LANCASTER UNIVERSITY

Faith, family and choice: Agency in the English language socialisation of young Saudi women

Hissah Mohammed S Alruwaili

September 2017

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the PhD in Applied Linguistics by Thesis and Coursework Programme

Abstract

Considering the hard-to-reach contexts that I had experienced of young Saudi women in relation to choosing language opportunities helps to understand issues pertaining to these women in their real worlds. This thesis expands on female learners accessing desired English learning opportunities by investigating how four young Saudi women, transitioning from high school to university, navigate their religious beliefs, family and tribal values, societal change and other boundaries in pursuit of language learning opportunities.

This eight-month ethnography adopts a second language socialisation perspective that allows me to examine the multiple ways in which participants access English learning opportunities. It employs a multi-sited case study design to document, compare and contrast the individual case studies of four young women. My journey unfolds differently for each case by following each participant into formal and informal language learning spaces, tracking her mobility, observing her in a prayer room, sharing in her Snaps and tweets, chatting with her in an art gallery or meeting a family member.

The findings reveal the consistent presence of boundaries that are constantly being negotiated and renegotiated as participants attempt to shape their language learning opportunities. They indicate that the participants become increasing aware of the choices available to them and their ability to exercise agency in relation to English opportunities, which increases their resistance to boundaries enacted in their English classes by their teachers. However, their resistance to boundaries in the contexts of family and faith is more muted. These differences reflect the participants' investment in their multiple identities, as those identities are understood at points in time, and those understandings depend not only on the opportunities they grant themselves, but on the access their families and guardians grant to a range of local, national and international communities as they too attempt to negotiate ongoing changes in the larger social context.

Statement of Original Authorship

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Signature: 

Date: 28.09.2017

Acknowledgments

Before presenting my work, there are several social and individual supportive elements through my almost 6-year pilgrimage, with its staged posts of hope, loss, fear, doubt and achievement, that need to be recognised. I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the bright young Saudi female participants, and their generous families, for providing me with materials and allowing me to share and to intrude into their lives. I am grateful to them for accepting me and trusting me. I feel honoured to share their voices and experiences.

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my supervisor, Diane Potts, for her dedicated efforts on both professional and personal levels. I thank her for her exceptional mentorship throughout these almost six years and her kindness, always kindness, that runs through her know-how voice, chin-up voice, department-gatekeeper voice and all her other voices. With her boundless understanding, patience, high work ethics and scholarly standards, Diane has helped me to walk into wider academic spaces and value the potential of my work.

Thanks also go to the Literacy Research Discussion Group (LRDG) community at Lancaster university, Julia Gillen, Karin Tusting and Uta Papen, for allowing me to present phases of my work and providing invaluable feedback.

I thank the King Abdullah Scholarship Programme (KASP), the Saudi Cultural Bureau in London and Aljouf University for their financial support.

I am thankful to Gerard Hearne for proofreading parts of this work and making helpful comments.

I would like to thank my peers and friends who have been academically and personally supportive at various times of my life in Lancaster. I am grateful to Ruth Zannis, Noura Alghamdi and Arezoo Adibeik. I would also like to thank my friend, Reem Alqayd, for always being there for me with her unreserved support, continuous optimism and faith in my work. Our innumerable conversations always saved me from loneliness and confusion.

I am thankful and blessed to have my father, my brother, Abdulla, and their unconditional love, trust and support. Your prayers, guidance, motivation, Sunday phone calls and gifts have been invaluable and comforting to me along my pilgrim’s process.

Dedication

In loving memory of
the orphaned camel-shepherd girl,
the rebel tattooed-chin teen,
the dusk-red rug-weaver
the storyteller of the northern desert,
my beloved mother,
Domayra.

Table of Contents

Chapter 4: Private secondary school paired-case analysis and presentation of findings

List of Tables

List of Figures

Glossary of Arabic Terms

Halal /ḥalāl/ Arabic: حلال	What is permissible or lawful in Islamic law/sharia
Haram /ḥarām/ Arabic: حَرَام	What is forbidden or proscribed in Islamic law/sharia
Dawah /dæwah/ Arabic: دعوة	Conveying personal understanding of Islam to non-Muslims
Musalla /muṣallā/ Arabic: مصلى	A temporary place for a Muslim to pray
Ikhtilat /iktelæt/ Arabic: اختلاط	Gender mixing situations, usually in public spaces
Khalwa/kālow-ah/ Arabic: خلوة	Being alone with the opposite gender
Ib /ˈib / Arabic: عيب	Culturally inappropriate/shameful
Abaya /əˈbʌɪə/ Arabic: عباية	Loose black overgarment
Fatwa /ˈfatwɑː/ Arabic: فتوى	Ruling on a point of Islamic law given by a recognised authority
Tajwid /tadʒˈwiːd/ Arabic: تجويد	Set of pronunciation rules governing the way in which the words of the Holy Quran should be read during its recitation
Dar Tahfeez /dar taḥfīz / Arabic: دار التحفيظ	An educational institution that gives classes on how to recite and memorise the Holy Quran
Tahfeez Halaqa/ taḥfīz ḥelekə/ Arabic: حلقة تحفيظ	Holy Quran recitation and memorisation programme held inside a mosque

Chapter 1: The wider social experience of Saudi women & language learning

1.0 Introduction

I am a Saudi woman and I have often struggled with trying to explain to others what life is like for women living in Saudi Arabia. When I started my work as a coordinator among the Saudi female management team of a preparatory year programme (PYP) in a regional Saudi university, located on a women-only campus, the English-speaking teachers, mainly American and British women, asked me where their 17- and 18-year-old PYP students could use English beyond the campus's 230 cm concrete walls. The teachers wanted this information so that they could design effective lessons—specifically, outdoor activities such as visits to public places and events. I found myself quickly slipping into an authoritative voice reciting a document, sent by the university's male administration, that included warnings and reminders, rules about respecting customs, and a list of bans. While my voice may have sounded no different to that of an Imam at Friday prayer, standing on his *minbar*[1] and preaching the do's and don'ts of what is and is not allowed in the Faith, deep inside I felt a different voice wanting to be heard: my own. As Hissah, I wanted to do more than recite the words I had heard over and over from my childhood onwards. I wanted to provide insights into some of the cultural differences and what is legally accessible to women in my country. And as I continued going through the rules and regulations, I suddenly remembered how I sometimes used to feel free to speak English in my hometown. While my own voice may have remained muted on that occasion, almost scared to share what seemed back then to be just too personal, uneasy at the thought of stepping outside of my comfort zone and my role as an office worker, subconsciously fearful of what my colleagues might think and how they would react, the idea stuck with me and, a couple of years later, became the focus of my research. Only then did I start to question how much I understood about how women speaking English in Saudi Arabia could contribute to having a role in public life and following their desired way of living without hindering their rights.

Acknowledging that applied linguistics is a field concerned with issues pertaining to language(s) in the real world and with people who learn, speak, use and access English in diverse

[1] An Arabic word that refers to the pulpit in a mosque where the *imam* stands to deliver sermons.

and myriad ways, I aim to understand how young Saudi female language learners are socialised into practices of choice through English. I attempt to go beyond the fossilised clichés of the traditional and conservative character of Saudi women-only spaces and to listen to language learners' voices in this research. This multi-sited ethnographic case study follows four young Saudi women and the evolution of their socialisation through English into practices of choice across an 8-month span.

1.1 The Kingdom heading toward transformation

The 2016 announcements of Saudi Vision 2030 and its 2020 National Transformational Plans (NTP) head the rapid political, economic and cultural changes, the career and life choices, of Saudi youth, particularly young women (Nakhoul, Maclean, & Rashad, 2016). The announcements, which may alter the Muslim kingdom's conservative voices, set empowering women and materializing their potential as an important objective for Saudi Vision 2030 (National Transformational Program 2020, 2016). Before these promising announcements, however, Saudi women's education and social opportunities had already improved significantly during the reign of King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al Saud (2005–15) (Le Renard, 2014; Quamar, 2013). The king's reforms directly and increasingly targeted young women's education and employment, giving them the ability to visibly participate in the state's developmental plans. The King Abdullah Scholarship Programme (KASP) has encouraged young Saudi women to obtain an education, and it purports to provide equal opportunities to enrol in undergraduate and postgraduate programmes for Saudi students of both genders in all of the kingdom's 13 regions (Alnassar & Dow, 2013; Bukhari & Denman, 2013; Ministry of Higher Education, 2014; Pavan, 2013, 2014). A number of studies have reported that these programmes and projects of the Saudi Ministry of Education have already made significant progress in their mission to foster open-mindedness and understanding among Saudi youth and to enhance their quality of life and education (Alnassar & Dow, 2013; Islam, 2014; Bukhari & Denman, 2013; Hilal, 2013). For example, KASP has allowed between 70,000 and 120,000 Saudi students every year, 50 per cent of whom are women, to enrol in higher education institutions abroad. In a country in which 45.76 per cent of the population is under the age of 20, most families have at least one male or female member enrolled in one of these programmes (Hilal, 2013). Exposure to language education helps to broaden societal acceptance of EFL education. Most young learners' families share the same needs and encourage their children to learn English by attending private language

centres, both locally and abroad, and by preparing them to join either a PYP or the KASP (Alrabai, 2016). But the male guardianship law, which refers to men being legally responsible for women, has restricted women's scholarships to those who have male guardians who are willing to accompany them in their life abroad (Al-Rasheed, 2013). Such conditions enforce greater surveillance of women when they are abroad, limiting their learning choices and potentially causing them to miss out on the opportunities granted to men (Al-Rasheed, 2013).

Preparatory year programmes (PYP) are another set of programmes in the kingdom's educational reforms (Pavan, 2013). PYPs have been implemented in all Saudi universities to provide male and female secondary school students with the necessary academic skills for university study (McMullen, 2014; Ministry of Education, 2014; Pavan, 2013). PYPs aim to provide an intensive formal English learning context to advance the English proficiency of students, provide them with a basic understanding of science concepts and encourage them to develop autonomous learning skills to function and succeed in a changing society and beyond (Alseweed & Daif-Allah, 2012; Alshumaimeri, 2013; Corbyn, 2009; Hilal, 2013). PYPs reflect the current status of English in the Saudi state as the primary foreign language, and the country continues to show considerable interest in English language programmes: 'since its introduction into the Saudi educational system more than 80 years ago, English has continued to be seen as an essential vehicle for personal and national growth' (Al-Seghayer, 2014, 24). Thus, PYPs and KASP promote English education, whether in the kingdom's schools or universities, and make its role 'indisputable' (Alhamdan, Honan & Hamid, 2016:11).

1.1.1 Relevance of choice to Saudi language learners

Discussions of foreign language education in the kingdom have often been associated with a significant shift in how English has been taught and presented to Saudi learners, and how they and their families perceive English learning (Al Maiman, 2005; Jarf, 2008). Religious voices have influenced the common misconception of the English language posing a threat to the Arabic language, associating negative influences on young learners' Islamic faith and values with the concept that use of English facilitates Westernization (Al-Haq & Smadi, 1996). The Saudi state has had to communicate appropriately with these voices, using religious texts and citing famous prophets, in an effort which promotes the learning of a foreign language to support the following view: 'He whoever learns other people's language will be secured from their cunning' (Elyas & Picard, 2010:141).

The current research publications regarding English teaching and learning in Saudi Arabia seem to hold a training-oriented view of how to teach/learn English (Al Asmari, 2013; Farooq, 2012; Faruk, 2013). Even for those studies that chose to go beyond the language classroom and investigate the trends in learners' attitudes towards English and the reasons behind them, they have ignored issues related to context and gender (Albalawi, 2014; Alseweed, 2009). Although, in the context of Saudi female learners, English has received a positive response from many learners, research has not attempted to explore their spaces (Jarf, 2008). Thus currently, research observing the English learning experiences of young Saudi females in their lives does not exist. This is why it is important to highlight the ways in which Saudi women, as language learners within and beyond the dynamics of their women-only community, socialise in this community daily, negotiate its existence and access language learning opportunities. Highlighting these ways in relation to the field of language learning draws attention to two theoretical concepts that are concerned with learners' potential capability to act and make choices based on their language learning intentions and purposes with regard to how they relate to the social world: learner choice and agency. Thus, a language learner is endowed 'with a unique experience, an experience tailored to, by and for that individual' (Polanyi, 1995: 287).

Now, given that this research focuses on female Saudi participants and their experiences of finding language learning opportunities, I need to offer an overview of the social experience of Saudi women and the context.

1.2 The wider social experience of Saudi women

Introducing the context of this research to the reader is not an easy task, particularly when this context is fundamentally associated with sex segregation that legally prohibits men and women mixing at work and school (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Doumato, 1992; Le Renard, 2014). Most Saudi writers and scholars, of both genders, have perceived that women are constituted as a separate category of Saudi society, one which is traditional, religious and conservative (Al-Khateeb, 1998; Al Lily, 2011). The way they avoid the 'women question' has been to shift the 'why' to 'how', by portraying sex segregation as a unique way for a woman to be protected in a unified social category, reflecting the image of her being pious, modest, educated and financially comfortable (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Bahgat, 1998; Doumato, 1992; Le Renard, 2014; Yamani, 2004). For example, Al Lily (2011) explains that the complex mixture of traditional tribal and

Islamic values in Saudi society obscures differentiating between the religious and the social. This mixture fosters the division of the domestic and public spheres, which influence how Saudi males and females behave as well as their relationships and potential roles in those spheres (Arebi, 1994). However, this domestic and public division does not adequately account for the impact of educational and economic changes on women's ability to act of their own volition in terms of education, career and life choices (Akeel, 2013; Al-Khateeb, 1998; Batrawy, 2013; Dávalos, 2012; Yamani, 2008). Females' educational level and (daily) activities have radically changed over time; yet, most of these activities have developed in women-only spaces, making the domestic and public divisions ambiguous sometimes, because the shifting boundaries of women's behaviours in public are negotiated at different scales (Le Renard, 2012). Recently, particularly after King Abdullah's educational reforms, young women seem to be asserting themselves in the public space and moving forward in their careers, while demanding equal opportunities and rights, despite the challenges and objections they face (Akeel, 2013).

1.2.1 Spatial segregation and the emergence of a 'women-only community'

In this section, I offer an overview of women-only communities in Saudi society in the context of religious, social, traditional, tribal, economic and political issues to address the women question. We do, however, need to observe the cultural transmission of women's positions while examining these issues and to note that, at the same time, these issues do not work separately. Rather, they interplay dynamically with both the urban and rural fabric of Saudi society, which makes it inadequate to identify a certain issue if it is beyond the remit of this research. If we look back to the beginning of the Saudi state to track the spatial segregation between men and women, we can see a number of issues that show how spatial segregation has been imposed by the state, rather than invented (Al-Rasheed, 2013). For the purposes of this research, I have selected three issues to demonstrate how spatial segregation started and contributed to defining Saudi women as a unified category: Islam as a lifestyle, oil boom effects on working women and the transformation of patriarchy forms from the domestic to the public sphere.

First, in Saudi Arabia, the Islamic religion, basically the Qur'an and Sunnah (i.e. the Prophet Mohammed's narrated lifestyle) is supposed to be a ubiquitous point of normative reference for all life aspects and the source of government legitimisation (Le Renard, 2012; Pharaon, 2004). But many Saudi and non-Saudi scholars have connected the process of Saudi

government legitimisation not merely to the Islamic religion but also to the 'political-religious structures of Najdi[2] nationalism', highlighting the scope of the state's impositions on one's personal life (Yamani, 2004: 160). In this Najdi narrow religious perspective, certain verses from the Qur'an are used in government legitimisation to restrict the role of women by reinforcing the biological differences between males and females, which leads to the natural division and separation of the two genders in physical spaces and occupations (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Le Renard, 2012; Pharaon, 2004).

The second issue is the oil boom, and its mixed blessings, which has dramatically changed Saudi Arabia from a poor isolated country into a cash economy based on the oil industry (Al-Khateeb, 1998; Ross, 2008). The revenue from oil has been wisely invested in the development and modernisation of the country across all sectors of the economy (Pharaon, 2004). For women, the 'oil industry remains masculine' (Al-Rasheed, 2013: 22). This industry has offered Saudi men working in the government sector monthly wages, making them the sole breadwinners in the family (Al-Rasheed, 2013). Women's role as a workforce has also been negatively affected by oil wealth because their participation in the public sphere has been marginalised, contributing to the spatial segregation between men and women (Le Renard, 2008; Ross, 2008). In line with the backlash from the oil boom, Al-Rasheed (2013) further argues that men, with their high socioeconomic status, have been able to employ foreign domestic servants, which has resulted in replacing Saudi women in the domestic sphere. The discovery of oil wealth, then, led women to experience 'double exclusion': from the public sphere, as a workforce, and also from the domestic sphere (Al-Rasheed, 2013: 23).

The third issue relates to the transformation of patriarchy forms, from the domestic to the public sphere. Essentially, tribes were military, political and economic units in nomadic societies before the Saudi state was formed (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Yamani, 2004). With its formation, these units were broken up, and only the tribal ethos was kept, which included keeping women in patriarchal relationships under the authority of male relatives (Al-Rasheed, 2013). Nowadays, as the family unit replaces the tribe as a social group, similar patriarchy forms have been retained—even though women have moved from the domestic sphere, male members of the family consider that women represent their personal honour, which needs protection (Al-Rasheed,

[2] Najd is the central province of Saudi Arabia, where the Saudi royal family members live.

2013). Thus, one way this protection is embedded is through a male guardian's permission (consent) being a must for a relative female to perform her many daily activities, including enrolling at university, having a job, travelling outside the country and filing a court case (Human Rights Watch, 2008).

To summarise, these three issues illustrate the external impact on females' visibility in the public sphere. Examining them together, the Saudi state seems to be very much involved in enforcing women's exclusion and further marginalising their roles, and thus their visible participation in society. Openly invoking the state's involvement is avoided by many active Saudi females due to their current unequal status in society; it is wise for them to avoid confrontation with the state (Al-Rasheed, 2013). Having said this, only through the Saudi state can women regain their visibility in the public sphere. The Saudi state, since King Abdullah's ascension to the throne, has instigated a number of national development reforms that aim to advance the political, social, educational, employment and legal systems, and other aspects of kingdom citizens' lives (Alhazmi & Nyland, 2012; Al-Rasheed, 2013; Le Renard, 2008, 2014; Pharaon, 2004). These reforms have resulted in the transformation of the career and life choices of Saudi youth, particularly young women. In light of these reforms, women's education and employment opportunities have been especially targeted and expanded by the Saudi state; and for the first time, women have moved from being a taboo issue to being openly discussed as a "symbol of reform" (van Geel, 2012: 64). But in terms of their impact on the visibility of females in the public sphere, these projects and planned reforms have functioned in a spatial way: they have been formally tailored to confirm Saudi females' status as subordinate in society, and to restrain the mobility of their worlds (Al-Rasheed, 2013). While oil wealth has helped to create more parallel female educational projects, the state's legislation on these reforms has reiterated the state's political-religious structures and patriarchal tribal forms, leading to just the enforcement and widening of the division between male and female spaces (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Le Renard, 2008, 2014). Ironically, instead of bridging the gap, modern media and communication devices, such as videoconferencing and e-learning, are widely used in these projects, particularly to extend educational fields for women, enabling women to follow a male professor's lecture without being in the same space as him, thus reinforcing segregation (Doumato, 2009; Vidyasagar & Rea, 2004).

