professionalism, do so as a result of knowing how these performative elements affect practice is echoed in Anthony’s perspective on how the accoutrements of professionalism, such as professional dress, serve to create a distance between teacher and student. Anthony said, “The students looked at the teacher not as friend, not as a buddy, but as a teacher, a respected teacher. And the students understand the role of the teacher, and the teacher understands the students.” This distance allows for this understanding, and creates a space in which a special kind of care. Laura said, “Your bottom line is that your professionalism means that you're of a giving heart.”

This view that professionalism is essentially the practice of caring, a practice focused on, first, the establishment of a relationship of mutual respect, and second on the traditional acts of teachers (delivering lessons, coaching skill development, etc.) was echoed by Melanie when she said, “A successful teacher is one that has a positive relationship with her students so that she can deliver her lessons.”

The participants established that professionalism, as an identifiable trait, is defined through an individual’s practice and is tied to the concept of professional identity as a manifestation of a pattern of received behavior within a social group. They

emphasized practices that indicated that the key aspects of professionalism is manifesting care for the students, and secondly the traditionally-understood practice of teachers. This definition gives rise to the question of how professional the participants could be in their Abu Dhabi teaching roles, and how that level of professionalism affects their perception of themselves.

The quality of work (practice) affects the teachers' image of themselves as professionals. The participants' definition of professionalism, that is a state constituting a teaching practice characterized by caring and maintaining a level of expertise, is reflected in their frustration at how they perceived that the teaching situation in Abu Dhabi public schools provided a poor environment for these aspects of professionalism to flourish in the participants' roles. There is an undercurrent of frustration with the students' ability levels in English, and with the expectation that the students complete a complicated, high-level research project, in English, while not possessing skills aligned with that expectation.

Brian stated, when asked about student success on the term project that, "It doesn't even really matter to me. I would consider myself successful if some of my students could put together some sentences." Josh also demonstrated this resignation with lowered expectations. When asked about student success, Josh lamented his expectations going into the teaching experience in Abu Dhabi: "And then come to realize I was foolish in even thinking I would be able to hand them some paper with writing on it." He continued, explaining the students' level of English language comprehension. Josh said, "Seventy percent of the class understand about fifteen percent of what you

write.” Brian found that student behavior was a barrier to learning. When asked about his expectations of the classroom environment before starting teaching in Abu Dhabi public schools, Brian stated, “I wasn’t expecting them to act like they’re driving their car in my classroom.” He elaborated that student behavior was a real challenge to working through the curriculum, and that one of the favored activities of the grade 10 boys he taught was to pretend to be driving race cars around the room.

Anthony tied this frustration back to the concept of professionalism when he summed up how his experience teaching in Abu Dhabi public schools affected his perception of his own professionalism: “I was under the impression that the parents, administration, the system, wanted the best teachers to come in, because they wanted the best quality education for their kids. On paper, that might be the case; but, in reality, that is not true. This is nowhere near true.”

The participants felt that the organizational environment in Abu Dhabi schools encouraged the image of professionalism, by bringing in qualified expatriate teachers for example, rather than providing the administrative support necessary for the teachers to practice the caring and the teaching craft that they felt was necessary to feel like professionals. Because the participants felt that their ability to practice at a professional level was hindered by the lack of support for that practice by the organization and the administrators at the campus level, they recounted how they had to simplify their practice to one where teaching became transactional rather than transformative in character.

There is an increased sense that teaching is a simple, transactional occupation. When detailing the differences between the practice of teaching in Abu

Dhabi public schools and teaching practice in the United States, the participants focused on the levels of perceived motivation in the students and their perception of the professional standards of their colleagues, including their administrators. This difference centered on the level of sophistication that teaching and learning in Abu Dhabi, and how both the skill levels of the students, as well as the level of managerial expertise exhibited by the administrators, compared unfavorably to their experience in the United States. In this sense, the teacher's role was seen as reduced to an easily replaceable piece of a larger system. Brian, comparing his perception of student motivation in the United States and in Abu Dhabi public schools, said that, "back home I would say that 90% of my students really wanted to succeed. It doesn't mean that necessarily we've worked for that success but they really wanted to succeed and maybe 5% just straight up didn't care. And the remaining 5%, 5% to 10 %, were giving enough just too barely get by, where here I feel like those numbers are flipped on that heads." Brian drew a relationship between his perception of student motivation in Abu Dhabi, and his motivation as a teacher. He said: "I've lost a good chunk of drive that I used to have, just because they can be very frustrating in the class here when you can't make as big of an impact on individual students as you could back in the U.S." This supports the caring element of professionalism in that the emphasis on making an impact implies that a motivating factor for teachers is making a positive effect in their students' lives. Brian drew a direct line between his motivation for teaching, and his ability to affect positive change in his students' lives. This perspective on students could be reflective of the views on students of color, or from predominantly low-income backgrounds, by white teachers whose

backgrounds are more privileged. Milner (2006) stated that teachers' perceptions that students of color do not already possess the necessary skills, knowledge and attitudes to succeed can result in the development of teaching approaches that do not add value to the student experience.

Teachers have a mixed view of their Emirati managers and a usually positive view of the Arab expats they work with. The participants also drew distinctions between administrators in the United States and those they encountered in Abu Dhabi public schools. Anthony described his administrators in the United States: "Those twenty-eight years I was in three different schools. In each department that I was in I had supervisors and I had colleagues who their main objective was to instill in kids skills that would enable them to be lifelong learners." His descriptions of administrators in Abu Dhabi posit a different relationship between administrators and student success. Anthony described how student grades could be manipulated to imitate success. Anthony said, "When you get grades and then they round it off, which really means round it up. When you have again there are so much rounding off and rounding up that who wouldn't be rated to top this and top of that." This emphasis on grades is indicative, for the participants of a different conception of educational quality, one that contrasts with their experiences in the United States. This too affects the sense of professionalism that the participants have of themselves as teachers. Of this, Anthony said, "I find myself now looking at teaching as they pay me to do certain things, and one is keep failure to an extreme minimum."

Melanie also expressed concern about the relationship between the administrators and the teachers. When asked about what makes a teacher successful in Abu Dhabi, Melanie stated:

I think it's the ones who do their own thing, you know, they are good and maybe the kids like them so there are not problems with the administration, because that's how you get it here. The administrators never come to your room, maybe once or twice a year, so the only feedback they get is from the kids, so if you like whip them into shape, then they go and complain and you get in trouble, but never fired of course, maybe sent out to the desert. Exiled to the Western Region.

Melanie's perspective that the administrators' main point of information on teachers comes from the students, and that the key to success for teachers was to manage student behavior so as to keep a low profile, supports the idea that the administrators were seen in a chiefly negative light by the participants.

There were two exceptions to this predominantly negative view. Anthony stated that he had one administrator who he felt comported himself with professionalism. Anthony did not elaborate and the administrator was referenced as an exception to Anthony's overall experiences with his administrators in Abu Dhabi. Another exception was Laura's experience with a principal who allowed her a degree of freedom in how she taught a unit.

Despite a chiefly negative perception of the administration, the participants expressed positive sentiments towards their teaching peers in Abu Dhabi. Both expatriate

English teachers and Arabic-medium teachers (chiefly expats from other Arabic-speaking countries) (Dickson, 2013) were held in high regard by the participants.

Brian described his approach to collaboration at his school, when he said “I also would have advice and what not for my colleagues, and I’ve been fortunate enough to have a good amount of teachers that are willing to share material.” Brian described the support he received from his teaching peers at his campus, when he said that, “I’m really fortunate and I think this is the case to be honest, of most of the male schools, most of the boys’ schools here, that men in general are like, check out this assignment, give them the words, say, the words with your kids. You know, we’re always throwing around different assignments at people.”

The participants’ opinions on their western expatriate peers were mostly positive and tended to align with how their peers aligned to the participants’ definition of professionalism. Opinions on the participants’ Arab expatriate colleagues were also chiefly positive. Perspectives on the, predominantly Emirati, administrators were negative, with Anthony’s opinion of one of his vice principals, and Laura’s take on how her principal offered to allow her to have some flexibility with her implementation of areas of the curriculum, standing out as exceptions.

The difficulties of the teacher role in Abu Dhabi leads to doubt and questions about the individual’s place in the profession. In describing his understanding of what was expected of him as a teacher when he first began working for the Abu Dhabi Education Council, Brian said, “Well my commitment here was doing the best I can to realize what the new school model was that they [the Abu Dhabi Education Council]

were trying to follow and doing your best to say, this is what ADEC wants so, I need to make sure that I'm focusing on their needs. So I think of the needs of ADEC not necessarily the students." This orientation towards the needs of the organization, rather than what the teacher determines are the needs of the students, recalls the deprofessionalization that characterized Josh's experience with his evaluation's focus on his ability to properly enter grades into the computer system. Like that instance, Brian's focus on organizational priorities rather than student needs, also relates to Hargreaves' (2000) assertion that to develop a postmodern professionalism, teachers need to focus on "improving teaching, learning and caring in the school" (p. 171). This is a shift away from using one's professional judgment as an educator to determine student needs, and the best ways to address those needs, and towards a practice that elevates the organization's values over one's professional judgment.