1.2.2 Within a women-only community

Nowadays, as the spatial boundaries separating male and female spaces are solidifying through national development reforms, Saudi women's single-sex spaces are rapidly becoming wide and diverse, yet socially unified into a women-only community (Le Renard, 2008). Inside this community—which works as an organisation daily produced and reproduced by women—women have moved far from being situated only in the domestic sphere to now creating and shaping their individual spaces inside their single-sex community and challenging their spaces to make them more visible in the public sphere (Le Renard, 2008).

In Saudi women's activism (which always involves ethical tensions when researching and writing about it), there seem to be three prominent factors within the women-only community that contribute to the process of shaping each woman's space: the female herself, her family, and the nature of sex-segregation boundaries. These factors seem to internally influence the capacity of a female space. The first factor is related to the idea of diversity inside the women-only community. The appropriation of religious discourse by young women thus allows them to legitimise their presence in new spaces, enlarge the field of possibilities available to them and develop new activities. In her interviews with young Saudi females, Le Renard (2012) reported that several interviewees pointed out the need to differentiate between factors labelled as Saudi customs or traditions and things taken from the Qur'an. In a similar study by van Geel (2012), young Saudi females expressed their strategies regarding public participation, whether through women-only public spaces or in mixed public spheres. Here, the data reveal four discerned groups. The majority wanted the situation to remain the same, with no expansion of women-only spaces, choosing rather to situate themselves according to the spaces offering more opportunities. The second group wished to strengthen segregation in and of itself, describing segregation as a perfect way of life and demanding to have more all-women spaces in the public sphere (van Geel, 2012). The third group saw the strengthening of segregation as an intermediary phase, paving the way for a society moving towards accepting women's presence in the public sphere; and the fourth group of women commented that segregation should be undermined and women should immediately participate actively in the public sphere to reshape the boundaries of the permissible and the acceptable.

The second factor relates to family, particularly the male guardians of females, whose decisions control women's movements, education choices, employment and even health (Al-

Rasheed, 2013). Although some females receive support from their families to pursue an education, degree and career, other families do not welcome change (Pharaon, 2004). Male guardians, whose role is inherited as a tribal ethos (see the third issue in Section 2.3.1), are primarily charged with preserving their families' reputations by keeping women in patriarchal relationships under their authority. Under these circumstances, young women must negotiate shifting social norms, particularly those associated with the context of reforms and development, to convince their male guardians that their conduct is acceptable (Le Renard, 2012, 2014).

The third factor—which at the same time interplays significantly with the previous two factors—depends on how the family and the woman herself understand, define and negotiate the nature (parameters) of sex-segregation boundaries. These boundaries are very complex and multidimensional, often blending into one another, redefining the boundaries of females' spaces, either slowly or increasingly, while floating through mixed public spaces between different females' spaces and the private space. These dimensions can be physical, visual and ethical/ moral. For example, physical dimensions include spatial boundaries that either divide spaces or mark borders. The former can obviously be seen in building structures that have two entrances, one for each gender, and the latter refers to surrounding the house with concrete walls that are opaque and around 210 cm high (Al Lily, 2011; Le Renard, 2014).

The spatial or physical boundaries can be movable, such as restaurant partitions, and these are often made of wood or cloth and screen females who are dining; or they can be fixed, made of concrete or steel, to divide buildings such as banks, or even to divide male living rooms from female living rooms in houses. Interestingly, if the space can move, as in the case of a car or van, the windows are blocked out with heavily tinted glass (Ahmed, 2011).

The visual dimension includes a number of codes that can be either explicit or implicit. For example, 'Unaccompanied Women Are Not Allowed', 'Family Section' and 'Women Only Entry' are examples of segregation explicitly written on signs hung on entrance doors of some public places (Le Renard, 2008). Not all public places have signs because some are considered to be obviously forbidden to women, such as most cafés (Le Renard, 2008). Or this segregation can be implicit, as in international academic conferences or press conferences that the kingdom hosts where the seating is organised to place men in the front rows and women in the back rows (Al-Rasheed, 2013).

Another obvious visual dimension relates to Saudi female dress codes, particularly in the

public sphere. This was discussed earlier, in the first issue concerning the public policy of spatial segregation, which shows the scope of the state's religious and cultural impositions on personal life (Yamani, 2004). The common name for this public dress is 'abaya', and it is recognised as the most obvious sign of the Saudi Islamic veil (Ahmed, 2011; Al-Rasheed, 2013; Mernissi, 1991; Pharaon, 2004). Visually, though the abaya functions as a passage providing acceptable mobility for the female space within the mixed public sphere, it somehow restricts women's presence (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Le Renard, 2008, 2014). Its noticeable black colour and religiously-prescribed loose shape, that covers women from head to toe, has unified them as a community whose membership is defined by "means of clothes" (Al-Rasheed, 2013:117).

The third dimension is the ethical or moral dimension of sex segregation, which places the doer (the trespasser as regards the segregation of the sexes) in the realm of the forbidden. The placement may take the form of illegal or criminal conduct. For example, at certain checkpoints, religious police officers inspect the relationship of men and women who are in a car together. If the man is found not to be her male guardian, they will be arrested (Le Renard, 2014). Sometimes the conduct may be described as shameful or disgraceful by influential voices in Saudi society—mainly religious voices—as in the case of women who choose to work alongside male colleagues, such as in hospitals (Le Renard, 2014). Though the consequences of the latter conduct placement are different from the former, they significantly shape the female space in limiting the choices of women. In her ethnographic study, Le Renard reported on one of her participants whose husband, after marriage, forced her to quit her job in the hospital because it was a mixed space.

To conclude, these factors and dimensions illustrate how every Saudi female individual can be subject to different pressures and possibilities, and they show the tangible challenges she faces within her space, whether these challenges exist in the reality of the senses, the visual and the spatial, or even in the abstract reality, in the realm of ethical or forbidden ideas.
To specify what a women-only community refers to in this research in relation to English learning opportunities, it is useful to imagine this community as collective spaces where men are not allowed. In each space, there is an active individual agent defining her space boundaries in the complex fabric of her society and across the domestic and public spheres.

Discussions of language learners and language learning contexts have often been associated with understanding the ways in which language learners can actively shape their

language learning experiences in the contexts in which they participate (Fogle, 2012). Now, given that, so far, this study involves the ways in which female Saudi language learners access English learning opportunities within and beyond complex women-only communities, the role of ethnography is a necessary research component to account for the different learning experiences brought by language learners.

1.3 Doing ethnography in a Saudi region

Becoming an ethnographer was one of the most difficult decisions I have had to make, not only in my academic life but also in my life as a whole. It was difficult to return to where I grew up, studied and worked and consciously to share with the reader my knowledge of the language learning experiences of young Saudi women, in sheltered and hard-to-reach women-only communities in my region, and wondering how the reader might relate those experiences to their knowledge. At the same time, I felt the need to take on an ethnographer's role for personal reasons, as well as for research findings. I struggled during the first month, trying to describe not only the four participants' contexts in my fieldwork journals but also the meanings they assigned to moments of their daily lives. With my eyes, ears and mind, I was writing journal entries, understanding that 'when you work in your own society, you cross the line between the field and home often and rapidly' (Agar, 2008: 102). My father and my best friend gave me some sort of balance between home and the field. My father's comments during our morning coffee gave me insights into how he, as a parent and mahram (i.e. a female guardian according to Saudi law), dealt with the idea of me, his language-learner daughter, travelling and living alone. Also, my female friend who has experience of Saudi students' counselling also has knowledge of the participants' families, which was helpful in preparing me to present myself and explain my role to the participants and their families.

As a woman, a language learner and an observer in the research setting, my own utterances, movements, clothes and gendered experiences in my home region and across the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the different lifestyles I have encountered whether at home or in Lancaster, United Kingdom, and my overall insights contribute significant perspectives to this research. I believe ethnographers do not strive to be objective, nor can they separate themselves from what they are observing and experiencing (Davis & Henze, 1998). Yet, I fully understood the burden of responsibility and authority in being an ethnographer and making that claim to the reader. I will come back to the ethnographer role in Chapter 3, when discussing my fieldwork

and data analysis.

1.4 Research Focus and Questions

My thesis goal is to offer insights into the lived language learning experiences of young Saudi women. I will do this by examining four Saudi female language learners' perceptions of sociocultural challenges while accessing English learning opportunities, particularly how they dynamically exercise their capacity to act in pursuit of their goals of learning English, by participating, resisting, negotiating and making choices in relation to their women-only contexts and beyond and across formal and informal language learning contexts. The following questions guide the focus of my broad research:

1. How are young Saudi women socialised into practices of choice around English language learning opportunities? How do these practices evolve over an 8-month study?
2. How are understandings of choice negotiated by young Saudi women?

In developing these questions, I placed my area of enquiry not only on what choice *is* for the four participants, but also what choice is *for* whilst these participants are socialising through English. That is, I focus on the ways in which the participants exercise their agency, engaging their whole being across various types of delimiting boundaries, visible/invisible, during the 8-month study.

1.5 Significance of the Study

I consider my study to be significant and to have a high possibility of making theoretical and contextual contributions to contemporary research on agency in relation to language learners living in hard-to-reach contexts. This research study has tremendous relevance in terms of gaining knowledge about young Saudi women, this may improve the education possibilities for Saudi female language learners. It breaks the taboo of a women-only community, going beyond the defensive sense of sex boundaries, and carefully introduces the context of Saudi female language learners, and its methodological design can contribute to bringing attention to ethical issues and methods for researching such contexts.

This research intends to contribute to a theoretical reconsideration of learners' social capability to act, i.e. agency. In this respect, this research offers a unique understanding of agency by socially investigating how the diverse language learning desires of female Saudi participants' lives are also part of their voices. Thus, this study not only adds to the literature on

learner agency but also represents a novel initiative in the language learning field for female Saudi learners by revealing sensitive issues regarding the intersection of learners' faith, values, family and language learning and making connections between these issues in the Saudi social context.

The current research seeks to contribute to the current discussion on ways to access participants' voices and spaces by proposing that the research design and data collection methods used in this study are a valid and context-sensitive method of research. Through in-depth descriptions of each participant's language learning trajectories across time and formal and informal learning spaces, I invite the reader to think about alternative methods to access female learners' contexts. Further, including my account of my personal engagement journey with an ethnographic role in the research paves the way to shed light on sociocultural challenges and encourage Saudi researchers to document and discuss what they encounter on their research journeys.

1.6 Outline of the thesis

The introductory chapter sets out both the expectations and justifications for this study—particularly in terms the relevance of choice and agency to young women's language learning and the background information needed to understand women-only spaces in Saudi society. Below is an outline of the remaining six chapters in this thesis.

In Chapter 2, I describe the theoretical framing of my study. I begin by introducing language socialisation, describing its research aim and fundamental premise. I move on to specific issues related to second language socialisation research, examining learner agency.

In Chapter 3, l discuss my research design (i.e. a multi-sited ethnographic case studies design) and justify my choices vis-à-vis data collection and analysis methods. Then, I describe my positioning as an ethnographer, including my role in the fieldwork, and acknowledge personal biases that may affect the way I see and interpret the data. I then explain the procedures for data selection, collection and analysis, delineating the efforts that were made to establish the trustworthiness of the study.

In Chapters 4 and 5, I present my four participants, and their language learning trajectories, who constitute the core of this research's multi-sited ethnographic case study. Chapter 4 introduces paired-case analyses of Reema and Zenah, participants who are studying at a private secondary school. I separately introduce the two participants as individual cases,

highlighting their respective formal and informal learning contexts through which I followed each of them from mid-September 2013 until the end of May 2014. Then, I bring the private school paired cases together to determine emergent issues and characteristics that may either limit or enhance English learning opportunities. Chapter 5 follows the same format as Chapter 4 and addresses the second of two paired-case analyses of my two participants, Sarah and Enas, who share the same formal learning space, i.e. a preparatory year programme (PYP).

In Chapter 6, I conduct a cross-case analysis of the four cases by bringing together my case findings to find patterns in the issues the four young women faced as they actively navigated their participation through religious beliefs and sociocultural boundaries around their desired language learning opportunities.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I summarise the major findings related to the four cases, exploring their sites of struggle and their roles in shaping ongoing negotiations to access and enhance English learning opportunities. I offer my views on the contributions to knowledge that my research makes in relation to interfaith dialogues from a sociolinguistic perspective in the context under investigation, as well as in the wider fields of agency. I conclude with reflective thoughts on my research journey, its implications and findings, as well as on myself as a researcher and an individual.

Chapter 2: Second language socialisation and learner agency

2.0 Introduction

After briefly revealing the Saudi women-only spaces and the challenges they encounter in expanding within themselves and from others in Chapter 1, pointing out English learning as one of the significant challenges, this research needs a theoretical framework that foregrounds the social situatedness of language learning and conceives learners as 'agents in the formation of competence' (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011:6) who 'play a defining role in shaping the qualities of their learning' (Dewaele, 2009: 638). This need does not only stem from the tendency of today's world and its durability in terms of technology and mobility, but, for their potential to 'facilitate grass-roots agency and action' (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016:22). Thus, this chapter begins with a brief overview of language socialisation before moving to the theory of second language socialisation (SLS) and the area of learner agency. In addition, the chapter discusses the emergent issue of multidirectionality of second language socialisation. These discussions are necessary to build a useful background for presenting and discussing the emerging themes and their analysis in the coming chapters (Chapters 4,5 & 6). Further, this theoretical background is particularly important in Chapter 3 because the study adopts an ethnographic approach which brings 'the ethnographer's role more explicitly into the research process' (Agar, 2008: 163).

2.1 Language socialisation

The concern of language socialisation theory and research is related to the diversity of how individuals learn the language and what it means to learn a language. In other words, this theory examines how individuals are socialised through the use of language and socialised to use language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). The early focus of language socialisation research was with the linguistic interaction between parents/caregivers and children in non-Western societies (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). This focus paved the way for building a perspective of language socialisation theory that views the interactions between children and caregivers 'as cultural phenomena embedded in the larger systems of cultural meaning and social order of the society into which the child is being socialised' (Moore, 2008: 176). Such perspective brings together the ability to use a language and the ability to participate in society as essential factors to

understand the ways of socialising children into the norms and ideologies of a local context (Hymes, 1972). So, the language socialisation theoretical perspective was explained as:

> distinctively local and situated. Thrown into social situations from birth, human beings become attuned to socioculturally saturated linguistic cues that afford their sensibility to a fluidity of contexts. Infants not only become speakers of languages; they also become speakers of cultures (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011: 8)

The influence of such a perspective was brought to the area of second language education research (Duff, 1996; Moore, 2008). Unlike language socialisation research of first language, second language socialisation research was primarily conduced with second and foreign language learners in Western societies (Duff, 1996; Poole, 1992). Second language socialisation examines the intertwined relationships among language, culture, and learning as its framework focuses on the process through which individuals acquires the knowledge, orientations and practices that enable them to participate effectively and appropriately in the social life of a particular community (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). The participation can be in creating, recreating and changing these practices (Crago, 1992). The language socialisation approach draws on aspects of language learning within sociocultural theory, particularly aspects that developed from Vygotsky's work (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). However, it is important to note that this approach does not solely rely on sociocultural theory; rather, language socialisation draws, to various extents, on anthropological studies, sociology, linguistics, and cultural psychology (Duff, 2002; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

2.2. Second language socialisation and contemporary society

The process of language socialisation involves learning, especially developing learners' capabilities to engage fully in a new discourse community through social interaction and cognitive experience, while also developing their own voice and agency in a new language (Duff, 2002). Within this perspective, learners negotiate a sense of self within and across different contexts, and it is through language that a 'learner gains access to—or is denied access to—powerful networks that give learners the opportunity' to use EFL (Norton, 2000: 5). The process of language socialisation also focuses on the symbolic medium of language; that is, learners who often are novices are socialised both to use language (i.e., linguistic development) and through the use of language (i.e., social development; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Language is learned through interactions with others who are more proficient (e.g., teachers, peers) in the

language communicating with novices (e.g., students) not only with linguistic development but also with other forms of knowledge that are learned in and through language (Duff, 2010; Duff & Talmy, 2011; Ochs, 1986). These other forms of knowledge include sociocultural practices and what contains explicit and implicit evidence about normative, appropriate uses of the language of members in a particular context (Duff, 2010; Duff & Talmy, 2011; Ochs, 1986). Another example may include individuals' gendered identities (i.e., males' and females' different positions vis-à-vis social, economic and political changes) in a particular context, information of their context, and the language itself in that context. Language socialisation research can investigate how agency affords various freedoms of language execution in relation to these variables and forms of knowledge (Duff & Talmy, 2011; Gordon, 2004; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011).

Within this framework, asking who is socialising whom to apply the label of 'novice' and 'proficient/expert' can be sometimes a problematic because in culturally and linguistically diverse learning environments, especially with rapid changing technologies, socialisation can be fluid, multiple and negotiable (Harklau, 2003; He, 2003; Zuengler & Cole, 2004). The language socialisation framework can account for contingency, unpredictability and multidirectionality for learners' agency and provide better insight into their learning trajectories (Duff & Talmy, 2011; Talmy, 2008). Thus, the framework does not examine one side, e.g., the process of cultural transmission; rather it involves active negotiation and sometimes contestation of norms and practices by engaged individuals, reflecting their agency, choices, and preferences (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2014). However, researchers need to be cautious with the contingency aspect for example any resistance along the learner's learning trajectory does not necessarily indicate a transformative process is taking place where it may be culturally and socially reproductive (Talmy, 2008). The idea of conceptualising the socialization process as a dynamic multidirectional one may account for the multidimensional nature of learner agency and the need to situate its research in a way that accounts for the learners and the social and cultural conditions and yet bring diverse outcomes.

Language socialisation research has examined the linguistic and other communicative practices (e.g., written or oral) into which learners are socialised across various demographic populations, using a wide range of age groups and geographical, linguistic and social contexts (e.g., formal vs. informal educational settings, clinical and professional programmes, deaf

communities, babies and caregivers; Duff, 2010; Garrett, 2008). It is important for researchers to view language socialisation as not only a lifelong but also a 'lifewide' process. Duff (2003) explains that the term 'lifewide' refers to the individual's concurrent participation in various sociolinguistic contexts. This view fits empirically within the social, linguistic, cultural, political and educational conditions of contemporary society that influence individuals' participation in new discourse contexts. Contemporary society tends to be 'much more complicated, fluid, dynamic, competitive, multilingual and potentially unwelcoming' (Duff, 2003:333). I find the previous description of contemporary society and the emphasis on its active members roles whether as students, workers, members of school committee, or a particular community member of a religious group, etc. Also, I find the term lifewide can be viewed within to refer to what learners think of themselves (e.g. being a female, a Saudi, a Muslim), the opinions they hold about language.