When asked if his experience teaching in Abu Dhabi might affect his professionalism when he returned home, he said, "I will definitely admit that I'm nervous for that. I'm nervous that if and when I go back to the U.S. and I get back into the classroom that I may be a little jaded. I may not put forth the effort that I have in the past because I'm so used to maybe not necessarily having to do that."

Melanie offered a similar concern, stating, "Well, I say my passion for teaching is broken." She was optimistic about her ability to recover her professionalism because of her personal support structure. Melanie said, "I'm still hopeful and that's because I have colleagues, and not just people I work with, people that live in my building who are

teachers, spouses of teachers. The support that I miss at work, I get from my personal life, so I'm still hopeful."

How do these definitions affect their professional practice?

In looking at the question of how participants' definitions of professionalism affect their professional practice, I developed the following categories: Teachers' definitions of professionalism and their perception of their professional identity conflict with their practice in the United Arab Emirates; teachers' perception of quality practice is in conflict with their practice in the United Arab Emirates; teachers find that the evaluative instruments used in the United Arab Emirates are not reflective of true quality, Teachers find support from other expat teachers; and teachers' are concerned about their professional identity as a result of their experiences teaching in the United Arab Emirates.

From these analytical categories I developed the idea that teachers' definitions of professionalism and of their professional identity affect their practice and contrast with their experiences teaching in the United Arab Emirates. This idea can be summarized as: The practical effects of the contrast between teaching in the United States and teaching in the United Arab Emirates create dissonance between participants' definitions of professionalism and professional identity and their teaching in Abu Dhabi public schools.

Teachers' definitions of professionalism and their perception of their professional identity conflict with their practice. This category relates to how the quality of work (practice) affects the teachers' image of themselves as professionals. Much of the data which supports this category relates to the compromises the participants had to make in regard to what they felt to be quality practice. These compromises

resulted in the practice of defensive teaching (Gitlin, 2000; McNeil, 1998), a practice which will be expanded upon in the discussion chapter. Brian describes how he felt that his creativity had been impeded through the necessities of working with the ability levels of the students. Brian said, “You kind of run out of ideas for creativity because there’s only about three or four things that work. So, do you want to keep doing those three or four things over and over and over again, and bore the students and yourself? Or do you want to try to get out and be creative and very difficult part with creative lessons and spending a lot of time on lesson planning that is almost guaranteed to flop?” This fatalistic approach to lesson planning is reflected in Josh’s experience. Josh said, “other English teachers would tell me that I was being stupid that it was a waste and to go home and enjoy yourself. So that’s what I do now. I for sure do nothing out of class. Everything I prepare for class is done like five minutes before class, or if I have a few minutes at the end of the day or something, maybe I’ll take something from one of the other teachers.” The idea that simple assignments are being used as part of a behavior management strategy is the essence of defensive teaching and is indicative of a learning environment in which it is difficult for teachers to demonstrate what they understand to be professional practice.

Through working in Abu Dhabi public schools, the participants had experiences that ran contrary to their understanding of quality teaching practice. In many ways the participants felt that their practice ran in direct contradiction to what they learned through their careers and training was professionalism.

Teachers do not find that the evaluative instruments used in the United Arab Emirates are reflective of true quality. This category relates to the earlier categories: external measures of professional quality are not respected as valid by the teachers and participants' views of administrators and judgment on teaching quality. Anthony recounted his experience with his administrators' emphasis on differentiated assignments in his evaluation. Anthony said, "We are expected to have three different worksheets for three different levels within the class, and more if possible, and this theoretically is supposed to be done on an everyday basis. Students are to work on different worksheets at different levels trying to attain the same objective, which is to pass, the same test, which is impossible." This approach to differentiation was viewed by the participants as being rudimentary and beneath their level of expertise. In response to the year-long professional development on differentiation, Laura said, "I don't need nine months of differentiation training. I did that years ago. Come look at my lesson plans."

Examples of differentiated assignments and student work were to be placed in each teachers' portfolio for the principal to evaluate. Josh describes his school's approach to the principal's evaluation period disdainfully saying, "It has been the principles observation month, so basically that means like the entire school was preparing the best work portfolio, so, we all know that need such a shining example of professionalism on ability." Anthony described the school environment in response to the imminent visit to the school by inspectors from the Abu Dhabi Education Council. Anthony said, "We're basically going through the motions so that the kids know how to cope when the inspectors are here." By coaching the students on how to behave in the

presence of inspectors, the concept that evaluation is based on surface-level impressions of professional practice.

Teachers find support from other expat teachers. The ability of expatriate teachers to adapt to the cultural context of Abu Dhabi public schools was valued by the participants. Melanie said this about her expatriate teacher peers, “I think a lot of people have their head on their shoulders, meaning they realize they're in another country, they realize it's not going to be like their home country, and they listen and they learn.” Melanie expressed gratitude at the support she received from her expatriate colleagues when she said, “Well, I obviously had great support from my colleagues, because we're all in the same position. All of my English colleagues we're all out of our home country, we're all out of our own culture, our own language.”

Brian also found that the other western expatriate teachers were supportive in terms of sharing lessons, and providing advice on how to succeed in his teaching assignment. Brian said, “I'm really fortunate, and I think this is the case to be honest of, most of the male schools that the men in general are like, ‘check out this assignment.’”

Despite positive impressions of their western expatriate peers, the participants expressed concern that the way that they felt that they had to teach in Abu Dhabi public schools was against what they saw as proper professional practice. By compromising their understanding of professionalism in order to both satisfy organizational directives and manage student behavior, the participants felt that they were less professional as teachers than they were in the United States. The participants' practice changed in response to the context, and the participants found that their definition of professionalism

emerges from practice, does that mean that, through the participants' experience in Abu Dhabi their perspectives on professionalism and professional identity have changed as well?

Have these perspectives changed through the expatriate teaching experience and, if so, how and why?

In seeking to understand whether participants' perspectives changed through the expatriate teaching experience and, if so, I developed the following analytical categories: The concept of professional best practices still exists, but its implementation is suspended in the present context; there is a conflict between what the teachers know is professional and what they feel they have to do to get through their teaching experience in the United Arab Emirates; definitions of success in the United Arab Emirates have more to do with categories unrelated to professional life; professionalism and professional best practices are not valued in the present context; and teachers' express sadness over their inability to perform at a level acceptable to their standards in the Abu Dhabi public schools context.

Working with the data that comprised these categories I developed the idea that, while the participants' perspectives on professionalism and professional identity have not changed, teachers do feel like they have to compromise what they know to be best practices and shift their focus away from student success in order to meet the expectations set for them as expatriate teachers in Abu Dhabi.

The concept of professional best practices still exists, but its implementation is suspended in the present context. Melanie described an experience wherein she felt that her authority as a teacher was undermined by the administrators. Melanie said, "I

had five girls come twenty minutes late to class. I sent a note as instructed to the administrator who needed to be informed, and she told the girls to come and apologize to me and that was it. There was no discussion with the students, there was no call home to parents, there was nothing. And that's the moment I realized that my opinion, my classroom, what I believed to be successful kind of classroom management skills, where my professionalism didn't really matter." This statement reveals both the idea that maintenance of a regular lesson schedule, with set times for the teaching to begin, is a factor in Melanie's perception of professionalism, and of her professional standards, and that this standard is not applied to the degree she expected in her Abu Dhabi teaching assignment.

There is conflict between what the teachers' know is professional and what they have to do to get through their teaching experience in the United Arab Emirates. In addition to the participants' feelings that their practical compromises in regard to what they understood to be best teaching practices constituted a threat to their professionalism, their responses expressed the idea that making these compromises was necessary in order to make it through the experience of teaching in Abu Dhabi. Anthony recounted that his orientation in terms of his practice is to teach to the standards set by his administration. He said, "So my view of commitment has changed quite a bit. I'm more committed to myself, bearing in mind still doing a good job with as far as the administration here is concerned, if not an exceptional job." Here he drew a distinction between commitment to teaching and commitment to himself. Additionally, Anthony's statement implies that the standards for doing one's job successfully are set by the

administrators, and also that these standards do not align to what he considers to be excellent performance as a teacher.

Brian discussed his change of approach to teaching when he said, “I don’t give homework. I’ve never given them homework in the year and a half that I’m here.”

Asked about why he does not give homework, or expect any student work outside of the classroom, Brian stated, “But quality, what I consider quality, what the educational world considers quality doesn’t work here.” Brian also said that he had to adjust his expectation that students would regularly attend tutorials. He said that, “Out of roughly 80 students, I have five, six tops, who will come in for extra help.”

This contrasts with Brian’s experience in the United States. Brian said, “I was giving them [homework] at least three nights a week in the US and I was expecting that the kids would be asking for it, that they would want more, as much practice as they could possibly get.” Brian stated that the adaptation from an environment where extra practice and a desire for continual improvement was standard for students, to one where the assigning of homework is not done resulted in changes to his practice, and was the result of his observations of student ability levels. He said that, “I’ve just adjusted my lessons a bit to try to meet the needs of what the students are actually capable of.” Brian elaborated on how his expectations of student ability, and the situation he observed conflicted and affected his approach to lesson planning and assessments. Brian said of his lessons, “It was too advanced. I tried, I came here with the idea and expectation that the abilities of the students would be much higher, and obviously I learned pretty quickly that the abilities were low.” This dissonance led Brian to adjust his expectations in order

to keep students engaged enough to complete assignments. Melanie described how her approach to grades differed in Abu Dhabi. Melanie said, “I definitely do things in this position that I don’t think are that professional, like the grading, the marks you know. I will do that, I will round up a grade from a fail to a pass because I don’t want the crap that I am going to get for taking a stand for my principles on this. I try to look at it this way, the principal, or vice principal, or whomever, will change the grade for the kid anyway, and they may come down on me for taking that kind of stand.” Brian, reflecting on the adaptation of his practice and the consequent change in his perspective, said that, “I don’t really care if they do high quality work on the assignment or not.”