Being fluid and multiple have allowed language socialisation to be considered by contemporary views as a lifespan process for research that transpires across various settings and power relations and necessitates looking at micro interaction features and macro politics of social power relations (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). Attention to the two dynamics of micro and macro and others between expands language socialisation focus to examine the influence of local relationships of power in the particular contexts in which the learners interact and to analyse micro interactions embedded in their learning experiences (Duff, 2010; Duff & Talmy, 2011; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002). Analytically, the researchers' lenses include examining social engagement not only within but also across learners' trajectories: 'Language socialisation into a community is language socialization into the human condition' (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2014: 8). In this sense, the threading of the micro and macro levels of analysis equips the researcher to link both contexts of culture—Saudi women-only communities in this research—and the immediate situation: second or foreign language learning practices. Thus, this framework enables researchers to not only describe learners and interpret their observable behaviours and cultures but also to uncover language learning related practices in deep, broad, diverse and unpredicted forms.

2.3 Learner agency

Below is a review of how agency has been defined across the social sciences and applied linguistics. Its nature is both a co-constructed performative process and an attribute of individuals that places them in an agent position, i.e., acting in an agentive behaviour:

- 'being able to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs. This presumes that to be an agent is to be able to deploy (chronically, in the flow of daily life) a range of causal powers, including that of influencing those deployed by others' (Giddens, 1984:14).
- 'the ability to take action in the light of a conscious assessment of the circumstances' (Layder, 1997:35)
- 'the socioculturally mediated capacity to act' (Ahearn, 2001:112).
- 'ability to make choices, take control, self-regulate, and thereby pursue their goals as individuals, leading, potentially, to personal or social transformation' (Duff, 2012:417).

The first three definitions view agency as individuals' capacity to take action (or reaction, as in Giddens') that entails participating in shaping and producing change in learners' own lives. Yet, this action does not take place in absence of 'a range of causal powers' and 'circumstances' (Giddens, 1984; Layder, 1997). So, this action is compromised by agents who can understand particular contextual relationships in which they find themselves and have awareness and knowledge that helps them recognise both possibilities and constraints situated in those relationships, then act accordingly. In this sense, agency seems as an ongoing, reciprocal, co-constructed process of dynamic interaction between agents and contextual relationships (Mercer, 2011). In Duff's (2012) definition, agency is about more than an action. Agency intimately links individuals to their actions, bringing meaningful personal relevance to their learning paths through choice, control, and directing self and enabling them to consciously transform their dispositions in the direction of action and involvement.

Though pinning down an explicit working definition for agency seems difficult, particularly with the cited literature that is apparently interrelated with language socialisation, the various interpretations of agency across the four above definitions may allow one to break down the over-socialized macro view of agency (Priestley, Biesta, & Robinson, 2015). Agency could exist as latent potential to engage in self-directed behaviour that could be understood within two-dimensional flow: Learners' sense of agency and their exercise of agency (Mercer, 2011). The

first dimension includes feeling the desire for and being able to act on what a person wants, and it proceeds to the second dimension, which reveals the person's agentic behaviour and choice to participate. Therefore, agency is not only concerned with what is observable, but it also involves non-visible behaviours, beliefs, thoughts, and feelings; all of which must be understood in relation to the various contexts and affordances from which they cannot be abstracted (Mercer, 2012). In other words, researchers need to be open to the various ways in which agency manifests itself across learners' interactions in language-learning environments that makes certain actions probable, others possible, and others impossible (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). At the same time, they need to be cautious against assigning learners' obvious actions or active participation to agency (van Lier, 2008).

Research on agency is mostly associated with longitudinal qualitative methods in which in-depth interviews, narratives, and observation are utilised. Lim (2002) has examined her own English learning over two decades. She commented that learning goals were always connected with her career, which provided her with a greater perception of control over her learning, leading to a greater exercise of agency. This is clearly an example that shows how the connection between personal relevance (goals) influences a learner to exercise agency and take control of her own learning. In another study, Malcolm (2005) examined an English language Saudi male learner's learning in America. The learner's comments about what learning is (revising his beliefs each time about learning) and his exercise of actions in learning opportunities were closely connected to his personal life. This connection echoes Lantolf and Thorne's (2006) view of agency as entailing the ability to assign relevance and significance to things and events. Go (2010) pushes agency research further by employing a sociocultural framework to uncover how learners exercise their agency across various contexts. He concluded that it is not either context or agency that is responsible for engendering strategy use, but the balanced interaction of both. He argued that the concept of learner agency needs to be extended to include beliefs learners hold regarding language learning.

2.3.1 Structure and agency

Structure can be understood as a powerful metonymic device that identifies some part of a complex social reality as explaining the whole. This social reality can be manifested explicitly and implicitly through rules, roles, and resources (Sewell, 2005). Unlike the various literature attempts, particularly in the language-learning field, to conceptualise agency, structure seems to

have relatively rare chances. Yet, the mention of structure in related literature is always associated with how agency operates (Block, 2015). I find this association between the two helpful in understanding structure as more than rigid causal determinism in social life (Sewell, 2005).

Structures are seen not just as constraints on individual actors but also enabling their actions. Social actors are self-aware in the sense of continual monitoring of the effects, both intended and unintended, of action and the modification of their behaviour accordingly. While their action may be constrained, people's agency ensures that they always have some degrees of freedom – some room to manoeuvre (Bakewell, 2010: 1695).

So, instead of always assuming that structure shapes how individuals act, it is worth shifting attention to the influence of individuals' actions in shaping and reshaping social relations that structure structure, as the current research intends. I find this shift of attention useful for my conceptual prism in taking an individual agents/participants-driven approach in my investigation. In light of the previous discussion, learner agency can be viewed as a state of tension in which learners initiate and carry out actions through language involving constant co-constructed and renegotiated relationships between what learners desire and how their knowledge of cultural rules allows them to access and navigate resources. For example, Block (2014) reviewed a language learner case study he conducted ten years ago and commented on the research changes he would implement in light of the discussion of agency and structure. He pointed out that he would have pinpointed the constraint on the learner's participation and included factors that structure in the learner's life from the economic base of the learner's society (Japan) to the emergent interactions in daily life.

2.3.2 Language learners' beliefs and agency

Research has extended the discussion of agency in language-learning research to include the issue of learners' beliefs to establish a better understanding of how language learner agency works (Gao, 2010; Kalaja, Barcelos, Aro, & Ruohotie-Lyh, 2016; Wesely, 2012). Within the language learning perspective, beliefs refers to a learner's opinions and ideas about a language and how it is learned (Kalaja & Barcelos, 2003). Also, beliefs refer to what learners think about themselves (i.e., their capacities as language learners) and the learning environment (Wesely, 2012). So, learners tend to act in the way they believe is most useful and effective for learning.

Based on a two-year single case study, Mercer (2011) collected a series of interviews and narratives from an English language female learner to examine her beliefs about how she learns English. Her beliefs appear to closely reflect her sense of agency and interrelate with how she chooses to exercise agency strategically. Yet feeling a sense of agency did not necessarily mean that she chose to exercise it in respect to a particular opportunity. The learner's beliefs about the contextual factors, whether culture, family, education, in/out class, or immediate interactional contexts like interlocutor within the opportunities she encounters, triggered her perception of such opportunity and lead her to exercise her agency, e.g., feeling self-confidence, her relation and perception of others, and formal and normal everyday talk.

Aro (2015a) conducted two 14-year-long studies examining the development of Finnish learners' beliefs about English learning, whether in or out of class. The findings indicate that learners' beliefs change over time as they form their own ideologies through personal experiences. Within that perspective, a teacher's authority concerning how to learn a language becomes less powerful as learners' in- and out-of-school experiences drive them to re-evaluate and reconceptualise their beliefs about English learning. In another study, Aro (2015b) looked into how these two participants expressed their agency and initiated their learning actions over the 14 years. She also examined the influence of contextual factors in enabling and constraining the participants' actions. The data showed that agency was expressed differently by the two participants, whereas their agentive behaviour appeared within the combination of others (e.g. learners and teacher), environment, and beliefs. Agency is felt, experienced, and even initiated by the individual, but it also emerges collectively. Human activity hinges on other humans. So, agency research needs to look at the whole context where language use and learning takes place. Therefore, beliefs seem to be more than psychological constructs residing in learners' minds, but can be constructs that emerge in specific contexts and are co-constructed in interactions with others (Kalaja, Barcelos, Aro, & Ruohotie-Lyh, 2015).

I find Aro's (2015a;2015b) uses of the terms 'appropriate' and 'voice' in her studies useful in bringing beliefs and agency together on the one hand and, on the other, to uncover all possible multi communications between expressing a sense of agency and actual exercise of agency: 'the process of how the learners appropriated the various viewpoints around them and also used their own experiences to voice their beliefs' (Aro, 2015a: 36).

Learner agency is portrayed as an umbrella for other construct such as investment and identity in language research (Norton, 2000 & 2001). However, the current study attempts to understand agency in a different way that can fit with how language learners find ways to access language learning opportunities.

Chapter 3: A multi-sited ethnographic case study design

3.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research process and provide my rationale for selecting second language socialisation (SLS) as the methodological approach to adopt in this study. Also, I explain my research design (i.e. a multi-sited ethnographic case studies design) and justify my choices for this research methodology and its methods.

3.1 Research Design

From the early stages of planning for this research study, I was sure that its design would better suit qualitative research. Qualitative research is concerned with making sense of social phenomena meanings as they occur, 'with as little disruption of the natural setting as possible' (Merriam, 1998:5). Researchers who choose qualitative research for their research design tend to ask questions about the meanings and interpretations of individuals' actions as they are happening in the field (Greene, 1997). Driven by a need to understand, qualitative research is suited to describing 'actual instances of human action and experience from the perspective of the participants who are living through a particular situation' (Fischer, 2006: xvi). In the interests of prioritising participants' perspectives, a qualitative research design should enable me to bring out their uniqueness and build my understanding of how they are socialised through language, whether taking part in or creating language learning opportunities, and what the issues are within and surrounding those opportunities.

This study seeks to investigate how four young Saudi women are socialised into practices of choice across various English learning opportunities, whether in women-only spaces or public (mixed-gender) spaces. The following questions guide the focus of my broad research:

1. How are young Saudi women socialised into practices of choice around English language learning opportunities? How do these practices evolve over an 8-month study?
2. How are understandings of choice negotiated by young Saudi women?

Clearly, these questions imply a need for longitudinal trajectory-tracking data to emerge through both the four Saudi female learners' actions and interactions in their everyday lives and their past language learning experiences. To enhance my position in the fieldwork as a researcher and, consequently, my understanding, I integrate an ethnographic, multi-sited study and case study into

my research to broaden the methodological design, which facilitates my mobility as a researcher going beyond conventional single-site fieldwork, thus enabling me to get closer to language use in the dynamics of the participants' actions in everyday sociocultural surroundings.

3.1.1 Second Language Socialisation (SLS)

Since SLS research concerns learning and examines the process of individuals constructing themselves as language learners, the topics of investigation usually overlap with issues around learners' deliberate choices that may shape their learning environments (Dewaele, 2009). The literature review established that this research study draws on SLS, which takes into account learners' everyday interactions and the social conditions surrounding their learning (Bronson & Watson-Gegeo, 2008). SLS research, therefore, adheres to a set of methodological principles to investigate these interactions and social conditions across settings (Baquedano-Land & Hernandez, 2011). According to these principles, a research design supports longitudinal study; relies on collecting and analysing fieldwork-based textual, audio and visual recordings of robust data; adopts an ethnographic perspective encompassing copious field notes, records, in-depth interviews and journals; and pays attention to 'both micro and macro levels of analysis and to [the] links between them' (Garrett, 2008: 194). In a language learning classroom setting, language socialisation may function as an interpretative framework for learners' negotiation processes and the discourse conventions that they transmit through language while working on particular events (e.g. oral academic presentations; Morita, 2000, 2004).

SLS can be applied to more complex learning settings, e.g. tracking how language learner participants use social network sites in and outside the classroom to explain how they develop their capacity to participate in social network sites and how participation practices influence their English learning (Reinhardt & Zander, 2011). In another example that goes beyond static settings, Lam (2004) conducted an 8-month, multi-sited ethnographic study of two female participants in their physical and digital spaces, employing ethnographic interviews, observation and textual documentation with screenshots to collect data on the two participants. Lam explained her exhaustive procedure as follows:

> I visited their classrooms, 'hung out' with them in the cafeteria and other places in the school, and observed them doing class assignments and chatting online in the computer lab. The computer lab became a place where I frequently sat beside the girls to observe their participation in the bilingual chat room ... I gathered data from my own exploration

> of the technical set-up, demographics, and social dynamics of the chat room. Field notes were taken during my participant observation in both the school site and on the Internet. (2004: 49)

Another study examined the relationship between the gendered identity and learner agency of female Laotian immigrants to the United States (Gordon, 2004). The researcher used robust data sets, including audiotaped interviews and observations in family homes, workplaces and religious institutions. The findings indicate that as the participants' English skills became more advanced, the possibilities for them accessing new public places in American society increased.

With SLS, researchers can integrate and bring together macro- and micro-levels of investigation (Nonaka, 2011). Dealing with micro-levels requires direct, sustained observation, access to actual settings and examination of participants' artefacts (including their learning materials and experiences) and voices (via interviews) and reflecting on their learning experiences (e.g. what these experiences mean for them, their interlocutors and their trajectories; Duff & Anderson, 2015). Researchers' voices are also part of these data combinations, using field notes and journals to document what they navigate and notice, whether from what participants produce or from what they interpret as change (Bronson, 2005).

For a macro-level investigation, researchers must provide a broad description of a variety of relationships of power and factor pressures that may influence the dynamics of participants' interaction or actions (Baquedano-Lopez & Figueroa, 2011). For example, in a 2-year ethnographic study in three schools, the researcher video-recorded participants' interactions in the classroom to examine the changing dynamics of classroom discourse as the medium of instruction shifted from Hungarian to English (Duff, 1996). In the analysis, language socialisation allowed the researcher to synthesise the changes occurring in the classroom with the democratisation taking place across a country and throughout its educational system.

For the current study's research design, both macro- and micro-levels of investigation are equally essential for answering the research questions. For example, with data collected through interviews, observations, field notes and journals, I can describe why a participant refuses to take part in (i.e. resists) a learning activity and what this resistance means to her and to others (i.e. her teacher and/or peers). In other words, these thick record fieldwork-based data sets provide patterns of difference (e.g. resistance) among participants, as well as alignments in their interpretations, goals and actions. Along and through these many records of micro- and macro-

layers, I will look for possible incidents that can serve as changing points or progress in the participants' trajectories.

3.1.2 Case study

A case study refers to the collection and presentation of detailed accounts set within a real-world context (Yin, 2002). This type of study is often pertinent to exploratory, descriptive and explanatory research: An exploratory case study explores a new phenomenon and addresses questions of what?; a descriptive case study describes a phenomenon within its real context and covers its background information; and an explanatory case gets close to a phenomenon, explains its real-life contextual relationships and addresses questions of why? and how? (Yin, 2002). Exploratory and descriptive case studies seem to align with my research purpose to various degrees and at different stages of my fieldwork. I explore socialised practices of choice, embedded as case phenomena, in the lives of the participants' language learning opportunities. At the same time, the longitudinal research design, with its up-close access to the participants' world, through field notes, observation, fieldwork journals, artefacts and audio-recorded interviews (see 3.3), allows me to describe these practices within and across real language learning spaces. Also, SLS implementation in my research design facilitates close descriptions of learners' everyday interactions and the social conditions surrounding their learning (see 3.1.1).

Identifying a case study or phenomenon requires the researcher to specifically identify what they will investigate and draw its boundaries: Merriam (1998) views 'the case as a thing, a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries' (27). For Yin (2002), drawing boundaries is not an issue because researchers have little control over a phenomenon unseparated from its context. Yin avoids delimiting a case; instead, he emphasizes that a case can be drawn from various sources of evidence for triangulation purposes and can benefit from prior development of theoretical propositions guiding the data collection and analysis (Yin, 2002).

For this research design, I favour Yin's definition of a case study rather than Merriam's. The former tends to build more consistency and cohesion within the design components and phases, paying attention to data collection and analysis, the triangulation of evidence and theoretical assumptions—whereas the latter emphasizes separating the case study from its context. My role as an ethnographer invokes the need to be close to both my cases and their contexts without setting boundaries, and I need manifold lines of data collection and analysis and support from theoretical propositions to help me justify my decisions throughout the research

process. There is an aspect of Yin's definition of a case study that describes the researcher as having little control over the intended case. I find this aspect useful in terms of shedding light on my intended participants and their relation to the context where their interactions take place (see 3.1.4).

A case study can focus on a single case or multiple or collective cases, depending on what and where the researcher seeks to investigate. If they are investigating more than a single case in different contexts, implementing multiple or collective cases in the research design allows them to analyse cases within each context and across contexts (Baxter & Jack, 2008). In the current research design, the four cases (i.e. participants' interactions and trajectories) occur in various contexts. The in-depth investigation I planned to conduct must include the nature of participants' interactions in each space they access, including the context itself. Thus, I chose a collective or multiple case study for this research design to address the experiences of the targeted participants and allow for cross-case analysis.

Case study researchers apparently agree on drawing data from multiple sources for their case enquiries within real-life contexts (Yin, 2002). As for data collection methods, an array of options includes observation, interviews, documentation, physical artefacts and archival records (Yin, 2002). I have used most of these methods in my research (3.3). I will discuss the case study perspective on data analysis in section 3.5.

3.1.3 Ethnographic study

Implementing SLS for this study's research design emphasizes the four participants' engagement in social interactions, in terms of constructing, shaping and responding to immediate and macro-level contextual conditions. In other words, SLS focuses on capturing the meaningful social structurings of individuals' practices (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). The emphasis on both engagement in a real context and the capturing of participants' interactions in their entirety requires a prolonged fieldwork design. Therefore, integrating a longitudinal ethnographic study in this research design is relevant to the questions pursued, the researcher's presence in the fieldwork and the overall adoption of SLS.

Ethnography provides researchers with a viable method for real-life description through 'intensive, detailed observation of a setting over a long period of time' (Watson-Gegeo, 1988:583). This study's research design is intended to achieve exploratory descriptive purposes: Namely, to provide a thick description of dynamic social spaces in which language is learned and

used, relying on my persistent presence as an ethnographer. Being an ethnographer has made it feasible to use a wide range of qualitative methods: mainly observation, interviews and recording techniques for audio, visual and textual forms of data.

3.1.4 Multi-sited study

From the early stages of my fieldwork preparation, I aimed to conceptualise my field site in light of both the questions I was investigating and the Saudi female EFL learners' different spaces that I would likely be accessing. I discarded the idea of limiting my enquiry to a single site because I did not want to interfere with where the participants wanted to go; I needed them to be agents. Also, I focused my ethnographic methods further to create itinerant, emergent and attentive ways to extend both spatial and temporal spaces. In other words, I was looking for a way to connect ethnography to my research design. I found this connection in Marcus's (1995) multi-sited ethnography, in which the researcher follows individuals. As Falzon (2009) explains: 'The essence of multi-sited research is to follow people, connections, associations, and relationships across space because they are substantially continuous but spatially non-contiguous' (5). Yet, although Yin (2002) indicates that researchers might have little control over a phenomenon in a case study design, I find that Marcus's (1995) multi-sited ethnography more clearly illustrates how researchers allow a phenomenon to lead them:

> Multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtaposition of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography. (105)

Within this perspective, the research design must allow for both ethnography and the process of following participants to work together. In other words, the meanings of movement can be included in an ethnographic enquiry along with the tools necessary for it. In the case of the current study, Marcus's justification fits within the requirements of my design to integrate ethnography and its purpose (i.e. tracking participants' mobility when accessing various spaces and related choices). Therefore, for an 8-month period, I followed my participants, their stories and actions, in their English trajectories through multiple spaces, whether in formal or informal English learning places, in or outside English classrooms, recording, observing and documenting the ways in which the four agents initiated, took part in and created language-learning opportunities.

To summarise, this study's research design draws on multi-sited studies, SLS, ethnography and case studies; thus, it employs a range of methods to provide the rich data necessary to understand the four female participants and their English learning spaces as socioculturally constructed and those spaces as a site of agency negotiations that may indicate socialised practices of choice. Such a research design allows me to assume the role of a ethnographer in the fieldwork and enables me to bring together participants' learning-space constructs and the emergence of their agency.

3.2 Research participants and settings

Before going through the details of my research fieldwork procedures, I will first introduce the participants, their family backgrounds and the settings where this study took place. Also, I will explain the relation between the participants and the settings. Finally, I will discuss ethical considerations related to the participants' anonymity, data confidentiality and male guardians' approval.

3.2.1 Participants

Four participants were included in this research. Two were from a private secondary school in their final year: Reema and Zenah. The other two were from a preparatory year programme (PYP) at a regional university: Sarah and Enas (see Table 1 for general profiles of the participants).

Table 1

General Profiles of the Research Participants

Name	Reema	Zenah	Sarah	Enas
Age	17	17	19	18
Institution	Private school		PYP	
Educational level	Secondary school; she did her intermediate and primary levels at the same school	Secondary school; she did her intermediate and primary levels at a private international school in Jordan	She did all grade levels at state schools near her home in the region	She did all her grade levels at a private school managed by her mother in the region
In her family	A second-born child with an older brother, a younger sister and two brothers; her older brother was studying in the U.S. for a bachelor's degree in Engineering	A first-born child with two younger brothers and sisters	The youngest of her family, with seven older siblings	The second child in her family, she has a twin brother and two younger siblings
Father's occupation	A retired engineer; in January 2014, he started his own business Education: various degrees from European universities	A diplomat (MA in Criminal Justice)	Worked for the police force for 20 years and passed away when Sarah was 10; as with any Saudi government employee, the government will keep paying his salary until all his male children reach 21 years of age and all his daughters are married	Worked for 8 years in government before managing his own business (MBA in Business Management)
Mother's occupation	A regional education officer. Education: BA in early childhood education (at a Saudi university)	A school teacher (BA/Ed. in Islamic Studies)	Housewife (Primary School Certificate from an adult women's education school)	Owned and managed a private school for girls (BA in Mathematics)

The selection of participants and settings in this research study fits the purpose of the study and its research design. In planning these research settings, I focused on participants' educational levels and then selected the settings. I targeted two educational levels—final secondary school year and university freshman level—because of the significant transformation led by the Ministry of Education through the government's plans for reform (e.g. KASP & PYP).

Also, at these two levels, EFL plays a prominent role in students' academic success and careers, both as a subject in secondary school and as a subject and language of instruction at university (PYP). Another issue related to the participants' age group is the national identity card (ID), which has become obligatory for women at age 16. Saudi women can use their ID cards as identification for public and private service providers (e.g. banks) without the presence of a male guardian.

3.2.2 Settings

In this multi-sited ethnographic case study, the settings included two educational institutions for female students located in one region of Saudi Arabia: a private secondary school and a university PYP (see 3.2.2.1). After recruiting the research participants, I extended the settings to include places suggested and shared by the participants (see 3.2.2.2).

3.2.2.1 Initial settings

The first of the initial settings was in an EFL classroom located in a private secondary school. All the students have fixed modules that are organized by the school administrators. The textbook series *Fly High* is taught in EFL modules. The second initial setting was in an EFL classroom in a PYP at a regional university. In a PYP, English is used as the medium of instruction. Once students have completed their PYP, they are accepted by colleges according to their grade point average (GPA). EFL modules are a significant factor in students' GPAs because they account for four credit hours out of 15 for their cumulative score.

EFL teachers who taught in the two classrooms at the private secondary school and the university PYP were included as data sources.

Table 2

Classroom EFL Teachers in Educational Institutions

Educational institutions	Educational level	EFL teacher(s)	
		1st academic semester	2nd academic semester
Private secondary school	Final year in a secondary school	Ms Sana (Egyptian)	Ms Rawan (Saudi)
PYP	First year in a university-level programme	Ms Laura (British)	

3.2.2.2 Extended settings (following participants)

Integrating multi-sited ethnography into this research design permitted participants to have a vocal role in expanding and organising settings beyond the formal classroom (see 3.1.4). A Participant Information Sheet described the extended settings to the participants (see 3.2.2). They were asked to mention places where they used English outside the classroom and whether they would allow me to accompany them. During our interviews and conversations, I often asked the participants to share their weekend plans if they were going to such places (see 3.3 & 3.3.4). The extended settings included homes, cars, cafés, streets, malls, gyms, restaurants, desert camps, farms, libraries, charity bazaars, photocopy stores and local festivals.

3.2.3 Ethical considerations

Following the research ethics guidelines established by Lancaster University's Code of Practice, I took the following measures:

- This research was reviewed by the chair of the University Research Ethics Committees (UREC; see Appendix A).
- An official covering letter, reviewed by the UREC, was used to access research settings (see Appendix B).
- My information as a researcher and my supervisor's contact details were disclosed in the official covering letter to the participants, as well as the names of the administrations involved in the initial education settings.
- A copy of my research informed consent was translated into Arabic for the participants. They all provided a signed consent form (see Appendix C).
- • I provided a clear explanation in Arabic about the research aims, procedures involved, ethical issues and an assurance of its cultural appropriateness on the Participant Information Sheet The Participant Information Sheet indicated the voluntary nature of the participants' involvement. It explained what I needed from them and what I would do with the information they shared with me. It assured participants of their anonymity and that everything they shared would be held in the strictest confidence (see Appendix D). As part of cultural appropriateness, I sought the approval of the participants' male guardians (see 3.2.4).

- I provided a clear explanation of how I would accompany participants to places of their choice: 'I will accompany you twice a month to a place of your choice, outside the classroom, in which you will use English.'

3.2.4 The male guardians' approval

As a Saudi myself, I was aware that the approval of the participants' male guardians would influence the participants' well-being, particularly because I would be accompanying them outside educational institutions. A clear and accessible information sheet in Arabic was provided to the participants' male guardians (see Appendix E).

3.3 Data collection methods and fieldwork

In this section, I will describe in detail the specific procedures I followed during my fieldwork, from mid-September 2013 to mid-May 2014, in the educational institution settings, and extended settings recommended by the participants. I will cover the procedures of how I gained access to educational settings and extended settings, recruited the research participants, and conducted observations, interviews and conversations. Also, I will describe my approach to taking field notes and making audio recordings using the Livescribe smart-pen application. Finally, I will discuss the process of writing my fieldwork journals and describe the artefacts voluntarily shared by the participants and any other materials I collected during the fieldwork.

3.3.1 Gaining access and acceptance

I obtained a regional endorsement through the Saudi Culture Bureau, which is based in London, for this research study from the administrations of two educational institutions for female students in Saudi Arabia before starting my fieldwork (see a copy of the institutions' permission letters in Appendix F). In the third week of September, I visited the two institutions and spoke to the administration and EFL teaching staff. The secondary school had one class of 18 final year students. I provided Ms Sana, the class EFL teacher, with a copy of the information sheet and talked her through the details (e.g. I obtained her approval for classroom observation and interview schedules for the participants. Find a copy of the Teacher Information Sheet in Appendix G). Then, I handed her a consent form, which she signed (find a copy of the Teacher Consent Form in Appendix H). During the second semester of the academic year, Ms Sana quit her job, Ms Rawan replaced her. I met her and went through the same information sheet and

consent form paperwork.

The second educational institution, a PYP at a regional university, had eight classes (17 to 20 students per class). The administration recommended two classes to choose from. I selected Ms Laura's class because the other class's teacher was a temporary substitute for a woman on maternity leave. In my meeting with Ms Laura, I followed similar procedures to those in Ms Sana's class.

In the two settings, I asked the administrations whether I could book a room to conduct interviews. In each case I was allowed to use the student advisor's office. Generally, my access to these two educational institutions was facilitated for two reasons: I worked as a coordinator for PYP administration before I started working on this research. The private school had a research support agreement with the regional university. Yet, there were institutional paperwork bureaucratic issues to deal with, which were resolved by e-mail and telephone. In general, the three teachers welcomed me and were supportive.

3.3.2 Recruiting procedure issues

I conducted the participant recruiting procedures during the same week I visited the two educational institutions. After talking to the EFL teachers, I went with them to their classes and talked briefly and simply about my research, I explained that I would be doing research during the whole academic year and would like five students to participate in it. During lunch break, I met the interested students in an empty classroom. Again, I introduced the purpose of the study and how I would collect data. I circulated the Participant Information Sheet (i.e. detailed information written in Arabic about the research) to the five students. I gave them enough time to read and understand it. I assured them that the study topic and details about its procedure were all culturally appropriate. Then, I handed them consent forms and asked them to make a decision about their participation. Also, I handed them copies of the research information sheet and letter requesting their male guardians' approval. I explained that approval was needed to confirm their participation. At the end of the week, two male guardians called and asked whether I was taking photos of their daughters, which I confirmed I would not, assuring them of my strict rules relating to privacy and the restricted use of video devices in classrooms and interviews. To some extent the recruiting procedures went smoothly with only minor issues.

3.3.3 Conducting observations, taking field notes, and making audio recordings

During the observations carried out in all settings, I focused on how my participants interacted, whether with the teachers, peers or others (e.g. car drivers, visitors to the art gallery). Also, I observed the physical settings around my participants, where they were standing/ sitting, what they were wearing /using/ texting, and whether, in a particular situation, they responded or did not respond or whether their responses were formed in particular ways or for certain meanings, and so on. In the classroom setting, I usually sat one or two seats from them, whereas when they were in a mall or a beauty centre I usually moved around them, as they were usually in the company of their friends or family members. I used my Livescribe smart-pen application to both record interactions during observation sessions and write down in my field notes what I heard and saw. Example:

> *Ms Rawan stands in front of class and holds a flashcard with her name next to a smiley face symbol. She turned the card around and her e-mail, Twitter and Instagram accounts were written on the back of the card. Zenah and Reema immediately wrote down the information.*
>
> (Fieldnote No. 31, 26 January 2014)

The field notes consisted of personal reflections on what was happening in the field. My written reflections dealt with issues arising from participants interacting with their surroundings. I also took field notes while conducting interviews and observations to mark particular times in the audio recordings to use for reflection (see a screenshot of the Livescribe smart-pen application in Appendix I). For example, I might return to particular instances or aspects that occurred during observations in later interviews or conversations. Also, I used my field notes to create working notes that captured interesting aspects of participants' actions and interactions. These notes were used as starting points to document my personal reflection and to give me a continued sense of myself and awareness of the research (see 3.3.5).

3.3.4 Conducting and recording interviews and conversations

With each participant, I conducted three semi-structured interviews: at the beginning, middle and end of the 2013–14 academic year. Each interview lasted for around one hour, was carried out in the language of the participant's choice, and usually took place in the school advisor's office or in one of the science labs. The focus of each interview was as follows:

- Beginning of the academic year (September 2013): my purpose was to collect the

students' personal information in more detail; English learning experiences (schooling and activities) inside and outside the classroom; English learning preferences and habits; self-created learning opportunities; personal English interests; attitudes, perceptions and choices while learning English; English learning goals; and the relationship of English, if any, to their future career or academic plans. Also, I asked the participants about places where they often used English at the weekend. I asked them about their use of English online (e.g. blogs and microblogs, such as Twitter and Instagram), social networking sites (e.g. Facebook) and instant messaging software tools that enable instant communication through the sending of texts, images and videos (e.g. WhatsApp, Viber).

- Middle of the academic year (February 2014): I used data from my observations and journals for my questions. For example, I asked the participants from the private school about their official complaint about Ms Sana and their expectations of the new class teacher. For the PYP participants, I asked them to reflect on the new students who were being moved into their class.
- End of the academic year (May 2014): In the final interviews, I decided to discuss some topics with the participants, rather than asking questions. For example, I included topics related to their English learning goals and the following year's academic plans, as well as topics based on some anecdotes either shared by the participants in their weekly conversations or relayed by their teachers (see 3.3.3).

All the interviews were in Arabic and English, and I took notes during the sessions. The notes included my instant reflections on what I heard or saw during them (see 3.3.3). As for conducting conversations, I usually spoke with the participants before class, during class, on the way to a new setting (e.g. a café) or whenever I felt the need to understand particular incidents (e.g. Why are you not doing this activity?). Unlike the seemingly fixed numbers for the interviews, I carried out conversations when necessary, for approximately 10–15 minutes, with participants. I often included the topic of extended settings in my conversation. I asked the participants about their weekend plans and whether they were going to a particular place where they usually used English.

I also conducted two semi-structured interviews with the EFL teachers. These were scheduled for around an hour at the beginning and end of the 2013–14 academic year. The first interviews focused on their plans and ideas about teaching English. During the final interviews, I

asked them to reflect on the process and outcomes of their teaching in the three target classrooms and their perspectives on students' autonomous behaviours in their classrooms. My rationale for interviewing the teachers was to have secondary sources for my data collection. These interviews provided me with close descriptive accounts of my participants, particularly when I noticed that the participants shared many details with their teachers. For example, in Mrs Rawan's Instagram account, there was an old photo posted of when she lived in the United States. Zenah had liked and commented on it, writing, 'Missing the old times?'

The interviews were recorded on a Sony digital audio recorder and a Livescribe smart-pen and downloaded to my security-protected laptop. I did not have any technical problems with the recordings nor were any of the conversations deleted or mis-recorded. From an ethical perspective, the participants were told about the audio recording of sessions on the Participant Information Sheet, and their consent for recording was also taken via the written Informed Consent, which they read and signed prior to the commencement of the investigation. I checked the quality of the recording right after the first session and found it to be good. In addition, I created a detailed catalogue of the recordings, which served as identity tags: who (participant), when (time and date), where (place), what (a summary of the content with keywords) and a numerical code. The notes were helpful for creating a data archive.

3.3.5 Writing fieldwork journals

As I mentioned about research field notes in (3.3.3), I used these notes to start my entries in my fieldwork. I regularly had two to three journal entries per month. I regularly sat and looked through my field notes to generate ideas describing my impressions and thoughts. At the end of my entries, I summarized my writing thus:

- Decision guidelines; e.g. my decision to cut the participant numbers.
- Investigation guidelines; e.g. asking one participant to record her spring break in the United States. Also, I used some guidelines to shape my questions' focus.

Writing the journals and adding personal accounts was very helpful in reconstructing parts of the fieldwork and rethinking my research experiences. After my first five journal entries, I started to create some codes and develop memos to identify them. Later, during the analysis phase, I used my diary to enrich the findings and complement the data gathered (see 3.5).

3.3.6 Collecting materials and artefacts from fieldwork

The materials collected included photographs I took of the research educational settings and the extended settings where I accompanied the participants, e.g. photos taken inside the school prayer room showing posters on the walls and furniture and photos taken while queuing for a coffee in Starbuck's, showing a 'women only' sign. Also, I scanned some of the participants' textbooks and notes. The participants voluntarily shared their artefacts and screenshots from their mobile phones and computers showing text messages, Instagram likes, tweets and e-mails. They also voluntarily shared photographs and video and audio recordings. For example, a screenshot from one of the participants' phones of her Whatsapp chat with her driver, photos from her spring break, audio recordings from her morning conversations with the family driver, and a video recording made while teaching English to her younger siblings. The data gathered from fieldwork and voluntarily shared visual and audio data from the participants were a very useful complementary resource for other parts of the fieldwork. Yet, the process of taking a photo during the fieldwork was not always smooth, particularly after I received calls from two of my participants' male guardians asking whether I was taking photos of their daughters. I was always careful to make sure that the participants were not in any of the photos taken.

3.4 My Role in the fieldwork

I previously discussed knowledge, experiences, interests, emotions and support that are parts of my self-perception as an ethnographer (see 1.3). My self-perception did not continue while conducting my fieldwork and then returning home with my data after the first month. Along with my fieldwork self, there was an inner struggle, knowing that I was a novice ethnographer overwhelmed by my own presence and responsibilities engaging simultaneously. I was questioning my movements (where I stood, where I sat, where I placed my Sony audio recorder on the table), my methods (was I controlling participants with my attempts to keep them focused on the topic of the question during interviews?), and my ethics when following participants into places that were unknown to me. In other words, I was questioning my role as an ethnographer—whether I would be able to see what was happening in the field through ethnographic eyes.

These doubts dissipated more and more when I started to keep fieldwork journals (see 3.3.5). Each journal entry strengthened my sense of balance and made me acutely aware of my

stance and how I practically reconstructed my personal insights and my participants' voices. Yet, at that point, I could not see the connections between what was occurring in the field and my research. There was something in me that was filtering what I thought had taken place. I needed to be more open-minded and flexible. I needed to forget about the right way to do things.

In January 2014, I flew to Lancaster for a few days to see my supervisor. I wanted to step out of the field and think aloud. I shared my worries with her, I told her I could not get close to my participants. I complained that they did not share enough materials. I told her about some faith issues that I did not want to include in my research because I thought they were sensitive. My supervisor's advice was to be patient and keep writing in my journals. She reminded me that it was my research, and I was the person to decide the limits of my own perceptions.

I returned to my fieldwork with a fresher, more positive sense of my role. The inner struggle and breakdown I was going through could be related to what Agar (2009) refers to as 'rich points'. 'When a rich point occurs, an ethnographer learns that his or her assumptions about how the world works, which are usually implicit and out of awareness, are inadequate to understand something that has happened' (115). Yet, Agar values ethnographers encountering such points because they can be counted as raw ethnographic material. Again, writing in my fieldwork journal, particularly the summaries at the end of each entry, which included my suggestions for forthcoming fieldwork visits, investigating key issues and my research focus helped me to constantly review certain elements of my research design, such as my methods and the number of participants. Hence, my role in the field was more than being an observer; it was about making sense of what my participants were experiencing—for myself and others. Even when leaving the field and returning home, I had to keep that role while translating it and blurring the personal voice and conceptual resources in my fieldwork journals.

3.5 Preparing raw data and methods of analysis

In this section, I will begin by identifying my cases, related data and other complementary data. I will explain my decisions about when and how to translate and transcribe the data. I then move on to describe my analysis process using NVivo10 software and coding in light of the discussion of second language socialisation and the concepts of choice and agency and implying methodological components of the research design.