Melanie expressed similar compromises in her practice as a result of teaching in Abu Dhabi. For example, she said that, “Some days, I don’t even bother writing up stuff [preparing lesson plans] because I know it’s not going to matter. Why waste my time?” The idea that lesson planning is, in a way, a waste of time, stands in marked contrast to Melanie’s statements about her work in the United States, where she taught in a rural area and where she had, in her words, “two classes of kids that were in jail, and one class of International Baccalaureate students.” In the United States, Melanie’s desire to improve manifested itself, in part, by her interest in improving her lesson planning. Melanie described a time when she approached a teacher peer for help saying, “I said, ‘I feel like I’m missing some strategies on classroom management, I feel like my lesson planning is not where it needs to be at all.’” Melanie explained that her emphasis on planning is not a strong element of her practice in Abu Dhabi as a result of her observation that it did not have much effect on student learning. Melanie said, “Some days, I don’t even bother

writing up stuff because I know it's not going to matter. Why waste my time?" On teaching in the United States, she said, "I loved working with the kids, and feeling satisfied that I was doing something good with my education." When asked about the quality of her work in Abu Dhabi, she said, "It's deplorable. It's horrible, and it's embarrassing, because I don't care." Melanie summed up her perception on practical compromise as a survival tactic in Abu Dhabi public schools, when she said that, "I would say, if we in the field of education, a professional from abroad who works here and would not survive if he were or she were to hold fast to their professionalism without -- I mean you basically have to accept that you are being paid to provide the service that they want you to provide and many times what they want you to provide is far from the standard of professionalism that you are accustomed to or that you were trained in to provide."

By altering their professional practice, the participants engaged in a type of defensive teaching, (Gitlin, 2000; McNeil, 1988) which provided them with a tactic to cope with a perceived lack of support and guidance from their administrators. This tactic did, however further stand in contrast to what the participants felt was professional practice, which led to frustration with this dissonance.

Definitions of success in the United Arab Emirates have more to do with categories unrelated to professional life. In order to measure success for their experiences in Abu Dhabi, the participants referred to elements exterior to their professional life. The financial rewards of working as an expatriate teacher, the opportunity to travel, and the chance for adventure appeared as compelling motivators to

justify their time working in Abu Dhabi public schools. Brian said, “Now that I am here, to be totally honest, the reason I’m here is for the paycheck.” This sentiment is echoed by Anthony, who goes on to state that, while the financial motivation is present, his role as a teacher is to provide a service for the Abu Dhabi Education Council. Anthony said, “I want to make a few dollars but I’m not short-changing though, I’m giving them what they want.” This has resonances of the view that teaching, as it becomes less professional, becomes more of a transactional enterprise. Anthony concluded by saying, “Right now, I’ve stayed here because I want to travel.” When asked why she remained in Abu Dhabi, Melanie had a similar perspective, related to her desire for adventure. Melanie said, “Now, it’s a means of living overseas, being able to travel and have new experiences.”

Professionalism and professional best practices are not valued in the present context. This category relates to conflicts between the participants’ understanding of professional standards of teaching practice and what they view as valued practices in Abu Dhabi schools. Examples from the participants included issues with grades, professional development which the participants viewed as not responsive to actual needs, and lack of support in behavior management. These conflicts affected the participants’ perceptions of themselves as professionals as they worked in ways that they considered contrary to their training, and experience.

Teachers express sadness over their inability to perform at an acceptable level in the United Arab Emirates context. When asked about adjusting to teaching in Abu Dhabi, Anthony described his experience with his expatriate teaching peers.

Anthony said, “When I first got here, I was very fortunate that the western teachers that I worked with tried to draw a realistic picture of the work environment and the teaching environment while teaching the students. They tried to draw as realistic a picture as they could. I was a little resistant because of my indoctrination prior to coming and because of my commitment as a professional teacher. It took me close to a year to accept that they were right.” Anthony continued, describing the advice that his coworkers gave him at the beginning of his time in Abu Dhabi. Anthony said, in describing the curriculum, that, “there was no way that the students that we had were going to be able to fulfill the requirements to that curriculum, that there is no way that I would be able to make adjustments.” When asked what his commitment to the quality of his practice was like after some time in Abu Dhabi, Josh described how his perspective on teaching changed. Josh said, “The veteran teachers were like, you can’t really “teach” so much as you can get them [the students] to complete certain things. And I was shocked. I’m not shocked anymore because I know what they were talking about. I mean you can’t really teach here, at least not at my campus, and I’ve heard that I was in one of the better ones.”

While not all expatriate teachers were seen as holding to high standards, the ones who were seen as making an effort stood out for praise. Laura singled out these expatriate teachers for their efforts and commitment when she said, “Honest to God, I would say there are eight of us who are expats. I would say, three of them are really truly dedicated to giving their all. I'm not talking about their whole lives, 24/7, I'm talking about while they're there really doing their best.”

The participants maintained that their perspectives on professionalism and professional identity did not change through their experience teaching in Abu Dhabi. They also believed that they had to temporarily suspend their professionalism in order to satisfy the directives of the organization, to manage student behavior and to better endure the frustrations that accompanied working in Abu Dhabi public schools. This temporary injunction resulted chiefly in a simplification of the participants' pedagogy and a perspective that their teaching practice had transitioned from the transformations, where deep changes in students' lives was seen as the goal, to the transactional, where teaching was a service to be performed according to the client's specification for remuneration. Additionally, the concept of professionalism was seen by the participants as coming out of quality teaching practice, in which the traits of character, commitment to change and improvement, knowledge of content, knowledge of pedagogy and commitment to relationships, dedication to which were seen as forming teachers' professional identity, are manifested through teachers' work. The degree to which teachers' professional identity was demonstrated in their practice determined their level of professionalism for the participants.

V: DISCUSSION

Summary

Goodson and Hargreaves (1996) offered seven principles to successfully navigate the fourth age of professionalism, the so called “age of the postmodern professional.” These principles include seeking the opportunity and responsibility to exercise discretionary judgment; having chances to interact with and explore the moral and social purposes of what is taught; committing to collaboration with other individuals in the community; seeking opportunities to focus care on the students, rather than on artificial, and externally-created, measures of progress; committing to self-directed improvement of one’s practice and expertise, divorced from impositions from externally-created reform structures; and emphasizing tasks of high complexity and creativity. These principles outline the circumstances by which teachers may go past what Goodson and Hargreaves (1996) determine are exteriorly-imposed directives from organizations concerned more with satisfying their own directives rather than encouraging professional practice from teachers. The participants described their teaching experiences in Abu Dhabi in a way that reflects Goodson and Hargreaves’ (1996) fourth age of professionalism, and presented a perspective that indicates little opportunity for Goodson and Hargreaves’ prescriptions for navigating this age to be implemented.

In terms of professional identity, the participants’ definitions of professionalism, and of a professional teacher, align most closely with Tichenor and Tichenor’s (2004) five category model of professionalism. These categories are: character, commitment to change and improvement, knowledge of content, knowledge of pedagogy, and

commitment to relationships. The participants found that though their perspective on professionalism had not changed through their experience teaching in Abu Dhabi public schools, nor had their view of professional identity or their perspectives of themselves as professionals, there was, however, concern expressed that the participants felt the need to suspend what they understood to be professional practice in order to satisfy the directives of their schools and the Abu Dhabi Education Council.

Professionalism

Teacher Definitions of Professionalism. The participants' definitions of professionalism, as expressed through their responses, closely followed Tichenor and Tichenor's (2004) five category model of professionalism. In this model, professionalism was defined through: character, commitment to change and improvement, knowledge (both of content and pedagogy) and, commitment to relationships (both in and out of the classroom).

Character. Teachers' character, the standards by which they operate as professionals as well as the degree to which they adhere to these standards, was of particular interest to the participants. The teachers in this study repeatedly addressed questions of professionalism by referring to an ethic of care and concern for their students. For example, the character of the teacher was repeatedly addressed as an important factor in their effectiveness as a classroom instructor, as well as their overall value as a teacher. This was demonstrated in the participants' descriptions of their experiences as both teachers, with colleagues, and, in the case of Anthony, with his teachers when he was a student. Moreover, the quality of character in the definition of a

professional was important to the participants in the way that a teacher's character manifested in their care for students. For the participants, in their teaching in the United States, this care for students was reflected in how seriously teachers took student learning, including the propriety of assessments and grading. The fact that this care did not manifest for the teachers through their practice in Abu Dhabi public schools supports the suspension of professionalism that the participants experienced.