3.5.1 Deciding on cases, cutting participant and setting numbers

Initially, I started my fieldwork with six cases and three educational settings. I decided to refer to each participant as a case, and I arranged my data accordingly. That is, each case included one participant's data: descriptions of her profile, conversations, interviews, documents, and field notes of naturally occurring interactions across all settings. I then added reflections from my fieldwork journals to each case. I organised all the data chronologically according to their context and collection method. This arrangement was helpful in attaching meaningful unity to my role as an ethnographer making sense of what I was observing in the field. The process of sorting out cases started in the first month of data collection. At the end of my data collection, I decided to select four case studies from the six initial studies. My decision to exclude the final two cases was for ethical reasons, because explaining them would compromise the identities of those two participants and their families. See Appendix J for a summary of the data drawn on in this thesis.

3.5.2 Preliminary manual analysis

I conducted several preliminary manual analysis processes while collecting the data. I noted down data that dealt with language learning opportunities, particularly if the opportunity involved using English in/through a context or purpose. Many times, I came across such data while writing up my fieldwork journal. I checked interviews and observations for any similar occurrences or events. When I found related data, I selected portions of them to transcribe. I dealt with these data by generating questions for interviews and conversations to give me insights into these occurrences and events by asking participants what they were about. These preliminary processes helped me to decide which parts of the data to include and transcribe for the analysis.

3.5.3 Data translation and transcribing

I am aware that translation involves more than finding equivalent words, particularly when translating social interaction occurring in a particular situation and implicitly carrying cultural values or feelings (Esposito, 2001). Thus, I was very careful as to which parts I translated, keeping most of the data in Arabic and only translating and transcribing examples cited in the thesis. Also, I kept my audio recordings in their audio format because NVivo10

software, which I chose for my data analysis, can support this format without the need for a written one.

3.5.4 Using NVivo 10

Due to the varied and substantial fieldwork-based data collected, I decided to use NVivo 10 for Windows to help me manage my analysis (see Appendix K). Also, the Livescribe Smart-pen application, which I used for my written and audio field notes, is supported by NVivo 10. Thus, I did not need to convert my audio files to a written format. I uploaded my data to NVivo 10, starting with data files according to their collection method (interviews, conversations, observations) in various formats (audio, PDF, images, videos, texts). I used the 'Settings' tool to upload my four participants' profiles (cases) and electronically connected each data file to its corresponding case.

3.5.5 Data analysis stages

I conducted the data analysis in a 4-stage sequence (see Fig. 3.1): generating codes, analysing each case study, analysing cross-paired cases, (cross-case analysis within settings), and analysing across all cases (cross-case analysis across settings).

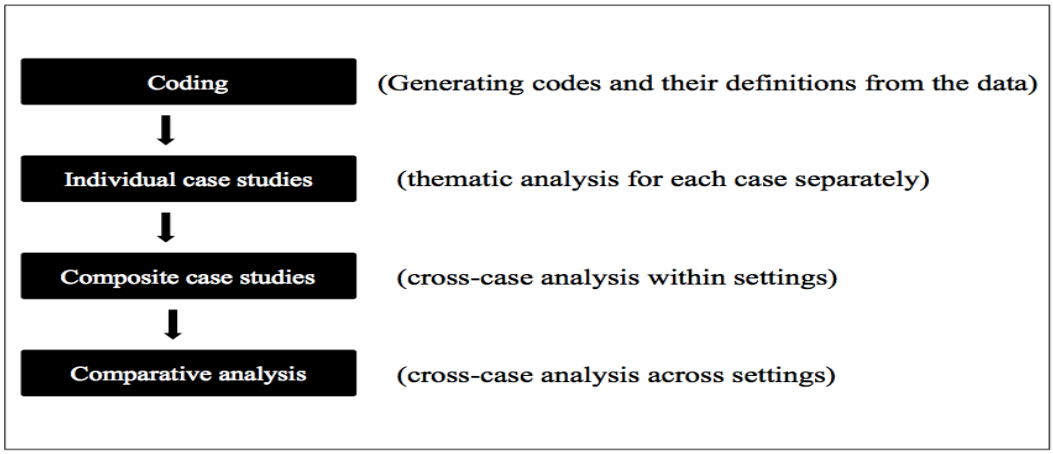


Figure 1 Data analysis stages

***Coding*.** In this stage, I had two objectives: comprehending and synthesising. During the process I read through the data for each participant three times.

In the first reading I assigned codes to goals, choices of extended settings and interlocutors in relation to their natural data (textual, verbal, observable) that occurred in these settings. I coded their devising ways to realise their language learning, using goals and ambitions in life, in both

the short term and the long term. In a second reading of the data, I coded how each participant managed language learning opportunities while negotiating various levels of risk, focusing on her acting and actions (high risk, low risk, resisting, accessing). I used where, what and how questions to categorise the data (Saldana, 2009). In my third reading, I looked through each the participants' data and tried to make connections between their language use and beliefs (permissible vs not permissible), use of resources, right to speech and opinions about society. In addition, I engaged in what Saldana refers to as 'Affective coding' which allows me to code how participants articulated their emotions in relation to their language learning experiences across spaces.

Individual case studies (thematic analysis). Working on each case individually, I started to group together codes that reflected similar properties into categories. I attempted to describe these categories further, into initial extended thematic statements, allowing the themes to surface directly from the raw data.

Composite case studies. I conducted further levels of analysis in order to identify similarities and differences among emerging themes. I started by pairing each two cases that shared the same formal setting. I compared their themes, identifying their connections to contextual features and any issues that supported or departed from them.

Comparative case studies. I conducted further levels of analysis across the four cases by bring all the previous paired-case analysis focusing on major themes and their related issues.

3.6 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness refers to research value in terms of believing that qualitative research findings are trustworthy (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 1986). This refers to ensuring the analysis is based on the research participants' experiences of language learning opportunities that they took part in, initiated and shaped. The prolonged engagement of my role as an ethnographer for this 8-month ethnographic case study, initiated in mid-September 2013 and completed in mid-May 2014, contributes to enhancing the credibility of the study. Also, I employed various methods for data collection: interviews and conversations, observation, making field notes in fieldwork journals, gathering documents, photographs and artefacts. These methods enabled me to compare my personal reflections with what I observed in the fieldwork.

Chapter 4: Private secondary school paired-case analysis and presentation of findings

4.0 Introduction

In alignment with this research's multi-sited case study methodological design for capturing language experiences uniquely embedded in its four cases, I present the first of two paired-case analyses of my participants Reema and Zenah, who are at the same stage of their education. In the first and second sections of this chapter, I separately introduce Reema and Zenah as individual cases, highlighting their respective formal and informal learning contexts, in which I follow each of them from mid-September 2013 until the end of May 2014. In the third section, I bring the private school paired cases together to determine emergent issues and characteristics that may either limit or enhance English learning opportunities. Finally, I conclude this chapter with a summary reviewing the most significant issues raised and findings made in the paired-case analyses of Reema and Zenah.

4.1 Case 1: Reema

In this section, I first introduce Reema's background and examine how her family's decision and consideration regarding English education have impacted on Reema's language experiences at home and in her schooling and career plans by analysing interview data, shared artefacts and observations. Then, I reveal a number of formal and informal learning contexts through which I follow Reema, outlining related events that occur in those contexts.

4.1.1 Home and related events

4.1.1.1 Family and household

Reema's parents, three brothers and one sister have lived most of their lives in the same region. Both of her parents have university degrees and stable careers. Table 3 provides information about Reema's family and her profile. Her parents are cousins who both value the family name, which is also their tribe's name. Her father is the eldest among her uncles. He regularly invites his male relatives, who live nearby, for lunch after Friday prayers. Reema's father always shares some of what he and his relatives discuss during their lunches with his

children and talks with them about the importance of tribal values, such as respect for tribal traditions and the need to honour the family name and protect its reputation.

Table 3

General Profile of Case 1's Participant

Name	Reema
Age	17
Institution	Private school
Educational level	Secondary school: she did her intermediate and primary levels at the same school
In her family	A second-born child with an older brother (20), a younger sister (7) and two younger brothers (12 & 9) Her older brother is studying in the U.S. for a bachelor's degree in Engineering
Father's occupation	A retired engineer; in January 2014, he started his own business Education: various degrees from European universities
Mother's occupation	A regional education officer. Education: BA in Early Childhood Education (a Saudi university)

Reema's parents are keen on their children's education, particularly with regard to learning English. All the children attend private schools that teach English from kindergarten until final secondary year. The parents also take care to arrange private male and female tutors whenever their children need support, especially before school final exams. Reema attended the same private school for girls for 12 years. She completed 1 year of kindergarten, 6 years of primary school, 3 years of intermediate school and 2 years of secondary education. In the autumn of 2013 when she participated in my research, she was starting her third and final secondary year. Her school was one of the first private schools established in the region. Reema's sister attends a new private international school for girls that offers English-medium kindergarten and primary education levels. Reema's two young brothers attend another new private international school for boys.

In terms of future career plans, Reema's parents emphasize that getting a university degree with career prospects is the most important goal after their sons or daughters finish secondary school. Reema's older brother finished his secondary school education in 2010 and joined the King Abdullah Scholarship Program (KASP) in the United States. Both parents support KASP and want their daughter, Reema, to follow in her brother's footsteps. For this

reason, Reema's father arranged a trip to Boston for her to visit her brother's home and campus during her school spring break in March 2014 (see 4.1.1.3, Reema's guardian and future plans).

Reema's family's household has two employees: a female domestic worker, Maina, from Kenya and a male chauffeur, Dave, from the Philippines. Maina, who has worked for the family for three years, lives in Reema's family's house, whereas Dave, who has worked for the family for two years, lives in a one-room studio added to the house's garage. Both employees speak English, which Reema's mother requires for employment. In addition to her household duties, 37-year-old Maina helps Reema's younger siblings with their homework. At home, Reema used to socialise with Maina, but in July 2012 Reema's mother requested her to be more formal with Maina after hearing in the local news about a number of violent incidents committed by African domestic workers against children. Another person to whom Reema talks is Dave, who is responsible for driving Reema to school every day (see 4.1.1.5, Driven to school).

The descriptions of Reema's family and home show that her parents' choices for their children's education and their plans for the children's future careers directly prioritise English language learning. They choose private schools that, presumably, have certain advantages over state schools and focus on English learning by providing more exposure to English language input. They also value lived language experience and thus arrange for trips abroad, where their children, in this case Reema, can live in an English-speaking context. Even their language requirements for their household employees include facilitating English socialisation at home. These choices, considerations and trip arrangements prepare their children, they hope, to attend KASP one day. However, Reema father's tribal status among his relatives could conflict with his arrangements for Reema's trips abroad (see 4.1.1.3, Reema's guardian and future plans).

4.1.1.2 Reema's English learning

Because she had the advantage of studying in a private school, Reema began studying English at the age of 5. Her father significantly influenced her English language development by talking with her in English at home. English provided a father-daughter bond through their shared humour about her mother's cooking: 'Dad says to mom, "Umm. Your cooking is *taste*—" and turns to me and says *less* and we laugh!' (Reema, personal communication interview, 4 October 2013). Also, Reema shares with her father an interest in motivational and inspirational quotes. For example, on the wall of her bedroom at home, which she shares with her 8-year-old sister, she has a selection of English and Arabic posters with quotes from Kahlil Gibran,

Confucius, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Muhammad Ali. Next to the quotation posters are music album posters for international singers such as Fairuz, Rihanna and Chris Brown. She sometimes saves English song lyrics, particularly new songs, in her iPhone and iPad to help her sing with her friends and be the 'cool girl who knows what's trending' at their girls' parties (Reema, personal communication interview, 4 October 2013). For a hobby, Reema likes photography and graphic design. She usually attaches some of her photos to her tweets, particularly those written in English (see 4.1.3.1, The city mall and cafés). Another of her hobbies is volunteering for local charity activities, usually translating for foreign visitors (see 4.1.3.2, The charity bazaar). Reema does not describe speaking English as a primary goal with regard to her use of social media, hobbies and relationships. Rather, her use of English is entwined with her personal and social interests.

4.1.1.3 Reema's guardian and future plans

In her initial reflections, Reema reported that she was not particularly interested in English at the beginning. This all changed at the age of 14 when her brother started his undergraduate studies in the United States, after he was accepted by KASP. Reema reported that she was excited that her parents would strongly support her enrolment in KASP after she finished her secondary education, but she also expressed her uncertainty about how travelling and living with her brother in Boston would work.

Reema's father arranged a trip to Boston for her to visit her brother's home and campus in March 2014. Her parents'—practically speaking her father's—decisions about Reema joining KASP in October 2014 involved assigning the guardian role to her brother during the upcoming spring break trip so that both Reema and her brother would be culturally and tribally ready for their respective schools in October 2014. Her parents' plans for assigning the guardian role required Reema's brother to come home in February and take Reema with him when he returned to his university in Boston. They expected Reema to live with him so that he would be her male guardian, and thus protect and take care of her.

As Reema's upcoming March 2014 trip to Boston approached, her brother told the family that he would not be able to travel home because he was studying for important exams. Reema suggested that her father allow her to travel by herself. Her suggestion prompted her father to call her idea of travelling alone a strong violation of the family's tribal values. Her father expressed his concern over the opinions of his brothers and other relatives from his tribe if he

allowed his daughter to travel unprotected. Her mother intervened to soften Reema's father response and calm Reema down by telling her to go ahead with her plans, assuring her that her brother would carry out his guardian's responsibility moderately when she arrived in Boston. While considering her decision, Reema tried to find spiritual refuge in an *istikhara* prayer: 'I'm not sure. Whenever we discuss this I tell them I need to say my istikhara prayer first' (personal communication, 10 February 2014). The istikhara refers to a type of a prayer Muslims say to help them think spiritually about their final decisions. Reema's explanation reveals her struggle:

> I know they will support me, especially mom, who always tells me I say my istikhara payer, but I'll still be going to Boston. This is my life. I'll be the one who is learning and using English, not my brother. I'm not sure how. I just want to make sure that I'm strong enough to go there and live this sort of life. (personal communication, 10 February 2014).

Three days before the Saudi school spring break, I met Reema in a café. She looked happy and eager to share something with me. She opened her blue shoulder bag and showed me a passport with a document clipped to it. It was her passport, and the document was a printed page from the *Abshir*[3] website. It showed a checked option button next to Reema's full name and two date fields (from 15 March to 15 April 2014). Reema's father gave her the document to show her that she had permission to travel by herself to Boston: he himself completed the permission process online. Reema explained that she thought that either her mother had convinced her father or that her father had convinced himself that Reema could protect herself. She joked about her surprise: 'I don't believe, myself, that I have both [referring to the passport and the permission to travel]. I think all that kneeling and prostrating in my prayers made him trust me or that he trusted my English tongue!' (personal communication, 13 March 2014).

Reema's family's decision-making process for her future plans takes into account family tribal values and the transition of the role of guardian from father to brother. Yet, Reema's temporary guardian permission for her Boston trip in March 2014 reveals her parents' tendency to overlook family tribal values and indicates their continuous support for her future. However, because the guardianship is temporary and Reema does not want her brother to be her guardian

[3] Abshir is a Saudi Ministry of Interior website that handles issuing and renewing passports and visa services.

when she goes to study in Boston, she is likely to raise it as an issue after she returns home (see 4.1.1.4, Travelling abroad).

4.1.1.4 Travelling abroad

Before I began my data collection, Reema had spent some time in Dubai with her family during two summer holidays in 2012 and 2013. She was in charge of planning for the trip, which included flight and hotel bookings and arranging shopping and fun activities. She also told me that she was her family's translator because her older brother was not there during these trips.

During my data collection period, she shared with me her excitement at her upcoming March 2014 spring break trip to Boston to visit her brother and his campus. Although I was unable to follow Reema physically throughout her 7-day trip to Boston, her Instagram, Snapchat and WhatsApp applications provided me with access to her daily whereabouts. Daily, I followed her comments, status and geotagged photos on these applications, marking the locations and the type of transportation involved, if any:

- 17 March 2014: Reema posted three photos from her brother's university campus on Instagram with a comment saying, 'My bro is giving me a tour' with a heart emoji. She posted a video showing someone's feet walking, with the comment 'I'm following the expert' with a nerd face emoji.
- 18 March 2014: Reema posted two street photos and another photo from a café. She posted a video showing a menu board on a wall and part of some graffiti art next to the board. She posted a video from Boston Common Park.
- 19 March 2014: She posted photos of Piers Park, the Boston Public Garden, streets, the subway, cafés, houses and the interiors of two empty flats with information about their locations.
- 21 March 2014: She posted a photo from inside a train with the comment 'From #Boston #SouthStation to #PennStation #NYC Yes to NY! Should be fun!'
- 22 March 2014: She posted a photo taken inside an empty flat[4] with the comment 'Home sweet home :) My place Oct 2014!! #Icandoit #girlpower #citylife.'

[4] The flat photo was one of the two photos of empty flats that she took on March 19.

Reema's daily photos and video posts streaming from different places in Boston indicated that she had become an active agent for her own whereabouts and began to actively shape her upcoming October 2014 independence.

I had a chance to hear Reema's reflections on her Boston trip during our third interview, in which she confidently opened her phone to show me photos of places she had visited in Boston. While her index figure flicked from photo to photo, she stopped at a photo showing a park. 'This is in Boston Common,' she said. She described the streets she walked along in her 45-minute walk from her brother's campus to the park using Google Maps and her interactions with two people on the way, whom she asked for directions. There was no photo of her brother's flat. She commented, 'I didn't like his flat or its building.' She explained that his neighbours are all male Saudi students: 'I told my father that my brother was staying in a flat in a building and that all his neighbours were Saudi guys' (personal communication, 7 April 2014). She expected her father to be more supportive this time by allowing her to select a different place than her brother's in which to live. But she was still unsure of her father's response and had begun to form another plan for her living arrangements in October 2014:

> Right now my plan is to say 'Yes' to my family to go there (i.e. Boston), and there I'll convince my brother to allow me to move from his place to a place of my own. They are my dreams. They are going to come true because I'm a strong believer in Allah's ability! (Reema, personal communication/ interview, 2 May 2014)

Once again, decisions about Reema's future plans for October 2014 raised the guardian permission issue. However, this time it arose after Reema was exposed to a 7-day language socialisation experience in an environment that was more culturally liberated than her home region.

4.1.1.5 Driven to school

I arrive at Reema's house, early in the morning, where I meet her outside her house by the garage door. We walk together, inside, where Dave is waiting in the car. Reema opens the left rear door and I walk over to the right rear one. Setting next to her on the back seat and behind the tinted windows shielding us from the eyes of the outside world, I observe the female space we are creating in the back. After Reema introduces Dave and I, she says that most

mornings she spends about 10–13 minutes conversing with Dave while going to school. From her seat in the back, she usually starts the interaction with morning greetings:

Reema: Good morning, Dave. Are we late?

D: Good morning, madam. No, madam. It's 7:33.

Reema: OK. Good…

(transcribed recorded conversation, 10 November 2013)

She continues to tell him in English that she has a late class today and that she will probably finish by 3:30 p.m. She tells me that Dave is helping her with her blog project.

Reema: Excuse me, Dave. I'll see my classmates before class to plan our blog post for next week. I told you I want to write about you and your life in Saudi?

(transcribed recorded conversation, 10 November 2013)

Reema clearly reminded Dave, the driver, about her earlier request for help with her blog project. She talked to him as a resource for the blog material she needed. As they continue their interaction, the conversation turns to more personal matters. Dave previously shared his daughter's photos with Reema. Now, she is expressing some affection for his baby girl's photo and being away from her.

D: Yes, madam. Thank you … I sent you my little girl's photo. Faye...

Reema: Yes, yes. She is so cute, Dave. How can you leave home and stay here, away from Faye?

D: [laughs]…

Reema: How much do you miss your baby girl?

D: …Oh, so much. The good thing is I'm going see my family in December.

(transcribed recorded conversation, 10 November 2013)

Suddenly, Reema immediately diverts the conversation, taking it back to the purpose she declared previously, i.e. the photo for the blog post.

Reema: Good. Alhamdullah. I'm happy for you. Remember to take many photos on your travels and many photos of your home. I want those for my blog.

D: OK, madam. Shall I send with WhatsApp?

Reema: Yes. Like Faye's photos. You're travelling in December, OK.

D: OK, madam.

Reema: What date?

D: 18 December, Wednesday, madam.

Reema: So, on that Wednesday you take photos of the plane or the airport or the people you see. And when you arrive there, you take photos of your house, streets, market, family. And you send me the photos and you tell me about them.

D: OK, madam. No problem.

(transcribed recorded conversation, 10 November 2013)

In around 18 minutes, with average traffic on the way, we reach the school where Dave carefully stops the car, lining up the car's back door with the school's main gate (4.1.2.1 The private school). Two days later, Reema and I meet for a chat. She explains that she is aware of how to manage the relation with Dave:

> He [the driver] is not a family member. I can't talk to him about everything as I do with my friends. I talk to him about general topics and also I'm polite when I ask about his family and new baby [showing me a baby photo she received via WhatsApp.]
>
> (personal communication, 12 November 2013)

Reema becomes an active agent, steering the interaction, giving instructions about the types of photos she wants. The explicit communication in English that takes place in the car not only serves the purpose of Reema's personal blog post, it also instructs Dave regarding what he will do in his personal time. Additionally, in her comment in which she refers to Dave as 'not a family member' and herself being 'polite', this indicates her ways that exceed maintaining an employer-employee relation by positioning who is the servant and who is the master. In other words, who is sitting on the back seat behind the tinted windows and who is behind the steering wheel. However, she struggles with balancing potential language opportunities and her expectations of herself.

4.1.2 Formal contexts and related events

This is the second sub-section of Reema's case study. I examine the private school, the classroom and related events. A common characteristic of these contexts is that they are all located in women-only spaces (see 3.5.3 women-only spaces).

4.1.2.1 The private school

The school, which offers primary, intermediate and secondary education, is located on a campus that consists of three main three-storey rented buildings surrounded by 220 cm high opaque concrete walls, extended vertically, with a 210 cm high grey aluminium wall isolating the school from neighbouring houses. The campus's light green metal gate is in the centre of the eastern wall. To the left of the gate is a small room with a big window. Through the window you can see the school's security guard monitoring the parking area beyond the pavement. The students arrive in cars and vans, mostly driven by Asian chauffeurs from India, the Philippines and Indonesia, but occasionally by male relatives, usually fathers or brothers. They arrive in black abayas with their faces covered by a black veil. Once they pass through the school campus's gate, they take off their abayas and veils, fold them and put them in their schoolbags. Some students put theirs in black cloth bags and others use high street shopping bags, such as *H & M* and *Mango*. The students check their appearance in their small mirrors, fix their hair, put on lip balm and quickly spray on some perfume. The school has a strict dress code, expecting all students to be fully covered in their black abaya and veil outside the campus, whereas on campus they need to wear their uniforms and avoid high heels and platform shoe.

With long dark red skirts, white and red striped long-sleeved blouses and trainers and flat shoes, Reema and other secondary-level students carry their bags and walk across the basketball field towards Building No. 3, where secondary level classes are located. Inside that building, I walk through a large hall where I see sets of blue sofas and chairs for school visitors. Near the chairs, there is reception desk with two secretaries. Bulletin boards behind the secretaries display the school's new campus project. Opposite the reception desk, a staircase with glass railing takes the students to their classes on the first and second floors of the building. To the immediate left of the staircase is a hallway that opens onto the science labs.

The school policy does not permit using the classroom wall space. The school has an exhibition hall in Building No. 1, where the school principal's office is located, which is open throughout the school's academic semesters for school staff, students and visitors. Students can design and display their posters in the exhibition hall when their teachers ask them to do so. The students' canteen is located in the main hall of Building No. 2.

4.1.2.2 The classroom

The classroom sits to the left of the staircase. It has clean white walls, fibreglass ceiling tiles, two big glass windows and an off-white marble floor. Parallel to the windows, across the front of the classroom, is a whiteboard (4300mm x 2200mm). There are 17 students in the class sitting on blue chairs with attached desks (see Appendix L). There is a small noticeboard (500mm x 300mm) by the door. Opposite the door, across the front of the classroom, a white 'L' shape office desk is aligned in such a way that it fits in the corner of the room. A black office chair with wheels is next to the white desk. Pencils and colourful markers are placed in a grey plastic box on the desk.

Reema and her 16 classmates take all their subjects in the same classroom. Teachers for each subject come to the class and deliver their lessons, except for science subjects, such as biology, chemistry and physics. For those the students go downstairs to the labs. English is taught in four 45-minute classes per week. During the time of this research, Reema was taught by two English teachers: Ms Sana and Ms Rawan, in the first and second semesters, respectively.

4.1.2.3 Being the students' representative

Reema is her class's student representative. She was elected to this role by her teachers and classmates. Her role required her to meet other classes' representatives to organise school events and open-day activities. Additionally, her role required her to attend the first 15 minutes of school board monthly meetings. Also, she could set up appointments to see the principal without going through her advisor. The school's principal commented that Reema took her role seriously and always came to meetings with a well-planned agenda.

In Reema's preparation for the school board's second monthly meeting, she put up a notice for her classmates on the class's small noticeboard by the door. She was asking them to meet her in the school canteen to discuss an urgent issue relating to their upcoming midterm exams. I was allowed to attend their meeting in the canteen:

I see Reema asking two students to tell the others that the meeting is going to start in 10 minutes in the canteen, because their maths class is cancelled. I wave to Reema to catch her attention. I ask whether she minds me being present in the meeting. She agrees and we walk

together to Building No 1. The canteen is quiet. Only Reema and 12 of her classmates are there. The students sit around a table while Reema remains standing. She starts the meeting by apologising that the issue on the noticeboard has nothing to do with their upcoming midterm exams. She explains that the issue is related to their English teacher, Ms Sana (see 4.1.2.4 Ms Sana's class), refusing to let students do a play in English and restricting their essay writing to topics in their coursebooks. Reema's voice gets louder as she recalls particular incidents which she and the students previously encountered in Ms Sana's class:

> Student A: But she gave the whole class full marks!
>
> Reema: We do get full marks but don't learn anything? And she doesn't allow us to do fun stuff!
>
> Student B: You mean the play?
>
> Reema: Yes. The play. The radio programme we wanted to do, too.
>
> Student B: She doesn't understand our *kususia* [Saudi privacy] and the principal doesn't help her.
>
> Reema: Uff! I know. She has all these unnecessary rules! [Imitating Ms Sana's Egyptian accent] Oh that'll break the rules. Ms Jehan [the principal] won't like that! Uff, uff! OMG! She is turning us into a Saudi *qeria* [small village] class! [The students laugh]
>
> (Translated interactions, 20 October 2013)

Reema writes down the students' concerns about Ms Sana. She reads the list and asks if they want to change it or add other concerns. Five students ask Reema not to put their names in a complaint if she wants to write one. Reema looks at the five students as they walk out of the canteen and shakes her head. Reema asks the remaining students to listen to the introductory part of the complaint: *'As a representative of my class before the school board, it is my duty to report my class's dissatisfaction with our English teacher, Ms Sana'*. She stops reading to tell the students she is not putting names in the complaint. The students look at each other and smile.

Reema described Ms Sana's way of managing English activities as like being 'inside a mini Saudi Arabia', with 'unnecessary' boundaries, in reference to some of the rules Ms Sana applied in class, not allowing a student to play a male role in a play and restricting essay writing to coursebook topics. Yet, Reema acknowledged that Ms Sana, like many foreigners in Saudi Arabia, had a fear of cultural sensitivity or misunderstood the difference between a female's behaviour in public and in a female-only space, as in the case of their school.

4.1.2.4 Ms Sana's class

Ms Sana is a female middle-aged Egyptian teacher of English who has a BA degree in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teaching. She has nine years' teaching experience in Egypt, though teaching Reema's class during the first semester is her first teaching experience in the Saudi region. She always wears a long black skirt, long-sleeved white blouse and black jacket, and her hair is pulled back in a bun.

Reema's name was mentioned in my first interview with Ms Sana (October 2013). The school principal informed Ms Sana that she had had a complaint about her teaching from secondary level students. The complaint was handed by their class's student representative. It described Ms Sana's class as a boring place, and her explanations and instruction were unclear and difficult to follow. Ms Sana, commenting on her situation, said all her teaching methods were highly curriculum-centred and closely tied to the educational institution's policy (the private school's regulations, which are usually delivered verbally by the school principal):

> I don't have a full contract with this school. I know students are complaining, but at the same time I don't want to upset the school administration. I try to be socially and religiously cautious. But that is difficult for me sometimes because I don't understand everything in the Saudi context. I follow the school rules and the curriculum on every point.
>
> (Ms Sana, personal communication interview, 4 October 2013)

During Ms Sana's class time, she waits 2–3 minutes outside the class to allow the students to prepare. The students keep chatting in Arabic. She enters and places her coursebook and brown notebook on the L-shaped desk in the corner. She greets them in a quiet voice and moves to the whiteboard to write unit and lesson numbers. She asks the students to take out their homework. She asks them to check each other's work for the correct answers. The students do not follow her instruction. Three students at the back ask Reema to show them her homework. They take her notebook and start copying the answers. Ms Sana asks the students if they want her to check their answers. Not receiving a reply, she quickly moves to the new lesson by listing new words on the whiteboard and explaining their meaning using photos in the coursebook. Suddenly, a student

raises her hand and tells Ms Sana that she is confused about the meaning of ‘craft’. Ms Sana asks another student (see Zenah’s case) to explain.

For their group work activity, Ms Sana asks the students to look at page 16 and work in groups. She does not interfere with how the students form their groups. The students start forming groups, pulling their chairs across the classroom. I see three groups. An 8-student group pull their chairs to the back of the class, placing their chairs next to each other. A 4-student group by the window lean in on their seats towards the students either in front of or behind them. A group of two students have chairs that remain unmoved. Reema is one of the two students. Ms Sana repeats the instruction: ‘Girls open your coursebook at page16 and work together. Do you need my help? [pointing to the group at the back of the class]’.

I can hear the students at the back talking loudly in Arabic. A student from the group by the window walks across the classroom and shows the two-student group her answers. Reema points out two mistakes in her answers. The student shakes her head and whispers in Arabic, ‘I don’t understand.’ The student next to Reema starts explaining the activity instruction. Reema reminds the two students about their English teacher last year and how her class was fun and useful.

Reema perceived Ms Sana’s class as a limited language resource because of her traditional teaching methods. She obviously disliked Ms Sana’s class. She vocally expressed her frustration with Ms Sana in her first interview, when asked about her current classroom English learning experience: ‘Ms Sana is only using this [holding the coursebook] and doesn’t allow us to use anything else. She is so boring because she spends a lot of time explaining grammar and repeating vocabulary over and over. No one is paying any attention!’ (Personal communication, 12 September 2013). Reema’s resistance was demonstrated outside the class and involved someone, the school principal, whose higher level of power could help to remove Ms Sana from the class. Even before going to the school principal, Reema utilized her status of being the class representative to pursue her wish to remove Ms Sana. Her expectations of what a language teacher should offer were not met in Ms Sana’s class. The school, however, decided to keep Ms Sana and discuss her replacement at the end of the semester. The resistance Reema demonstrated towards Ms Sana could be connected to her sense of responsibility as the class representative. Another possible interpretation could be her becoming active agent in her language socialisation, e.g. becoming an agent of change in her English socialisation inside the family car.

4.1.2.5 Ms Rawan's class

When the private school resumed in the second semester, after the break, Reema and the students in the English class were excited by the news that Ms Sana had been replaced by a new English teacher called Ms Rawan. It was the third day of the second semester (26 January 2014) when she arrived at Reema's class and introduced herself. Ms Rawan stood in front of the class and held a flashcard with her name next to a smiley face symbol. She turned the card around and showed her school email address written on the back of card. Reema immediately wrote down the information. Reema, with a big smile, asked Ms Rawan if it was okay to have her Twitter and Instagram account details. Another two students whispered, 'Please! Please Ms.' Ms Rawan took a blue marker and wrote down her Twitter and Instagram account details on the whiteboard.

After class, Reema asked whether I knew that Ms Rawan was a Saudi woman who studied and lived in the USA for four years. Reema mentioned that Ms Rawan promised the class to share some personal stories about her adventures and life in America.

Ms Rawan is a 28-year-old female Saudi teacher of English who replaced Ms Sana in the second semester. She is a KASP graduate with experience of the United States. She has an MA in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) from an American university. She uses her personal experience as a KASP scholar and her own English learning experience abroad in her teaching. She usually wears long straight jeans or a skirt and simple T-shirts or blouses. In class, she usually uses iPads for activities and likes to tell students about her life in America, particularly how she communicated with her classmates, teachers and neighbours and developed her English. She describes her teaching philosophy thus:

> Generally, what I learned from my whole living, learning and studying experience in America is do whatever you want to do but do something right for your society! You have the freedom to express yourself in what you wear or how you look but respect other people and don't harm them. The main criterion is the quality of your work. If I work hard, prepare good class material, care about my students' learning as I care about my own, then I'm doing a good job.
>
> (Ms Rawan, personal communication interview, 17 April 2014)

The following week, Ms Rawan started teaching the class and I observed that the students were pleased. Ms Rawan usually carried her iPad, activity worksheets and magazines to class. Her

way to start the lesson was to use something from the TV news, trending hashtags or something she experienced while living in the United States. During activities, she usually moved students' chairs and kept changing the group members with every each activity, only allowing three students per group.

Five weeks later, I observed Ms Rawan's class in which she was teaching a writing lesson about describing places using the simple past and past perfect tenses. During the lesson, she opened her iPad and showed a number of photos from her Instagram account to the class. The photos were taken in Times Square and Central Park, showing billboards, street performers, a man sitting on a bench and a fountain. She talked about her visits to two places and described a number of events that happened there, such as stopping to watch the street performers in Times Square and talking to a strange man in Central Park about weather. Then, she asked the class to name some tourist attractions they had visited and write three sentences. While the students were working on the activity, a student asked Ms Rawan to see the photos again. Ms Rawan handed her iPad to the student. Reema asked if she could see the photos again and Ms Rawan agreed and told her to pass the iPad to the others. After the class, Reema expressed that she could see herself having a similar life in the USA to that of Ms Rawan. A month after Reema's comment about having a similar life to Ms Rawan, she travelled to Boston (see 4.1.1.4 Travelling abroad).

4.1.3 Informal contexts and related events

This is the third sub-section of Reema's case study. I follow Reema into the city mall, cafés, a charity bazaar and related events. A common characteristic of these contexts is that they are all located in public spaces (see 3.5.2 Public spaces). Instead of high walls and guarded gates forbidding males to access women-only spaces, public spaces are accessible to both genders, though taking into account the practices of female veiling and sign separation.

4.1.3.1 The city mall and cafés

While waiting for Reema in the car park, I observed families being dropped off by drivers at the city mall main front gate. Inside, being a public mixed space, women walked wearing their abayas and covered their faces. It seemed to be the most favoured place for meeting friends and having a coffee, either in the closed women-only café or the open one which used movable partition walls. The private women-only café is a big room (approximately 18 x 11 m^2) that is luxuriously furnished. It had nine seating places arranged for 4–7 people. The place had one

main opaque door and next to the door, outside, was a sign with the café name and a notice that men were not allowed to enter. Inside, coffee, chocolate and pastries were served by four Filipino waitresses. Similar to entering female schools, women removed their abayas and face veils and chose a table to sit down. Reema told me that this café was booked by her and her friends the previous year to celebrate Reema's birthday. She described to me how one of her friends hired 'a female DJ to party and have fun without annoying and being annoyed by their mothers' (Reema, personal communication interview, 1 October 2013). When I first went with Reema to the mall, her mother and younger brother (9 years old) accompanied us. The second time, only her younger brother came (see 3.2.3 Ethical considerations). Later, Reema started to meet me alone.

The other café was located in an open area next to a stand where two Filipino male workers took orders. People stood in two queues: one for males and the other for females, indicated by signs (see Appendix M). Reema went there twice and told me that she did not like it because she had to sit with her abaya and face veil on, unlike the other café where she had more privacy with her friends around.

On one of her shopping trips, in which I joined, Reema took a photo of an advertisement, displayed in the mall, sponsored by the Ministry of the Interior and addressed to Saudi women, encouraging them to obtain their personal identity cards. She commented on the advertisement: '*This is a joke, isn't it?*', looking at me. Before I responded she went on pointing out the irony of the message and how woman in the advertisement was portrayed. A couple of hours later she tweeted about the situation (see Appendix N). Her tweet, *'Hehe asking her to get a[n] ID card when obliterating her face in the adv itself #backwards #WTF'*, represented a stronger sarcastic opinion about what seemed to be a social phenomenon coming from high authority. Reema's tweet, in which she was critically voicing her opinion, to me sounded similar to the tone in which she spoke to me when we saw the advertisement in the mall for the first time. She used two hash tags, i.e. *#backwards and #WTF*, to direct where this tweet would appear.

Shifting to English in social media use for Reema has become not only a way of reaching more English speakers, her English has also gained her a right to speak. In our interviews, Reema reported that she had personal and social goals for using English. She expressed some worries and concerns about expressing her opinions and thoughts in Arabic. For example, she explained:

أنا لا أستعمل لقب على تويتر. أنا تغرد مع اسمي الحقيقي. أنا معظمهم من اتباع أصدقائي وغيرهم من الناس الذين يعرفون كل الإنجليزية. أنا أثق بهم. أنا أحب تعليقاتهم. [...] إذا قلت ما في ذهني باللغة العربية سيكون لها الناس غير المرغوب فيه الذي سيعلق فقط سلبا والعار لي علنا وقد يستأسد لي في العالم الحقيقي!

> I don't use a nickname on Twitter. I tweet with my real name. I mostly follow my friends and other people who all know English. I trust them. I like their comments. […] If I say what is on my mind in Arabic there will be unwanted people who will just comment negatively and shame me publicly and may bully me in the real world!
>
> (Reema, personal communication, 28 January 2014)

Yet, I was not sure if she had experienced any bullying situations. She mentioned an account of a Saudi woman who is well known for tweeting, in Arabic, her thoughts about Saudi society, for which her name had always been tweeted and hash tagged negatively. Reema's English tweets provided her with a safer way of expressing herself and yet still attract intended trusting responses.