Commitment to change and improvement. The participants expressed that a major component of professionalism was seeking chances for self-improvement, and a dedication to positive change. For example, participants commented that their approach to professional development in the United States was oriented towards becoming more effective teachers in response to identified student needs. Participants recounted their initial excitement at being a part of a large educational reform initiative, which demonstrates that, conceptually at least, the participants were well disposed to change in the sense of reform. The idea that the professional development program in Abu Dhabi public schools was not sufficiently meeting their needs as teachers was expressed by the participants and was a factor in their concern about their professionalism. Brian's concern that his skills were not being fully utilized in Abu Dhabi, and Melanie's dismay at how the professional development program's focus on differentiation replicated training she had already received in the United States, stand out as examples of the participants' perspectives on this category.

Knowledge. The idea that professionalism is based in practice, which emerged from research question three, "How do they define professional identity and how does

that definition relate to their perception of professionalism?” relates to Tichenor and Tichenor’s third and fourth categories of knowledge of content and knowledge of pedagogy. When asked about preparation for the teaching profession, as well as preparation for teaching in the United Arab Emirates specifically, the teachers drew connections between the development of their content and pedagogical knowledge base, and their successes in the classroom. In fact, the teachers made explicit the idea that it is their inability to rely upon their expertise, which served them well in the United States created difficulties for the participants’ teaching practice in the United Arab Emirates. Participants’ view that the tools and techniques that they used in the United States did not work in their teaching assignments in Abu Dhabi. Additionally, they expressed concern that their knowledge of effective pedagogy for the context of Abu Dhabi public schools was not improving because the professional development offered was not targeted towards actual student needs.

Commitment to relationships. In terms of relationships, the participants related that their relationships with the students was a primary feature in their definition of their roles as teacher, and a constituent element in their view of professionalism. For example, Laura found that her relationships with students were the root of her professional practice of care, which relates to the category of character as a trait of professionalism. Brian as well found that, in the United States, his relationships with his students was more important at times than his knowledge of his content. The participants’ view of the importance of relationships extended out to their views of their peer teachers, with those whom the participants viewed as collaborating and connecting towards the goal of

student learning and organizational success rating higher in the participants' estimation of their professionalism. Josh and Brian, for example, recounted how their experiences with their western expatriate colleagues in Abu Dhabi were positive in terms of the information and support they provided when they first began teaching in Abu Dhabi.

Looking at professionalism through this lens offers the benefit of simplification, wherein this complex concept is reduced to a five category model, however, there is the danger in over-simplification. If the definition is too general, then there is a risk that situations can be interpolated in order to either fit in or be excluded in order to suit the analyst's intention. For this reason, this definition of professionalism needs to be examined in tandem with other analyses of professionalism and professional identity.

Implications.

Threats to professionalism: deprofessionalization. Throughout the interviews, the participants reiterated ideas related to a sense of increased deprofessionalization. The emphasis placed on Josh's proper entry of grades into the computer program, rising to the level of affecting his evaluation, is a telling example of what Hargreaves (2000) offered as a major factor in his estimation of the current, "post-professional" age. In this sense, deprofessionalization is less a sense of "dull[ing] the profession's critical edge" (p. 166), than it is that it reduces teaching to an "almost premodern craft, where existing knowledge is passed on practically from expert to novice, but where practice can at best be reproduced, not improved" (p. 168). The entering of grades, as an example, is a menial task. It does not speak to the quality of instruction that is being delivered in the classroom, or to the complex set of skills necessary to deliver that instruction. By

elevating the entering of grades on to a computer to the overall quality of a teacher's practice, the teacher's sense of their own professional identity is threatened by reducing them to the performer of low-skilled tasks.

I found agreement among the participants' that an element of professionalism for them was the maintenance of one's professional skills through a process of continual professional development, this idea is supported by Goodson and Hargreaves' (1996) recommendation for teachers in the age of postmodern professionalism that they take part in a self-directed search for continuous learning related to one's own expertise and standards of practice, rather than professional development imposed from the outside in response to an ever-changing series of reform initiatives. This recommendation stands in direct contradiction to the professional development experienced by the participants in Abu Dhabi public schools. According to the participants, there was little choice in professional development options. By requiring that teachers focus on a given strategy, regardless of teachers' mastery of that strategy, the structure of the professional development program serves to support the image of professionalism in the service of further deprofessionalization of teachers.

Effects of deprofessionalization. In response to the perception of an environment of deprofessionalization and the difficulties arising from the perceived ability level of the students, as well as the challenges of behavior management, which stemmed from, in the participants' perspective, a lack of institutional quality in the form of administrative standards of practice, the participants engaged in what McNeil (1988) termed "defensive teaching." These behavior management challenges included, in the participants'

estimation, a lack of support for teachers' teaching time, as evidenced by Melanie's recollection of her administration's response to the frequent tardiness of her students. Another example is Anthony's description of his experience and impression of student tardiness, which may be connected to different cultural conceptions of time and punctuality. Anthony said, "The idea is that a kid disrespects you, for example a kid can come to class five, ten minutes late every day. You can have him sign his name that he's late, you can refer him to the social worker, you can bring this to the attention of their parents, and that student will still come to class late every day. If your experience as a teacher has been punctuality as sign of responsibility, it's a sign of disrespect." For McNeil, defensive teaching involves both a practical and conceptual element. The practical manifestation of a defensive teaching strategy are lessons characterized by "brief 'right' answers easily transmitted, easily answered, easily graded," (p. 157). In short, focusing on routine tasks and simplifying assessments and instruction. This "defensive teaching" as a tactic implies a kind of exchange between teacher and student. Teachers give students simplified assignments, and students "return the favor by giving the teacher classroom order and minimal compliance on assignments." (McNeil, 1988, p. 157-158). This exchange created a conflict in the participants' conception of themselves as professionals, by standing in contrast with what they understood to be best teaching practices. Josh made this explicit when he described how his approach to student assignments had changed. Josh said, "I used to take their work home and grade for content and grammar and everything. I killed myself with that, but there is no point.

After doing that a few times and seeing how the papers ended up on the ground or covered in tobacco spit or wadded up in the desk, I thought why am I doing this?"

Brian and Anthony's responses pointed to their perception of their professional work quality and supported the existence of defensive teaching practices. Brian gave an example of his defensive teaching when he said, "You know, you can have all these wonderful things outlined and then you realize, what is better just have them sitting, count and copying something down because they know how to do that, because they're used to doing that, and I'm not going to have them acting like they're driving a car in the classroom and slapping their friend and all that stuff." Anthony described the grading standards he saw in Abu Dhabi. Anthony said, "They have accepted the, 'Look at the paper, if there's a lot of words on there, if the handwriting is decent, if the kid is okay.' You give him a good mark." Both participants found that their work quality was far below that which they expected from themselves in the United States. Their rationale for this practice was as a technique for behavior management and the belief that the higher-order thinking skills that they would be usually be engaging their students with would not work in the Abu Dhabi public school context due to the emphasis on objective measures of academic success (grades) and the ability level of the majority of the students.

The implication of this defensive teaching strategy is that the situation which precipitates its existence is reinforced through its utilization. By simplifying the taught curriculum, the "teachers actively participate in the deskilling process" (Gitlin, 2001, p. 229).

Deprofessionalization and the proletarianization of teachers. Participants' experiences in Abu Dhabi public schools, roles which they characterized as less than professional, support the idea that the reform measure in Abu Dhabi represents a kind of rapid rationalizing of the education system, wherein the traditional forms are not only subsumed by structures which seek to mirror modern, western educational systems, but also which are characterized by a rationalist approach to human capital. This rationalized approach to human capital is seen in the expendability, or replace-ability, of teachers, which de-professionalizes them by not treating them as subjects, but rather as instrumental objects which serve functional capacities within the system, (Lawn and Ozga, 1981). By de-emphasizing the individual, and constructing systems whereby teachers are asked to do little in the way of thought work, or value judgment, the reform model creates a structure which degenerates human beings, which "proletarianizes" teachers and reduces them to un-, or de-skilled labor. Brian's explicit statement on his change in orientation provides a clear example of the proletarianization of teachers. Brian said, "Well my commitment here was doing the best I can to realize what the new school model was that they [the Abu Dhabi Education Council] were trying to follow and doing your best to say, this is what ADEC wants so, I need to make sure that I'm focusing on their needs. So I think of the needs of ADEC not necessarily the students." This emphasis on focusing efforts on the aims of the organization, and away from both the students and teachers, has the effect of leading teachers to closer examinations of their practice and their roles as professionals (Robertson, 1996). The participant's sense that the aims of the organization promoted the image of quality teaching practice,

regardless of whether or not the promoted image was reflected in student performance, for example Josh's experience with his evaluation or Anthony's perspective on the school's preparation for inspector visits, led them to question their professional practice in relation to what they understood to be teaching quality.

One of the benefits of working abroad is that it allows one the opportunity to look critically at one's perspectives on work. When one is within a particular frame of reference, one is less likely to devote critical attention to one's place within that frame. People are often too busy to spend their time critically interrogating their own positionality in relation to larger structures. There are lesson plans to create, assignments to grade, bills to pay, lives to live. These considerations do not disappear when individuals find themselves located within a new and unfamiliar context, it is just that a consideration of who one is in relation to the greater structural system becomes necessary to construct meaning of the experience. In this way, by taking themselves out of the American educational system and into the system in Abu Dhabi, a system undergoing radical reform no less, the participants were forced to devote energy in consideration of their roles. This self-examination in relation to an unfamiliar context supports the idea that teachers are less valued in terms of professional practice in Abu Dhabi, an impression which, for Robertson (1996), compels the individual's attention away from the practice and craft of teaching (the "students and teachers") and towards the needs of the organization. This attention to role and position within the system is what is meant by attention to one's practice and role as a professional.

The proletarianization of teachers, or the perspective that teachers' roles have become increasingly proletarian in character, has potential implications for both the individual and for the systems in which they operate. For the teachers, after accumulating subject-area content knowledge, going through a process of teacher training and certification, and spending hours upon hours honing their craft through professional development, it is understandable that the idea that they are easily replaceable would affect their estimation of their own professionalism and professional identity.

My analysis of the data implies that the participants harbor both anger and frustration towards both the Abu Dhabi Education Council and its representatives at the campus level. The participants appear to feel overwhelmed by the differences between what they were trained for, and what they experienced in the American educational system, and what they have been confronted with in Abu Dhabi. Their internal expectations of quality practice, which helped the participants to define the concept of professionalism, and to delineate their professional identities, is, in the estimation of the participants, so difficult to achieve in the context of Abu Dhabi public schools that there is anger towards the organization for, in the perspectives of the participants, creating a situation where teachers experience frustration. This stands in direct contradiction to the concept of the deskilling of non-industrial workers theorized by Derber (1983), wherein non-industrialized workers who undergo a process of deskilling experience an "ideological proletarianization" (p. 315) whereby the aims of the organization take precedence over the traditional aspects of individual professionalism, namely autonomy and creativity. If the organization for the participants is the Abu Dhabi Education

Council, there did not appear to be a movement in the participants' estimation toward the elevation of the goals and ideals of the organization over the participants' individual autonomy or creativity. The deskilling and proletarianization of the participants as a result of the intensification of their work follows more closely with the Apple's (1989) contention that the result of this deskilling would be the "reskilling" of workers toward more menial tasks. Through the equation of proper gradebook navigation with quality teaching, as voiced by Josh most explicitly, the participants experienced a literal equivocation of menial tasks with quality teaching practice. The deskilling of teachers is a symptom of the increasing lack of trust in teachers' abilities that contributes to the issue of deprofessionalization. Josh recounted another experience related to grades where a friend of one of his student's fathers visited Josh after school to lobby for an improvement in the student's grade. Josh recalls that he was surprised that the individual would be privy to the student's grades and would be allowed access to the teacher. Josh said, "The next morning the vice principal comes to me and tells me that I should have given the mark to the student and that, so I ask why. I mean, it's not his dad, because I met the student's dad at parents' night. So why does this guy get that information? The vice principal says that the guy is the dad's friend and he was doing the dad a favor and the dad was really embarrassed, that I gave the guy a hard time." This was seen as a violation of the teacher's professional judgment. When asked about how the situation was resolved, Josh revealed that he had ended up giving the student the desired grade. Josh said, "I am not here to promote my ideas or what I think things you know, should be. I am here to do a job and go home."

Of course, this is an experience that is not isolated to the Abu Dhabi public schools context. Wong (2006) found that teachers in China experienced a gradual loss of control due to increased local oversight over their content and pedagogy. In the United States, the increasing centralization of decision-making located away from the classroom has contributed to the deskilling of teachers (Tye, Tye & Tye, 2010).

Additionally, the nature of the difficulty inherent in expatriate adjustment (the “U-shaped” hypothesis), dictates that organizations plan for the need to consistently replenish, at best, and replace, at worst, their workforce. This necessity can contribute to the perception of teacher replaceability and further the proletarianization of teachers. This leads to the question of how, in a professional landscape where workers are proletarianized, and replaced periodically, how do teachers view themselves as professionals. That is, what is their perspective on professional identity?

Professional Identity

Practical construction of professional identity. The participants viewed themselves as professionals mainly due to their practice. There was some discussion of their moral or ethical orientation, but mainly the teachers viewed their identity as professionals as emergent from their practice as teachers.

The distinction between the superficial aspects of professional identity, that is the elements involved in projecting a professional image, and a deeper perspective on professional identity, being related to caring and the establishment of an environment of mutual respect, was identified by the teachers as a major distinction between their understanding of professional identity from their perspectives as American teachers and

that of how the participants viewed the creation of professional identity in Abu Dhabi public schools, which is more of a function of the accoutrements of the professional, such as professional dress and credentialing. The participants' contention that professional identity is derived from and demonstrated through lived experience aligns with Wenger's (1998) statement that identity is produced "as a lived experience of participation in specific communities" (p. 151).

The idea that the participants' professional identity derived from their practice of teaching can be interpreted as being closely aligned with the concept of "role," such as in Lasky (2005) in which the individual's professional identity is closely connected to culturally-defined assumptions of the behaviors associated with the profession. However, the professional identity which comes out of the performance within a particular role does not have to be interpreted as having solely to do with traditionally understood actions performed as teachers, it may also be the more difficult to observe actions such as caring and establishing empathetic relationships. In terms of observable pedagogy, whether or not a teacher is demonstrating the act of caring may be difficult to see, but by interpreting actions understood to come from a teacher's decision to care, which have more to do with the moral and ethical orientation of the teacher, as aspects of the performative construction of identity one may begin to see a move from Hall and du Gay (1996) which states that identity is "shorn of its association with volition, choice and intentionality" (p. 14), and thus not a product of individual action (Butler, 1993), towards the idea that identity formation has, as a component, the individual's behavioral decisions, and by extension the actions taken of their own volition. The idea that the act

of caring is the act which helps to outline the professional identity of teachers leads to the question of what environmental/contextual factors could create both the ideal situation for the cultivation of this professional identity, as well as what circumstances might create a more difficult environment for this identity to flourish.

Threats to professional identity. Much like the threat to professionalism discussed earlier in this chapter, professional identity as a concept emergent from professional practice—which the participants assert is a function of the teacher’s ability to perform acts of caring and through building empathetic relationships, is threatened when the expression of that professional practice is threatened. In this sense, the deskilling in the professional expectations in Abu Dhabi, along with the acts of defensive teaching as a result of confusing and seemingly arbitrary elements of the reform initiative, have led participants to view their practice, and thus at least their temporary perception of themselves as professionals, as being threatened through the experience.

This study defined identity as developed from self-concept (Damon & Hart, 1988; Lewis, 1900), which serves to both provide an apparatus for action (Markus & Wurf, 1987) and give the individual a framework for making judgments about the self and what to expect from others (Oyserman, 1993), and as membership in a social group (Andersen, Glassman & Gold, 1998), in this case, teachers.

The participants’ perspectives on student behavior, their ability levels and the general competence of the campus administrators create a situation wherein the act of caring and the building of relationships inherent in the formation and maintenance of professional identity becomes more difficult and thus threatening to the participants’

professional identity. This experience may be similar to the experience of teachers who come from privileged backgrounds who teach in predominantly low-income underperforming schools in urban areas. The conflict between how the teachers expect students and administrators to act, and how they actually act in reality may be resultant from the differences in cultural understandings. McLaren's (2002) stated that:

the cultural traits exhibited by students—e.g., tardiness, sincerity, honesty, thrift, industriousness, politeness, a certain way of dressing, speaking and gesturing—appear as natural qualities emerging from an individual's "inner essence".

However, such traits are to a great extent culturally inscribed and are often linked to the social standing of individuals who exhibit them. (p. 94)

This analysis helps to shed some light on why teachers may have difficulty making connections with students they see as having intrinsic inclinations towards behaviors that the teachers' cultural understandings define as nonacademic or disrupting.

This can be seen through the participants' comments on their motivation for teaching in Abu Dhabi. When asked what their motivations for teaching were, the participants expressed very different motivating factors for why they taught in the United States versus why they taught in Abu Dhabi. The motivating factors to teach in the United States focused on abstractions, things such as student success, serving society and empowering their communities. The motivating factors in Abu Dhabi, in contrast, were much more concrete and less related to the actions of caring and relationship building necessary for teachers' professional identity. Anthony's statement that he remained in Abu Dhabi for the opportunity to travel is a good example of this, more concrete,

motivation. Brian offered another example of a teacher explicitly stating their goal for teaching in Abu Dhabi when he said, “I know a guy who actually made a little chart with his debts back home and the second he paid them off, he bought a ticket and got out. He had only spent like 10,000 [\$2,777 USD] of his settling in money and sent the rest home. I think that he lived on like 5000 dirhams [\$1,388 USD] a month and sent home a ton. And you know, I don’t blame him.” Motivators such as money and travel were presented in relation to teaching in Abu Dhabi, implying that, if the circumstances are not conducive to the maintenance of a healthy professional identity, then being a teacher becomes less of an identity, a part of who one is, and more of a role, a function of tasks performed (Britzman, 1994; Danielewicz, 2001).

Conclusions

Professionalism.

Postmodern professionalism and reclaiming professionalism for teachers.

Goodson and Hargreaves (1996). Goodson and Hargreaves (1996) proposed a set of seven principles for postmodern professionalism: The opportunity and responsibility to exercise discretionary judgment; opportunities and expectations to engage with the moral and social purposes and the value of what is taught; commitment to working in collaborative cultures with colleagues; working authoritatively, yet openly and collaboratively, with other stakeholders; a commitment to care for students, not simply to placate the superficial needs of satisfying artificial measures of progress; a self-directed search for continuous learning related to one’s own expertise and standards of practice rather than the obligations imposed through an ever-changing series of reform initiatives;

and the creation and recognition of high task complexity. These seven principles are useful to examine to what degree the participants have the opportunity to practice in a way that Goodson and Hargreaves (1996) prescribe in order to resist deprofessionalization.