4.1.3.2 The charity bazaar

Reema volunteered to do English translation and assist the saleswomen at a charity bazaar. The bazaar was organised by a local charity (9–14 March 2014). Its location was made open to the public by the organisers with specific regulations that required a number of security guards and religious police officers to stand at the entrances. Saudi males and foreign tourists of both genders could enter the location during the morning (10–12 a.m.). The evenings (5–9 p.m.) were open to Saudi families. The organisers of the charity bazaar gave guidelines to Reema about her working times. She needed to be present during both the morning and evening sessions.

On 9 and 12 March 2014, I observed Reema from behind a handicraft stall in the city charity bazaar, volunteering to do some English translation. She was standing behind a wooden stall surrounded by textiles, traditional food and handicrafts. She was wearing her navy abaya with a grey flowery veil covering her hair and upper part of her forehead, showing only her face. She pinned her name badge-holder over her left breast. Also, she attached smiley face, 'I ♥ KSA, 'Peace' button pins around her badge-holder. Whenever charity workers needed help in English with a foreign visitor, they called her.

A foreign couple who were part of a tour group visiting the city were looking through a display of abayas on a hanger. The foreign woman picked an abaya and asked Reema where she could try it on. Reema pointed to the area next to her behind the wooden stall. The foreign man expressed his fear of offending a symbol of Islamic law because his wife was trying it on in a public place. Reema attempted to show that it was simply a garment. The woman walked behind the stall and moved next to Reema. Reema helped the woman put the abaya over her old abaya. She asked the woman to slowly take off the old abaya from underneath. She looked to the man and said: 'Now sir, we didn't break the law.' (Personal communication, March 30, 2014). She then asked the man if he worked for the regional university. When he mentioned he was a tourist, she started talking to him about the region:

> Man: After my wife finishes her henna treat, we will go to the […] Hotel for dinner.
>
> Reema: Oh! My favourite place.
>
> Man: Yes. Me too. I like its design and, of course, its food. Kabsa dish! [laughing]
>
> Reema [laughing]: I agree with you. [...]Will you go to Qadr Rock? It is very close by. Only a15-minute drive from the hotel.
>
> Man [opening a booklet]: How do you spell it?
>
> Reema [walked from behind the stall and stood next to the man]: It is q-a-d-r or q-d-r. [Reading from the booklet]. It is not on the list.
>
> (Transcript of recorded observation, 9 March 2014)

As I listened to Reema showing her knowledge of her region, e.g. the hotel, the food, correcting a place name, and recommending another tourist attraction to the foreign man, I also observed her physically changing her position from behind the stall to move around to stand next to the man. She talked to him while directing his attention to the photos on her phone:

> Reema: It is worth it! Believe me. I will show you. Please. See? [Opening her phone and showing him some photos].
>
> Man: OK, OK. I see. Hmmm … The engravings, look Nabataean.
>
> Reema: Engravings?
>
> Man: I mean these [pointing to the phone screen] this writing on the rock.
>
> Reema: Aha, I told you. It is worth it. I will show you where to go. [opening Google maps on her phone]

(Transcript of recorded observation, 9 March 2014)

She kept the interaction going using photos and the Google Maps app. In this interaction, she even sought knowledge herself when she asked about the meaning of the engravings. Half an hour later, Reema took her break and I asked her about standing next to the man. She immediately and confidently answered: 'Because we were speaking in English' (personal communication, 9 March 2014). She seemed at ease interacting with the man. She told me that it was not her first time standing next to a foreign man and talking to him in English. She had done that when she visited her brother's campus in the United States, the previous month. However, this was the first time she had done so in her local region. As I observed other stalls in the city's charity bazaar, I noticed that girls and women approached by the foreign couple did not change their positions, but remained behind their stalls.

The issue of negotiating and crossing boundaries was prominent in analysing how Reema acted in the city's charity bazar. From behind the stall she demonstrated to the foreign man, who seemed to be afraid of breaching any social or religious codes, a simple example of how things could be negotiated using an abaya. She asked his wife to step behind the stall and stood next to her to help her try on the new abaya. At this point, the stall appeared to work as a boundary between a women-only space and the public space, where the man was standing and other bazaar visitors were passing by. She helped the woman put on the new abaya and asked her to take off her old one. When the old abaya fell on the floor, Reema picked it up and metaphorically turned it into a topic of conversation: 'Now sir. We didn't break the law.' (personal communication, 10 March 2014). With her previous light comment, she started her interaction with the man in a friendly way. Yet, she continued using not only English but, as in the case with the abaya, things that turned into conversation (i.e. her phone) to cross a physical boundary (i.e. the stall).

Looking at how Reema acted verbally and physically with the foreign couple, particularly the man, around the stall revealed various attempts to manage language learning opportunities and keep the interaction dynamic, despite being in public spaces that posed a risk. She did not only participate in what it seemed to be an authentic interaction with a foreign man, she also actively participated in broadening the interaction space. When I asked her whether she was worried when she was standing next to the foreign man, she reported that she was only worried about 'those nosy religious police' (personal communication, 11 March 2014). Yet, she seemed

confident when explaining that carrying out the interaction in English would keep such people away.

4.1.4 Concluding remarks and reflections on Reema's case

The first section of Chapter 4 presented an analysis of the first case's data, highlighting Reema's voice and actions and paying attention to details about her home, formal and informal learning contexts, and related events. Reema's family support for her English learning journey encountered the sociocultural issue of needing a male guardian when she decided to pursue that journey abroad. She engaged in negotiations with her parents on this issue in an attempt to exercise her agency and resorted to faith (istikhara prayer) when her choices were constrained. Eventually, she succeeded in her negotiations, which is evident from the fact that she was allowed to obtain a passport and gained permission to travel alone. It was also evident in her attempts to expand her cultural and linguistic repertory during her seven-day language socialisation experience in Boston. In class, Reema took it upon herself, as the class student representative, to change her language learning access and pursue the opportunities in Ms Sana's class. Further, her influence as an agent of change shaped her investment in Ms Rawan's class. However, Reema's agentive shaping of English opportunities in informal language learning contexts encountered tensions arising from sociocultural circumstances arising in local Saudi public spaces (e.g. the car, mall and charity bazaar). Despite this, she strategically turned these spaces into authentic venues for English socialisation in which she could negotiate some impact on her local contexts and improvement of her world by gaining the right to speak and resisting Saudi male-female divisions (against ikhtilat).

4.2 Case 2: Zenah

In this section, I focus on the second of the private school paired case studies. As with the first case (see 4.1 Case 1: Reema), I present an overview of Zenah and her family's background and circumstances to highlight the issue of language at home. I also introduce several learning contexts and related events. Through them, I follow Zenah and report on my analysis of fieldwork data. My objective is to understand the factors affecting English opportunities arising in learning contexts.

4.2.1 Home and related events

4.2.1.1 Family and household

Zenah's family members have lived most of their lives in Jordan and Saudi Arabia, because of her father's diplomatic work. Both her parents have university degrees and stable careers. Table 4 provides information about Zenah's family.

Table 4

General Profile of Case 2

Name	Zenah
Age	17
Institution	Private school
Educational level	Secondary school; she did her intermediate and primary levels at a private international school in Jordan
In her family	A first-born child with two younger brothers (13 & 7) and two younger sisters (10 & 3)
Father's occupation	A diplomat (MA in Criminal Justice from a Saudi university)
Mother's occupation	A school teacher (BA/Ed. in Islamic Studies from a community college)

Zenah reported that her father planned his career in foreign diplomacy to give his children international exposure and study abroad experience. But because of Zenah's mother's insistence on living in a Muslim country, her father chose Jordan and enrolled Zenah and her siblings in one of Amman's international schools, where English is taught from kindergarten until the final secondary year. Zenah's father used to take his family to diplomatic events at the Saudi embassy and encourage his children to mingle with other children from different countries and speak English with them. Zenah enjoyed such events and had many foreign friends. The family lived in Jordan for 11 years, before moving back to their home region in Saudi Arabia in 2010.

When they returned home, Zenah's mother got a teaching job at a state school. She taught Islamic courses on the Holy Quran and *tajwid.*[5] Zenah described her mother as a devoted Muslim

[5] Pronunciation rules for reading the Holy Quran.

woman who, in addition to her teaching job, was a volunteer teacher in a Quranic school for women in the region. This type of school, called *dar tahfeez*[6] in Arabic, are non-profit private schools that give classes on the Holy Quran for female students and run from 5 p.m. to 7.30 p.m. Zenah and her 10-year-old sister are students at the *dar tahfeez*, where they go with their mother every day. Her father takes her younger brothers to a *tahfeez halaqa*[7] in their neighbourhood mosque in the afternoon (4–6 p.m.). Additionally, Zenah's mother organises an hour-long teaching session for Zenah and her siblings on Islamic culture and the Holy Quran on Fridays at home. Zenah helps her mother design card games for her family members during the session. For example, one of Zenah's designs is question cards called 'Who/What's the first', with questions such as 'Who was the first man who spoke Arabic?' and 'What was the first thing Allah created in the universe'?[8]

The session begins when Zenah's father and brothers come home from Friday prayers. Zenah and her parents and siblings sit together around a table in the living room. Zenah's mother starts the session by asking her husband and her two sons about the topic of the Friday prayer speech they heard in the mosque. Then, their mother tells a story from the Holy Quran about one of Allah's prophets and points out several moral virtues in the story. After her mother finishes commenting on moral virtues, Zenah spreads a pile of cards out on the table and asks the others to pick a card, read the question on it and choose who will answer. The one who answers picks a new card, asks the question on the card and chooses a person to answer. This game takes about 15 minutes.

Zenah reported that she enjoys her family's Friday sessions and looks forward to them. She spends most of her spare time with her family inside the house. Another place she enjoys spending time besides her house is at the family farm. The farm is 65 kilometres from her house. It has palm and olive trees and a one-storey house. The farm is surrounded by wire fencing. Behind the fencing, tall Moringa trees are planted to provide privacy for female family members.

---

[6] *Dar tahfeez* means an 'Arabic room/place of memorization'.

[7] *Tahfeez halaqa* means a 'circle of memorization', because students sit in a circle inside the mosque.

[8] Ibn Kathir's *Al-Bidāya wa-n-nihāya* (البداية والنهاية; *The beginning and the end*) is one of the best-known works of Islamic historiography.

Behind these trees, Zenah and her siblings enjoy riding their all-terrain vehicles[9] and bouncing on a trampoline.

Zenah describes her family members as close and inclined to doing everything together. Zenah's mother particularly exhibits this tendency. Zenah's mother is protective of Zenah. She does not like Zenah going to the mall with her friends or by herself. Instead, she plans mother-daughter shopping trips together. Zenah very rarely goes with friends to the mall or to a café (see 4.2.3.3 The city mall and cafés).

Zenah family's household has one employee: 32-year-old Eve, a female babysitter from the Philippines. She has been with the family since Zenah's youngest sister was two months old. Zenah claims that her mother does not like to rely on domestic workers, so she was against having any in her home. However, when she started her job at the state school, her youngest daughter was only seven weeks old. She had to rely on a babysitter to be able to go to work. Zenah's mother contacted the domestic service office and asked for any babysitter who was available. Eve became the babysitter, so Zenah's mother could go to work. However, Zenah's mother was uncomfortable with the idea that Eve was a Christian. Zenah's mother wanted to help Eve become a Muslim. Although Zenah mother's English was not fluent, she started to talk about the Islamic faith and the fact that Muslims also believe in Jesus. Zenah's mother contacted the Islamic propagation office in the region for resources about Islam in English: 'Mom told her about how Islam is the religion of peace and equality. Also, my mom gave her English books about Islam to read' (Zenah, personal communication, 11 October 2013). When Eve expressed her interest in the faith, Zenah's mother gave her a raise on her monthly salary. Eve converted to Islam and changed her name to Aisha. Zenah mentioned that her family members celebrated Aisha's conversion, and they all gave her gifts.

The description of Zenah's family illustrates the influence of each of her parents on the children's daily lives. While Zenah's father had a direct effect on the children's English use and international exposure, Zenah's mother attempted to provide her family with a protective environment and an upbringing influenced by Islamic values. For this reason, Zenah may tend to balance the two influences of her parents, particularly faith and language learning, in her life and future choices. This could also pose challenges and create tension in the future.

[9] Four-wheeled motorbikes.

4.2.1.2 Zenah's English learning

Zenah began studying English at the age of five, when she had the advantage of attending an international private school in Jordan. She finished her primary and intermediate English education before her family returned to Saudi Arabia. She started her secondary schooling in a private school, where I met her during her final year (see 4.2.2 Formal learning contexts and related events).

At home, Zenah frequently spoke to her father in English, especially when talking about politics and international news. Zenah recognised the value of English, it helped her make friends with other children when she lived in Jordan. She reported that her mother influenced her goals for learning English. For this reason, she preferred to view English as a means of not only communicating but also helping the spread of Islam. When she left Jordan, Zenah kept in touch with some of her friends through Facebook. She also made new friends through Muslim youth websites. Two of her close online friends were American Muslims, Shazia and Nadeem, with whom she shared similar interests in Islamic and political issues (see 4.2.3.1 The prayer room/musalla).

One of Zenah's hobbies was photography. She spent her time on the farm taking photos of scenery. She shared her photos on Instagram and posted translated verses of the Holy Quran under the photos. One of her photos was chosen for display in an art gallery by the regional council. The photo chosen showed her 10-year-old sister posing under an olive tree with a Saudi flag draped over her. When the council knew that Zenah spoke English, they asked her to talk to foreign tourists about her work (see 4.2.3.2 The art gallery).

Zenah's hobbies, relations and interests all require engagement with English, whether online or in face-to-face interactions. The balance between faith and language learning that I mentioned in the previous sub-section (see 4.2.1.1 Family and household) seemed to become notable in her language learning goals.

4.2.1.3 Zenah and the regional university's offering

In terms of future career plans, Zenah wants to be a psychologist and practice clinical psychology. Zenah explained that her English-speaking capability was helpful for her career plans, allowing her to continue, despite being limited by the number of psychology resources available in Arabic. But the regional university where her family lives does not offer psychology (see 3.5.7 The regional university). Her mother heard from a teacher colleague at work that the

regional university was planning to offer a psychology major in October 2014. After checking the regional university's website, Zenah discovered that the major would not be offered that year. In an interview, Zenah described psychology as her first choice; however, because that major was not available at her regional university, she decided to major in English language and translation, which was already available. She described herself as a good language learner, although she considers it a skill, not a career path. She reported that she is not considering travelling outside the region and enrolling in one of the seven prestigious Saudi universities that do offer a psychology major. Although she is confident that her father would support her career plans at the regional university, one of the Saudi universities or even a university abroad, she recognises her mother's protective nature and conservative attitude toward the idea of Zenah travelling by herself, particularly because she is the eldest child and must set an example to her younger siblings.

Zenah's plans for her career after secondary school pose certain challenges that she will need to take into account, including the regional university's offerings, her mother's conservative nature and the potential for her English language skills becoming career material.

4.2.2 Formal learning contexts and related events

This sub-section is the second in Zenah's case study, in it I examine issues affecting Zenah's participation in the English classes of Ms Sana and Ms Rawan, in the first and second semesters, respectively, of the 2013–14 academic year.

4.2.2.1 Zenah in Ms Sana's class

In the classroom, Zenah sits on a chair next to the wall where the classroom door is. While Ms Sana stands in the corridor next to the classroom door, waiting for the students to prepare, Zenah puts her previous class material in her backpack, places her English coursebook and notebook on her desk, and remains quiet while other students chat in Arabic. She immediately opens her notebook when Ms Sana asks the students to show their homework. As per her normal routine for checking homework, Ms Sana asks the students to check their answers with each other. Two students walk up to Zenah and ask to see her answers. A student whispers from the back of class to have the students in front pass Zenah's notebook to her.

Ms Sana relies continuously and excessively on Zenah's help in class, whether in explaining English lessons or clarifying activity instructions. I noted in my observation recorded on 17

October 2013 that because the students did not understand Ms Sana's explanation of the word 'craft', she asked Zenah to explain it to the class and give an example from the Saudi environment. Zenah walked up to and stood by the board. Pulling up the blouse sleeve on her left forearm to show her bracelets, she asked, 'Girls, do you like my friendship bracelets?' She said, 'I made them by hand, using my bracelets craft kit. I'm good at this craft. I like to do this craft with Reema and Noura.' Noura said, 'I know the meaning. It is *herfa* (in Arabic), right?' Ms Sana looked at Zenah and asked, 'Can you name some of the famous crafts in Saudi?' Zenah replied, 'Carpet crafts are very famous here, and also *abaya* crafts. In our town we have many metal and leather crafts, such as coffee pots and leather sandals.' In another incident, also recorded in my fieldwork data, Ms Sana asked Zenah to help a pair of students understand an activity instruction during a group activity. Zenah went to the groups and asked whether they knew what to do for the activity. She looked at the activity sheet and gave a thumbs-up. Then she returned to her seat and told me, 'You see. I'm their basic English resource.'

In an adjectival clauses activity on 12 September 2013, Ms Sana asked the students to work in groups: 'Girls open your coursebook at page 16 and work together. You need to underline the adjectival clause in each sentence. Do you need my help?' (see 4.1.2.4 Ms Sana's class). As the students pulled their chairs across the classroom to form groups, a group of eight students at the back, a group of four by the window and two students by the door, the latter whispered in Arabic to Zenah to explain the activity instructions. Zenah turned to them and explained in Arabic what they needed to do. Because not all the students could hear her, Ms Sana asked Zenah to come to the front of the class and explain the activity. Zenah, holding her coursebook, walked up and stood by the whiteboard. She read the instructions and began explaining: 'Okay. The exercise says find the adjectival clause in the following sentences and underline the word it modifies. What kind of word does the adjective clause modify?' Zenah prompted the students: 'Remember, it is an adjectival clause, so the word is not a verb.' Reema raised her hand and said, 'A noun?' Zenah replied, 'Bravo! Or it can be a pronoun.' Zenah read the first sentence aloud and slowly changed the tone of her voice when she read the adjectival clause. The students nodded their heads. One of the students seated with the group by the window asked Zenah to explain in Arabic. Zenah walked over to her and asked the student to read the sentence. Then she asked her to translate it: 'You are looking for the part of the sentence that describes this thing [Drawing a circle with her pencil around the noun in the sentence].

Which part?' The student pointed to the adjectival clause in the sentence. Ms Sana asked Zenah to go round and check the groups' answers. Zenah walked to the group of eight students at the back of the class and, immediately, all the students there put their coursebooks next to each other. Zenah skimmed through the answers in each coursebook and asked, 'Whose book is this?' When a student said, 'Mine,' she quickly gave feedback. If a student's answers were all incorrect, she asked her to check with the student next to her. Zenah returned to her seat, and Reema checked her answers with her.