Hargreaves (2000). For Hargreaves (2000), the present represents a period characterized by polarization in terms of teachers' professional status. On one hand, there are forces that are seeking to reexamine the concept of teacher professionalism towards the goal of creating a more flexible and inclusive postmodern concept of what it means for a teacher to have or exhibit professionalism, and on the other is the increased deprofessionalization of teachers' work. It is this polarization that leads Hargreaves to characterize the current age as a "post-professional" age for teachers. This conclusion is not stated as a teleological certainty, rather Hargreaves presents this as a result of larger cultural forces, and not as a natural development in teaching as a practice itself. Hargreaves went further in offering guidance on how the trend toward deprofessionalization may be resisted and how professionalism may be reclaimed.

In order for teaching to reclaim its professional status as an occupation, and also for teachers to assert themselves as professionals, teachers, and those who work with them must "defend themselves against the powerful forces of deprofessionalization" (p. 169). This means "maintaining and reasserting many (although not all) parts of the modernistic project of teacher professionalization" (p. 169). For Hargreaves, this means: a struggle for competitive salaries, a counter to the discourse of blame and shame attached to teachers that serves to erode public faith in and regard for teachers, an

increased focus on the regulation of unlicensed and uncertificated adults doing educational work in schools, and that teachers value and assert their entitlement to a “rigorous knowledge base that undergirds their profession” (p. 170). Additionally, Hargreaves asserted that teachers insist that their collaborative energies be focused towards the goal of improving teaching, learning and caring in schools; that the case for teachers having time to collaborate during the school day be made and that this time be insisted upon as a standard for educational institutions, and that teachers furthermore protect the profession by setting and insisting upon “an exacting set of professional standards of practice” (p. 171). The participants’ responses gave insight into how their experiences related to how the turn towards the deprofessionalization of teaching manifested in Abu Dhabi public schools.

Exercising discretionary judgment. The participants found limited opportunities for the exercise of their professional discretion in Abu Dhabi public schools. They found the curriculum to be rigidly mandated in its implementation and, with the notable exception of Laura’s principal, that their administrators demanded a high degree of standardization in the students’ work product. The elevation of the directives and need of the organization over the autonomous expression of teachers’ professional judgment stands in contrast to this principle of postmodern professionalism.

Engaging with the moral and social purposes and the value of what is taught. Connected to the issue of teacher autonomy, the participants felt that they had little control over what they taught. They felt that, because they were reduced to relying on simplified assessments and instructional practices, there was little opportunity to engage

the students in deeper conversations. Student abilities in English also played a role in the teachers' inability to transcend low complexity conversations. They also found that their motivation for teaching tended towards more concrete reasons such as salary or the opportunity for travel. By moving away from the more abstract rationales that characterized the participants' view of their motivations for teaching in the United States, the participants' engagement with questions of the morality or social utility of the Abu Dhabi curriculum could be characterized as not meeting the standard of this principle of postmodern professionalism.

Working in collaborative cultures with colleagues and working authoritatively and collaboratively with other stakeholders. The participants had mixed results when recalling their experiences working in collaboration with their colleagues and with a wider variety of stakeholders. Some participants found that their western expatriate peers were very helpful in walking them through what they needed to know when the participants first began teaching in Abu Dhabi public schools. Brian and Josh spoke of their western expatriate teaching peers sharing materials and grading advice. In contrast, the participants, with the exception of Laura's principal allowing her some flexibility in the curriculum, found little opportunity to engage with their administrators in a collaborative sense. The participants also found little chance to communicate and work with parents, except for superficial conversations about grades. This lack of opportunity owed chiefly to the language barriers between the participants and their students' parents.

Caring for students, not simply placating the needs of artificial measure of progress. The participants found that caring for students to be one of the chief

components of professionalism in practice, and professional identity as a concept. The idea that caring for the well-being of students was a primary feature in both the “character” and “commitment to relationships” categories of Tichenor and Tichenor’s (2004) five category model of professionalism, suggests that the participants viewed caring as an important factor in teachers’ professional identity. Because the participants found that their opportunities for care were limited in the context of their teaching assignments due to cultural/linguistic differences which hindered communication and collaboration, classroom management issues that were exacerbated, in the participants’ estimation, by a perceived lack of support in this regard by the school administration, and also to the strictures of the prescribed curriculum that dictated the content of what was taught in the classroom, their ability to express this aspect of their professional identity was also limited.

Searching for continuous learning related to one’s own expertise and standards of practice. The participants’ perspectives on the quality and relevance of the professional development in Abu Dhabi public schools assert a situation whereby the continuous learning available to teachers is neither self-directed, nor aligned to what the participants view are student educational needs. The participants felt that the professional development regimen in their Abu Dhabi schools offered much less opportunity for them to grow as teachers, and held up poorly in light of earlier professional development opportunities they experienced in the United States.

Recognition of high task complexity. The participants recounted instances of “defensive teaching” (McNeil, 1988). This tactic is defined as a simplification of

instruction in order to, by means of an implied exchange with the students by which the teacher receives order in the classroom, and the students receive simple work. The emphasis on grades as an end into themselves, and the issues that the participants recounted with behavior management in their classrooms led to the use of this approach. The simplification of assignments and pedagogy is in conflict with the high task complexity feature of this principle of postmodern professionalism, as is the participants' view of their professional evaluations. To reduce the evaluation of teachers to their ability to perform tasks such as entering grades, or simply through the creation of a teaching portfolio, rather than through observation and viewing authentic teaching practice, there is no recognition that teaching itself is a highly complex task which requires a more sophisticated evaluation instrument to measure its quality.

Professional identity. To expatriate is to willingly enter into a state of disruption. It is to remove one's self from contexts and environments in which one is both comfortable, and from which one derives a sense of self. This sense of self, this identity, has many elements, many lenses through which meaning is created, interpreted and integrated into action. Taking the step to voluntarily remove oneself from those native contexts and environments is in a sense to take steps towards a reimagining of the self.

The participants' professional identities are tied to their view of themselves as teachers and is tied directly to their practice in that role. There is an element of performance, as they enact what they understand to be professional behaviors in order to meet their understandings of that role's qualifications. There is also an element of

narrative, as participants formulate their perception of themselves as professionals through their self-reflection on their practice. Their experiences as teachers in Abu Dhabi public schools created dissonance between the self-concept that they established through their professional practice in the United States, and the practices that they felt obliged to engage in in Abu Dhabi.

Because the participants found that professional identity was so closely connected with professionalism, which emerged from behaviors considered to align with professional ideals such as those presented by Tichenor and Tichenor (2004), they expressed concern that their professional identity had to be temporarily suspended in order to satisfy the needs of the administrators.

It is this temporary nature of the disruption of the self, an inevitable feature of expatriation and a feature amplified by also having to also navigate a different work environment. With this in mind, the disruption of the participants' professional identities could be considered as a natural byproduct of the expatriate experience itself, one that could not be avoided even if the students, curriculum, administration and structure of the school system were not as different. However it is the degree of conflict between the participants' experiences as professionals in the United States and their experiences working in Abu Dhabi that gives importance to the question of the effects of the participants' work experiences in Abu Dhabi on their professional identities. One implication of looking at professionalism and professional identity in expatriate teachers is that there is expected to be tremendous growth in the international school arena in the near future. According to ISC research, a UK-based firm that provides market analysis

for international school startups, in the 2017-2018 school year, there are 8,924 international schools globally serving approximately 4.5 million students (International School Consultancy, 2017). This number is expected to rise to more than 16,000 schools serving 8.75 million students in the next ten years (Weschler, 2017). With this increase in schools, there stands to reason that more teachers will take the opportunity to live and work abroad. With this comes the inevitable adjustment to a new living environment and a new professional context. With an increased focus on what factors lead to successful and less than successful professional experiences, perhaps some common understandings can be established from which to build support programs for expatriate teachers.

Recommendations for Improvements in Abu Dhabi Public Schools

In order to address the issue of expatriate teacher perspective on student behavior and administrator support, I suggest that the Abu Dhabi Education Council convene a committee of stakeholders, an action group, that will research the issue of student behavior supports around the Emirate and provide actionable suggestions. Involved in this committee should be Western expatriate teachers, local Emirati teachers, Arab expatriate teachers, campus administrators, ADEC administrators and parents. The end result of this committee should be a comprehensive set of understood standards for student behavior. This committee could serve the additional purpose of educating expatriate teachers on the cultural differences which may be interpreted as misbehavior from the expatriates' cultural perspectives.

Additionally, because of the issues the participants raised regarding the curriculum, the Abu Dhabi Education Council would benefit from a comprehensive

analysis of student skills as a precursor to a redevelopment of the English language curriculum. This redevelopment process should involve a similar group of stakeholders as the student behavior expectations committee and should have as its outcome a curriculum that values both the need for critical thinking/ inquiry and research skills, and addresses the need for more practical English as an additional language instruction.

Finally, the Abu Dhabi Education Council should reevaluate their professional development program to allow teachers, as professionals, to make assessments, according to observed student needs, as to what professional development would best allow them to help their students, and grow as professionals.

Recommendations for Further Research

As mentioned in the previous section, in this study I looked at the teaching experience in Abu Dhabi public secondary schools from one direction, American teachers' perspectives on Abu Dhabi's public education system/culture. One recommendation for further research is to examine the teaching experience from the perspective of other expatriate groups. The largest "western" expatriate group in the United Arab Emirates, and also teaching in Abu Dhabi public schools, is the British. It would be interesting to see how the Emirates, which have long standing ties to the United Kingdom, being a British protectorate until 1971, have been affected by British educational culture, as well as looking at the British perspective on the Abu Dhabi public educational system. Other groups which would fall into this area for further research would be teachers from Commonwealth countries (South Africa, New Zealand, Australia and Canada), as well as other English-speaking countries not in the Commonwealth, but

whose educational systems are derived from the English system. Ireland is a good example of this latter group. Notably, other groups of expatriates from Commonwealth countries with educational systems derived from the English systems, notably India, Pakistan, Malaysia and Sri Lanka, would not be included in such a study because expatriate teachers from these countries are not hired into Abu Dhabi public schools because English is not the primary language of instruction in these countries (Dickson, 2013). Teachers from these countries do teach in private schools aligned to the national curriculum of these countries. Such schools are aimed towards educating expatriate children from these countries so that they can reintegrate into the educational system in their home country with little difficulty (Barber, Mourshed & Whelan, 2007). Similar schools exist for expatriates from the United States (American Community School of Abu Dhabi, American International School of Abu Dhabi), the United Kingdom (British School of Abu Dhabi, Repton School Abu Dhabi, and Brighton School Abu Dhabi), Germany (Deutsche Internationale Schule Abu Dhabi), and France (Lycee Louis Massignon and Lycee Francais Theodore Monod). Additionally, there are schools in Abu Dhabi which offer the International Baccalaureate (IB) curriculum (for example, Abu Dhabi International School and Raha International School).

Related to these International/Foreign national curriculum schools, an additional area of research could be the experience of international school teachers in comparison to the experience of expatriate teachers in foreign public schools. There is research on international school teachers and professional development (Black & Armstrong, 1995; Black, Harvey, Hayden & Thompson, 1994), and in their adjustment to expatriation and

entering a multi-cultural environment (Joslin, 2002), however, an in-depth look at how these two groups' experiences compare would be an opportunity to look at these systems, structurally, through the lens of teacher perception.

Another area for further research would be to look at the experiences of Arab expatriates working in Abu Dhabi public schools. While a good deal of publicity has been devoted to Abu Dhabi recruiting "western" expatriates from English-speaking countries (United States, Canada, United Kingdom, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Ireland) to teach in their schools (Debusmann, 2016), the largest group of expatriates teaching in Abu Dhabi public schools are teachers from the Arab world. There have been some studies, most notably Ridge, Shami, Kippels and Farah (2014), which however, what this mixed-medium study did not go into the kind of depth into the participants' experience that a case study would.

In terms of looking at why a study of Arab expatriates teaching in Abu Dhabi public schools would be beneficial, it is important to understand the relationship between the Arabs of the Gulf Cooperation Council and those from other areas of the Arab world. The Arab world is called the *Ummah* in Arabic, which means generally the area of the world in which Arabic is primarily spoken (Bearman, Bianquis, Bosworth, van Donzel, & Heinrichs, 2013). In general usage, the term *Ummah* is used to refer to the area of the world where Arabic is spoken as a primary language, and *dar al-Islam* refers to the area of the world where Islam is the primary religion. So, for example, Malaysia or Indonesia would be considered part of *dar al-Islam*, but might not be considered in the *Ummah*, depending on the formality of the conversation (Firestone, 1999). This historical

connection between Arabic-speaking national and ethnic groups could provide an interesting starting point from which to examine in-group and out-group dynamics as they are constructed and expressed within the context of the education profession in Abu Dhabi.

Arab teachers from Egypt, Lebanon, Tunisia, Algeria, and other Arabic-speaking countries make up a large number of the expatriate teachers in Abu Dhabi public schools. In the United Arab Emirates, Emiratis make up over 80% of female teachers, but less than 10% of male teachers (Ridge, 2014). These teachers are generally paid less than their “western” expatriate teaching peers (Farah, 2011), but they also enjoy some cache with the Emirati administration due to their shared language and religion (Ridge, Shami, Kippels & Farah, 2014). It would be interesting to get the perspective of these teachers on their experience working in Abu Dhabi public schools. A lot of these teachers have worked in Abu Dhabi for many years and also have experience teaching in their home countries (Ridge, Shami, Kippels & Farah, 2014). I would recommend a case study approach that would complement the extant mixed-method research.

Another area for further research would be to follow American teachers who taught in Abu Dhabi public schools as they reintegrate into the American educational system. In the literature, there is discussion of “reverse culture shock” (Storti, 2003). This phenomenon is a mirror reflection of the experience of expatriates when they first move abroad, and tends to follow the U-curve hypothesis that characterizes the initial period of expatriation (Black, Mendenhall & Oddou, 1991; Brick, 1991). This period of transition and re-integration would make for an interesting study, and help to flesh out the

research on the entire experience of expatriation and return in terms of professional experiences. Accurate figures of the number of expatriate English teachers working in Abu Dhabi public schools is difficult to find. Newspaper reports of teachers hired every summer provide the best available information on how many Western expatriate teachers come to teach in Abu Dhabi public schools. In 2016, the total number of teachers in Abu Dhabi's 251 public schools totaled 12,000 (Radan, 2016). In the summer of 2017, the Abu Dhabi Education Council hired 896 new teachers ("896 new teachers," 2017). Of the 800 teachers hired for the 2016-2017 school year, 600 were Western expatriate teachers (Radan, 2016). In 2015, 803 Western expatriate teachers were hired (Pennington, 2015). This is a significant number of expatriates adjusting to a new context, and as the continual hiring of expatriate teachers implies, there are significant numbers of these teachers who either return to their countries of origin and must readjust, or go to another expatriate posting, and must adjust to that new context. Garson (2005) discussed the adjustment of American management professors to teaching in Cairo, Egypt, and offered a discussion of how the experience affected the participants' professional work in the United States after their expatriate experience, but the primary focus of the study was the expatriate experience adjusting to Egyptian culture, rather than the re-adjustment to American professional life. Walters, Garii and Walters (2009), and Clement and Outlaw (2002) both look at how the experience of teachers doing their pre-service training abroad and how this affected their practice upon returning to the United States. However, it would be illuminating to look at how experienced teachers' perspectives are altered by work abroad in an international school and how their re-

adjustment to the United States' educational system is affected by their experiences abroad. This topic could be approached from a variety of ways. With average repatriation rates estimated to be 20% annually, there should be ample potential experiences that could potentially provide valuable insights.

Final Thoughts

Neoliberal, market-driven educational reform programs are increasingly common internationally, as countries adopt the assumption that, in order to compete with the traditionally powerful economies, one must emulate and exceed their educational successes. Associated with this trend is the increased need for teachers trained by the traditionally powerful economies' educational systems to come and work in the implementation of these educational reform programs. This need for teachers has brought teachers from English-speaking educational systems around the world to teach in Abu Dhabi. For the participants in this study, their experience working in Abu Dhabi public schools was characterized by a suspension of their professional practice. Their perspectives on professionalism and professional identity are not simply a function of the Abu Dhabi public schools context however. As the literature demonstrates, the phenomenon of teacher deprofessionalization is present in the United States as well. As educational reform as a concept becomes synonymous with privatization and industrialization of schools and school systems, it stands to reason that the system would begin to proletarianize teachers. As the age of the collegial professional gave way to the post-professional age, teachers became viewed less as professionals who hone a craft and

wield autonomy in the exercise of their professional judgment, and more as functional units that execute policy in the service of producing a set end product.

In response to this trend, I encourage school systems to abandon the neo-Taylorism, and fetishization of “data-driven” instruction, and rather to embrace the fact that teaching is, at its core, a humanistic endeavor. The personal characteristics which lead teachers into the profession make them constitutionally suited to work towards the establishment of a more humane educational system that values human development over simply the creation of competitive participants in the global economy.

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APPENDIX SECTION

APPENDIX A

Research Questions, Axial and Selected Codes

Research Question 1	Axial Codes	Selected Code
What does professionalism mean to American expatriate teachers of English working in Abu Dhabi public secondary schools?	<p>The Practice of Teaching in Abu Dhabi Secondary Schools is Substantially Different than the Practice of Teaching in the United States</p> <p>Teaching in Abu Dhabi public Schools Requires Teachers to make Compromises in their Definitions of Acceptable Work Quality</p> <p>External Measures of Teacher Performance are Based on Image</p> <p>Expatriate American Teachers have a Generally Positive View of their Peers and Collaboration</p> <p>There Exists Concern as to how the Experience is Affecting Teachers' Long Term Practice</p>	The experience of teaching in Abu Dhabi public schools presents challenges related to a dissonance in the perception of quality practice

Research Question 2	Axial Codes	Selected Code
How has their perception of professionalism been shaped by their experiences?	<p>The practice of teaching in the United Arab Emirates is characterized by varied difficulties arising from many factors</p> <p>The experience of teaching in the United Arab Emirates has led to internal conflict between what teachers feel is their proper role, and proper practice, and what they experience</p> <p>External measures of professional quality are not respected as valid by the teachers</p> <p>Teachers report mostly positive interpersonal relations with others in their position, both English and Arabic speaking peers</p> <p>The experience of teaching in the United Arab Emirates has raised doubt about the teachers' professional identity</p>	<p>The experience of teaching in the United Arab Emirates conflicts with how teachers perceive the ideal of the profession should be, and this has led to uncertainty about their own professional standards</p>

Research Question 3	Axial Codes	Selected Code
How do they define professional identity and how does that definition relate to their perception of professionalism?	<p>Teachers' professional identity emerges from their practice</p> <p>The quality of work affects the teacher's image of themselves as professionals</p> <p>There is an increased sense that teaching is a simple, transactional occupation</p> <p>Teachers have a mixed view of their expat teacher peers, negative views of their Emirati managers, and a usually positive perception of the Arab expats they work with</p> <p>The difficulties of the teacher role in Abu Dhabi leads to doubt and questions about the individual's place in the profession</p>	Professionalism is based upon a "practical" definition, the lack of professional practice in Abu Dhabi schools threatens teachers' professional identities

Research Question 4	Axial Codes	Selected Code
How do these definitions affect their professional practice?	<p>Teachers' definitions of professionalism and their perception of their professional identity conflict with their practice in the United Arab Emirates.</p> <p>Teachers' perception of quality practice is in conflict with their practice in the United Arab Emirates.</p> <p>Teachers do not find that the evaluative instruments used in the United Arab Emirates are reflective of true quality</p> <p>Teachers find support from other expat teachers</p> <p>Teachers' are concerned about their professional identity as a result of their experiences teaching in the United Arab Emirates.</p>	Teachers' definitions of professionalism and of their professional identity affect their practice by contrasting with their experience teaching in the United Arab Emirates.

Research Question 5	Axial Codes	Selected Code
Have these perspectives changed through the expatriate teaching experience and, if so, how and why?	<p>The concept of professional best practices still exists, but it's implementation is suspended in the present context</p> <p>There is a conflict between what the teachers know is professional, and what they have to do to get through their teaching experience in the United Arab Emirates.</p> <p>Definitions of success in the United Arab Emirates have more to do with categories unrelated to professional life</p> <p>Professionalism and professional best practices are not valued in the present context</p> <p>Teachers' express sadness over their inability to perform at an acceptable level in the United Arab Emirates context</p>	<p>While the perspectives on professionalism and professional identity have not changed, teachers do feel like they have to compromise what they know to be best practices and shift their focus away from student success in order to get through the experience of teaching in the United Arab Emirates.</p>

APPENDIX B

Open Codes for Research Questions

Research Question 1:

Evidence of Teacher Effectiveness, Job Satisfaction, Negative Perceptions of Other Teachers (USA), Dehumanization, Relationship With Arabic Teachers, School Climate, Hierarchy, Enjoyment of Teaching (General), Standardization, Professional Aspirations, Grades and Grading, Perspective on Evaluation (UAE), Enjoyment of Teaching (UAE), Teacher Participation in Extracurricular Activities (UAE), Teacher Participation in Extracurricular Activities (USA), Perception of Teacher Professionalism (UAE), Perception of Teacher Professionalism (USA), Perception of Teacher Professional Development (USA), Perception of Teacher Professional Development (UAE), Perception of School Reform (USA), Perception of Work Quality (USA), Perception of Teacher Creativity (USA), Perception of Teacher Creativity (UAE), Perception of Teacher Collaboration (USA), Perception of Teacher Collaboration (UAE), Expectations of Work Quality (USA), Expectations of Work Quality (UAE), Perceptions of Preparation for Class (UAE), Perceptions of Preparation for Class (USA), Commitment to Teaching Profession, Perceptions of Teaching (UAE), Expectations of Teaching (UAE), Autonomy, Perception of Professional Development (General), Negative Perceptions of Other Expatriate Teachers, Positive Perspectives of Other Expatriate Teachers, Perceptions of Teaching (USA), Definitions of Teacher Professionalism, Professional Solidarity, Efficacy, Definitions of Professionalism,

Perspective on Teacher Preparation Program, Goals of Teaching Profession, Lack of Professionalism, and Professional Image.

Research Question 2:

Evidence of Teacher Effectiveness, Belonging, Job Satisfaction, Negative Perceptions of Other Teachers (USA), Dehumanization, School Climate, Enjoyment of Teaching (General), Communication, Perspective on Evaluation (UAE), Manipulation of Image, Reasons for Expatriation, Rigor, Perception of Work Quality (USA), Perspective on Preparation for Teaching in the UAE, Perception for Preparation for Class in the UAE, Support, Autonomy, Perspectives on Administrators, Confidentiality Concerns, Relationships with Students, Family Background, Confidence, Perspective on Teacher Preparation Program, Perspective on Beginning Teaching, Sacrifice, Value of Education, Decision, Race, Racial Identity, Relationship with Education, Respect, Admiration, Interaction with Authority, and Interaction with Teachers.

Research Question 3:

Negative Perceptions of Other Teachers (USA), Standardization, Professional Aspirations, Perspective on Evaluation (UAE), Perspective on Professional Development, Perspective on Professional Development (UAE), Perspective on Professional Development (USA), Perception on Work Quality, Perception of Teacher Creativity (UAE), Perception of Teacher Collaboration in the UAE, Perception of Teacher Collaboration in the United States, Expectations of Work Quality (UAE), Commitment to the Teaching Profession, Perceptions of Teaching in the UAE, Money, Meaning,

Autonomy, Calling, Caring, Perception of the Public's View of the Teaching Profession, Negative Perceptions of Expatriate Teachers, Positive Perceptions of Expatriate Teachers, Perceptions of Teaching in the United States, Definitions of Teacher Professionalism, Professional Solidarity, Perspective on the Teaching Profession, Efficacy, Burnout, Passion, Perception on Teaching Practice, Definitions of Professionalism, Perspective on Teacher Preparation Program, Perspective on Teaching Skills, Goals of the Teaching Profession, Perspective on Beginning Teaching, Relationship with Teaching Skills, Relationship with Teaching Profession, Lack of Professionalism, and Professional Image.

Research Question 4:

21st Century Skills, Assessment, Autonomy, Burnout, Cheating, Commitment to the Teaching Profession, Compromise, Content Knowledge, Efficacy, Enjoyment of Teaching (General), Enjoyment of Teaching (UAE), Expectations of Teaching (UAE), Expectations of Work Quality (UAE), Flexibility, Frustration, Grades and Grading, Interaction with Authority, Job Satisfaction, Lack of Professionalism, Lack of Rigor, Mentoring, Organization (UAE), Passion, Perception of Curriculum Relevance (UAE), Perception of Preparation for Class (UAE), Perception of Professional Development, Perception of Student Ability (UAE), Perception of Student Ability (USA), Perceptions of Students (UAE), Perceptions of Students (USA), Perception of Teacher Collaboration (UAE), Perception of Teacher Collaboration (USA), Perception of Teacher Creativity (UAE), Perception of Teaching Practice, Perception on Work Quality, Perceptions of ADEC, Perceptions of Curriculum Quality, Perceptions of Teaching (UAE), Perceptions

for Preparation for Teaching (UAE), Perceptions of Preparation for Teaching (USA), Perception on Evaluation (UAE), Perspective of Teaching Skills, Perspective on Preparation for Class (USA), Relationship with Arabic Teachers, Relationship with Students, Relationship with Teaching Skills, Rigor, Standardization, Student Discipline, and Support.

Research Question 5:

Appreciation, Autonomy, Belonging, Burnout, Cheating, Colonization, Commitment to Teaching Profession, Compromise, Cultural Difference, Disposability, Doublethink, Efficacy, Emirati Privilege, Enjoyment of Teaching (General), Enjoyment of Teaching (UAE), Expectations of Teaching (UAE), Expectations of Work Quality (General), Expectations of Work Quality (UAE), External Benefits of Teaching Profession, Fear, Flexibility, Frustration, Grades and Grading, Hope, Job Satisfaction, Lack of Professionalism, Lack of Rigor, Manipulation of Image, Meaning, Negative Perceptions of Expatriate Teacher Peers, Organization (UAE), Passion, Perception of Curricular Relevance (UAE), Perception of Professional Development, Perception of Professional Development (UAE), Perception of Student Ability (UAE), Perceptions of Students (UAE), Perception of Teacher Collaboration (UAE), Perception of Teacher Creativity (UAE), Perception of Teacher Professionalism (UAE), Perception of Teaching Skills, Perception of Teaching Practice, Perception of Work Quality, Perceptions of ADEC, Perception of Curriculum Quality (UAE), Perceptions of Teaching in the UAE, Perspective on Evaluation (UAE), Perspective on Expatriate Life, Perspective on Parental Support, Perspective on Preparation for Teaching (UAE), Perspective on Teaching Skills,

Perspectives on Administrators, Perspectives on Educational Reform (UAE), Positive Perspectives of Expatriate Teachers, Positive Perspectives of Teacher Peers (USA), Power, Professional Aspirations, Professional Image, Professional Solidarity, Reasons for Expatriation, Relationship with Students, Resources, Rigor, School Climate, Student Discipline, Teacher Participation in Extracurricular Activities (UAE).