The students always seemed to come to Zenah for feedback on their language activities. During break, after Ms Sana's class, I observed students walking from their seats with their coursebooks towards Zenah with questions, such as the following: 'Is that the homework?' 'Does the teacher want the answers in the coursebook or should I copy them into my notebook?' 'Is page 16 included in tomorrow's weekly quiz? 'Can I see your answers?' 'Is this correct?' Another repeated observation was Reema asking Zenah to provide the meaning of new vocabulary words in Arabic. When Ms Sana started writing a new vocabulary list on the whiteboard, Reema, while sitting next to Zenah, asked her the meaning of the second word. Zenah wrote the word in Arabic, with a pencil, on the desk. Zenah reported that her friendship with the other students, including with Reema, who started sitting next to her at the beginning of the current academic semester, usually started over language activity discussions.

In an interview, Zenah described Ms Sana as a 'traditional Egyptian teacher' (personal communication, 19 September 2013) and comfortably expressed her own conception of her participation or what she was doing in class: 'I practise my English basics in school and learn more by myself' (personal communication, 10 November 2013). The basics she referred to relate to her prior knowledge of English (i.e. what she already knew linguistically). She later referred to this participation as being 'the class Saudi English teacher' (personal communication, 4 December 2013).

During Ms Sana's class, I observed Zenah take an English coursebook from her bag, read from one page, and then put it back in her bag. She did that at least once in every class of Ms Sana's that I attended. She reported that the book is one of her old English learning coursebooks from Jordan that she used as a resource for checking grammatical rules and vocabulary lists. She had retained all her Grade 11 English learning coursebooks from Jordan. She gave her siblings the beginner and intermediate level coursebooks but kept the advanced ones—the two

coursebooks she always kept in her bag. She found them helpful in Ms Sana's class. Zenah's use of the old English coursebooks as resources indicates her eagerness to learn English on one level and her resistance to the human language resource at the front of class (i.e. Ms Sana) on another.

The data reveal that Zenah assigns herself an active role and is willing to pursue any possible learning opportunities that Ms Sana offers by relying on her own prior linguistic experiences of learning English in an international school in Jordan and her own linguistic resources (i.e. her old English learning coursebooks from Jordan). Additionally, Zenah's linguistic capacity not only gives her a teacher's assistant role but also engages her socially, helping her build friendships among her classmates.

4.2.2.2 Zenah in Ms Rawan's class

Like the other students in the class, Zenah was excited about the replacement of Ms Sana by Ms Rawan. Zenah enjoyed Ms Rawan's way of introducing herself to the class on the third day of the second semester and took notes on all the information Ms Rawan wrote on the whiteboard, particularly the information concerning Ms Rawan's Twitter and Instagram accounts (see 4.1.2.5 Ms Rawan's class). I interviewed Zenah the following week to talk about Ms Rawan's class. Zenah described in detail how Ms Rawan was managing the class during activities, arranging students' chairs, and changing the group formation for each activity. Additionally, Zenah talked about how Ms Rawan's class was fun and engaging, particularly when Ms Rawan started the lesson by sharing stories about her life in America and her language learning experiences there. However, Zenah was not comfortable with the personal details Ms Rawan shared with the students in class. For instance, Ms Rawan once showed the class a number of photos taken in Times Square and Central Park on her iPad, while describing each photo using the simple past and past perfect tenses. A photo showed Ms Rawan talking to a male stranger in Central Park. One of the students asked to see the photos again, and Ms Rawan gave her iPad to the student. Another student asked if she could see the photos, and Ms Rawan told the class to pass the iPad among themselves. A student at the back asked Ms Rawan about the man in the photo and whether he was her husband. Ms Rawan replied that she had only met him in the park. When it was Zenah's turn to see the photos, she whispered to me, 'I know some students in this class won't think innocently of Ms Rawan's Times Square story' (Zenah, personal communication, 12 February 2014).

Although she actively participated in the class, Zenah tended not to approve of some of the personal details Ms Rawan shared with them. She explained to me that she was happy with having an open-minded language teacher who had experience of learning and living in America; however, she wanted her teacher to be cautious about what she shared with her students. She referred to Ms Rawan's descriptions of what she was doing when taking those photos, such as going out alone and sitting next to a strange man and chatting with him in the park. At the same time, Zenah repeatedly mentioned that she respected her teacher and understood why she talked to the man: 'I know she did those things to learn English by herself, but what do you think the two students at the back were saying about her?' (Zenah, personal communication, 12 February 2014). Zenah said she would prefer it if Ms Rawan mentioned her language learning experience without discussing anything that might harm the image of a good Muslim woman.

4.2.3 Informal learning contexts and related events

This is the third sub-section of Zenah's case study. Here, I report on the informal learning contexts in which I follow Zenah.

4.2.3.1 The prayer room/musalla

A musalla[10] refers to a place where congregational prayers are said. It differs from a mosque because it is a temporary venue and not a permanent mosque (Al Uthaymeen, 1992).

The musalla is located in the northwest corner of the second floor in the same building, Building No. 3, where Zenah's classroom is located. It opens onto an empty hallway with a pile of folded carpets lying by the wall next to a large shoe cabinet by the door. Immediately upon entering the musalla, one sees a bulletin board showing school and theatre announcements (e.g. hadith competitions), information on religious practices (e.g. the current month's prayer times), and information on historical religious events (Muslim Hijrah[11]). This board is constantly being updated. Beside the board, there are two posters in Arabic about proper hijab for Muslim women, a diagram showing how the Prophet prayed, and two A4 pamphlets in English—one entitled 'Islam Q & A' and showing the contact information of a local Islamic education foundation, and the other entitled 'Let's spread Islam', with Zenah's email address given at the bottom of the

[10] In Arabic language, the word 'musalla' derives from 'salat', which means ritual prayer (Rasdi, 2000).

[11] Migration.

page. A thick dark beige carpet covers the floor of the musalla, and some folded prayer mats lie in a corner. In the corner, opposite the door, stands a dark wooden cupboard with two glass doors; it is filled with noncurricular religious books, copies of the Quran and pamphlets. The light beige walls and off-white ceiling are colourfully decorated with flowers, photos of mosques and a blue seashell. Additionally, the words 'The qibla is this way' are written, and a painted picture of an alkaba is drawn on the wall to show students the direction they need to turn to when saying their prayers.

Though the musalla is located in a formal learning context, in Zenah's school, I have listed it as a non-formal learning context because Zenah mentioned that she used English in a number of musalla group activities. In one of my informal conversations with Zenah, while standing by her classroom door, she told me that she was involved, with seven other students, in noncurricular religious activities. Her 'musalla group' used the musalla as a meeting place every Monday from 1–2 p.m. The group is responsible for organising religious activities for the school theatre as well as for activities held in the musalla. Zenah reported that she was trying to come up with English activities for the group: 'I use English here [in class] and there too [the prayer room/ musalla]' (personal communication, 7 October 2014). Zenah checked her watch (12:35 p.m.), reminded me that it was almost time to perform noon prayers and offered to show me the musalla. While Zenah and I were walking up the stairs to the musalla, other students started heading the same way to say their noon prayers. They did this every day during their school's second lunch break from 12:30 to 1 p.m. Taking off our shoes at the door, Zenah and I joined the others in saying noon prayers. The place was crowded. Some students were unfolding carpets so that they could pray in the hallway. After the prayers were completed, Zenah told me the group she was involved in would meet shortly, and so she and I sat on the carpeted floor to wait. By 1:10 p.m., the students had finished their noon prayers and the place was almost empty. Seven students came to meet Zenah, and she introduced me to them.

The above description illustrates a closed religious place that is primarily used for prayer. Such a place is likely to pose a challenge to Zenah when she navigates further religious loopholes and devises new methods of promoting her faith through English without putting herself or her faith at risk.

4.2.3.2 Zenah as the musalla group leader

Zenah joined the musalla group in September 2012. She became group leader after a year (in September 2013). She reported that she was aiming to achieve both a personal goal and a learning one by introducing English into the religious group. She expressed her satisfaction with meeting the two goals: 'What the musalla group is doing for us now, as young Muslim English learners who are also Muslim women, is preparing us to be useful to our society later and to promote Islam globally' (Zenah, personal communication, 11 November 2013). In the musalla group meeting, where the eight group members sat in a circle and discussed their ideas for October 2013, Zenah, as group leader, suggested using English when designing October's pamphlets and posters, which would be displayed on the musalla bulletin board. For inspiration, she handed the members handouts from the World Assembly of Muslim Youth website (http://wamy.co.uk). In December 2013, she also suggested organising an open-day event in December 2013 to protest against the Charlie Hebdo[12] cartoons depicting the Prophet. She called the event 'Footsteps of the Prophet Muhammad'. I attended the event, which was held in the school's theatre hall and heard two speeches, watched two nasheed (Islamic song) performances and a debate, all of which were delivered, performed and conducted in English. Zenah actively participated in organising and presenting these activities. While sitting in the theatre during the event, I observed that the audience was pleased with all the segments. Later, Zenah reported that the school principal told her the event generated a good level of interest from other schools in the region. She told me about her future aims for the group:

> We are not only praying, singing and playing [referring to the open-day event]. I think all the members now realise that they are learning. We are well organised. We are learning English, using English, and having fun with English and learning about Muslim youths from Canada, America, Ireland, Australia and Pakistan.
>
> (Zenah, personal communication, 11 December 2013)

Because of the positive reaction to the December 2013 open-day event, Zenah came up with a new suggestion in the January musalla meeting. She eagerly revealed her plans for a second open-day event, to which she would invite Muslim students from the United States as

[12] A French satirical newspaper.

guest speakers, through Skype, to discuss their experiences of dawah[13] in their country (see 4.2.1.2 Zenah's English learning).

> I had this idea for a long time. And I have lots of friends from around the world whom I keep in touch with by Instagram, twitter and Google+ Hangout … I told two of my American friends, Shazia and Nadeem, about having them as guest speakers in my school event. I sent them the questions I'm going to ask to give them a chance to prepare.
>
> (Zenah, personal communication, 19 January 2013)

Five of the seven musalla members did not approve of the inclusion of a male guest, Nadeem. They claimed that the suggested event was religiously unacceptable (haram) because it involved gender mixing (ikhtilat). Zenah explained that only the guests' voices would be heard and that there would be no video. The five members argued that the school was a women-only space and the idea of having a male guest would be haram and against the group's standards of conduct. Two of the members became angry and left the meeting. Zenah told me that those two students went to report the matter to the school principal. They also collected signatures from other members in a letter written in Arabic and attached a fatwa opposing the ikhtilat. The principal responded immediately by cancelling the event and banning English use from any future musalla events. Zenah left the group two weeks after the announcement of the event's cancellation (4 February 2014). I had two conversations with Zenah on the day after she left the al-musalla group when I visited her at school. Zenah seemed upset, worried and in need of guidance when I met her in the school corridor. When I asked about her reaction after she heard that group members had complained about her plans to invite Nadeem to talk through Skype, she said that she had not expected that the principal would go to the extreme length of banning English use. However, she acknowledged the strong effect of the fatwa:

قلت لك أنا لست عضو المصلى بعد الآن؟ هناك قواعد مجرد سخيفة في كل مكان، حتى عندما كنت تعتقد أنك تفعل أشياء في الطريق الصحيح. كيف يمكن أن تتعلم عن الإسلام أو حتى استخدام لغة إذا كنت لا تتحدث للآخرين؟ إنهم [أعضاء المصلى] أقول أن هناك قواعد حول لا أتحدث عندما كنت طفلة. لذلك ينبغي أن تكون الفتيات خجولة ولا تتحدث إلى الرجال؟

> Did I tell you I'm not a musalla member anymore? There are just silly rules everywhere, even when you think you're doing things the right way. How could you learn about Islam

[13] Dawah means inviting a non-Muslim to convert to Islam.

> or even use a language if you do not talk to others? They [musalla members] say there are rules about not talking when you are a girl. So girls should be shy and not talk to guys?
>
> (Zenah, personal communication, 8 February 2014)

Zenah wrote an apology email to Shazia and Nadeem, telling them that event was cancelled without going into detail. After three days, she sent another apology email to Shazia and Nadeem, telling them that the whole event was cancelled because of the fatwa opposing ikhtilat. In the second email, Zenah attempted to explain to both Shazia and Nadeem the meaning of ikhtilat, which she believed had affected many Saudi women, including her group members, and limited their Islamic dawah goals. She questioned the fatwa's prohibition on all genders mixing and described this as haram. In the email, Zenah went on to list her daily-life activities that contradicted the idea of gender segregation, such as working in hospitals, shopping in malls, praying in mosques or sitting in aeroplanes.

For Zenah, the musalla represents a 'rightful place with rightful causes' where she can be both a good language learner and a good Muslim (personal communication, 7 October 2014). It is a place where she can purposefully utilise her linguistic knowledge to promote her faith. In other words, the musalla fulfilled her purpose of balancing a modern open-minded Muslim woman and a language learner. Not only did she actively demonstrate her linguistic skills for dawah purposes within the prayer room walls, she also expanded her reach and sought out wider opportunities to connect globally with English speakers who seemed to share her moral aspirations and passion for dawah. Her almost three academic semesters journey with the musalla group illustrates how Zenah used various strategies to contest the place of the musalla religious rules and explicitly express her preference for and expectation of how language and faith can be balanced.

4.2.3.3 The art gallery

The regional council selected one of Zenah's photos to display in their annual art gallery, which was held along with the regional farming festival (27–31 March 2014). It was the photo that showed her 10-year-old sister posing under an olive tree with a Saudi flag draped over her (see Zenah's English learning). When the council discovered that Zenah spoke English, from information about her linguistic skills and hobbies displayed on her Instagram account, they contacted her through her account and asked if she would talk about her work to foreign tourists

visiting the gallery. Zenah reported that, at first, she was excited about the council's request and wanted to tell her family and friends quickly. However, she confided in me that she later hesitated out of concerns regarding how she would talk in the gallery with foreign tourists. She eventually shared the news about her upcoming gallery participation with her father, who was excited for her and offered to help if she wanted. After talking to her father, Zenah shared the council's request with her mother, who thought at first that Zenah's participation had been organised by the school. Zenah explained to her mother that the school was not involved and that she was the one who had contacted the regional council through their website and uploaded her olive tree photo. Zenah was expecting such a reaction from her mother because her mother was protective of her.

The city art gallery is located in a large white tent that sits in the middle of a football field. It is open to the public in the afternoon from 3:30 to 7:30 p.m. At the entrance gate, one sees a number of security guards and religious police officers organising the crowds and preventing any gender mixing. On the second day of the exhibition (28 March 2014), I accompanied and observed Zenah inside the event tent in the midst of photographs and paintings. She was standing to the left of her olive photo's metal frame, wearing her abaya and veil and showing only her eyes. On the top of her name badge holder string, she had attached a card that said in English, 'Ask me about this photo', with a camera emoji; in her brown messenger bag she carried handouts on A5 size paper with information about the photo in Arabic and English, along with her Instagram account information. Gallery visitors started to come in, and two Saudi men stood in front of Zenah's photo; she welcomed them and introduced her work in Arabic. A third man, who looked foreign, joined the other two, and Zenah switched to English. She gave the three men handouts. For two or three hours, Zenah had mostly been standing with her back touching the wall, showing some hesitation when people stopped to gaze at her photo. Her interactions were generally short, especially when she spoke to male visitors. I noticed that two religious police were standing 6 metres from Zenah; when they walked away, she started standing next to her photo and moved her head, looking around.

A foreign visitor stood in front of Zenah's photo. She waved her hand next to him and said, 'Hello! Do you like my photo?' The man, nodding his head, said 'Brilliant shot.' He asked her whether she would offer head shots to a potential client. As Zenah was explaining that she only did photography as a hobby and was handing the man one of her A5 handouts, he told her

that he thought she was American because her English was so good. Suddenly, there was a long pause from Zenah. She laughed lightly and squinted her eyes through her black veil: 'Thank you very much for saying this. I studied English in Jordan,' she replied (transcribed recorded interaction, 28 March 2014). A foreign family approached Zenah. She moved a step away from the wall, positioning herself physically in line with the man and his family (his wife and a boy) in front of her framed photo, about two steps from the wall with the photo between her and the family. Zenah was interacting with the whole family in English, discussing technical information (camera, light, lens, speed etc.). When other visitors arrived, she continued to move between standing visitors and to interact more. I observed that her name tag was flipped over and I asked her if she had flipped it over on purpose or not. She told me that she had flipped it over when she saw her male cousin (on her mother's side), who was a member of the religious police, standing close to her. She explained that she had forgotten to adjust her tag after he left.

Zenah's interactions in the public space of the art gallery revealed her struggle to access greater language opportunities whilst negotiating sociocultural boundaries. The struggle revealed was in alignment with her parents' different attitudes towards her public participation in the gallery: On the one hand, her father supported her taking advantage of opportunities to communicate with people, thus reinforcing her self-esteem and promoting her language use; and on the other hand, her mother reacted in her protective and religious conservative manner. Amongst these tensions, Zenah wanted to balance language and faith by resisting public space gender segregation rules, but her resistance, in this instance, was hindered by the presence of a member of the religious police who might recognise her.

4.2.3.4 Meeting in a café

Zenah's conservative upbringing and protective mother limited her freedom within the house, on the family farm, in Zenah's school and *dar tahfeez* (Quranic school); hence, Zenah rarely went shopping with friends to the mall or a café (see 4.2.1.1 Family and Household). At school, Zenah heard that the regional university offered a preparatory year programme (PYP) as a foundation year before students selected their majors. Zenah became intrigued when she heard that native English speakers made up the PYP teaching staff. She checked the university website to learn about the foreign staff but it did not have any information about female staff—no names, photos or links to personal pages. The website only listed the male administration and teaching

staff and course descriptions. Zenah searched through social media hashtags related to PYP using the name of the regional university. A couple of photos showed two women with colourful headscarves sitting in a café. From the comments section, Zenah recognized the location of the café: the city mall. Zenah asked her mother if she could go to the café in the mall to meet those foreign staff and explained that she did not want to be chaperoned. Her mother allowed her to go if she took her 13-year-old brother, but Zenah reminded her mother that her brother might not be allowed to enter the café because it was a women-only space.

On 6 April 2014, I met Zenah and her 25-year-old female cousin in the café while three foreign women sat at a nearby table. The women were speaking in English. Zenah told us that she thought they were the regional university's PYP English teachers. Zenah went to the café's counter and came back with a plate of fruit tarts, which she took to the teachers' table. Through her conversation with the teachers, she learned about the English textbooks taught in the PYP at the regional university. However, the teachers did not have any answers to Zenah's questions about the PYP acceptance criteria and offerings after completion of the PYP, because the questions were about administration rather than teaching. However, they did advise her to attend the university induction week when the university would be open to secondary school students.

Zenah's English enabled her not only to seize the opportunity to socialise and fill the social gap that her mother denied her, but also to access information that benefited her university career choices.

4.2.3.5 Visiting the regional university campus

After meeting the three PYP teaching staff in the café, Zenah confided in me the problem she faced in attending the university induction week:

وأنا أعلم يقينا أن مديرة المدرسة لن تسمح لنا [طالبات السنة الثالثة] لحضور الأسبوع التعريفي الجامعة. فعلوا ذلك العام الماضي بسبب وجود مشكلة بين مديرتنا وعميدة الجامعة. كان علي أن أفعل ذلك بنفسي وبطريقتي الخاصة، [من خلال] من مدرسات التحضيري اللي تعرفت عليهن

> I know for sure that my school principal will not allow us [third-year students] to attend the university week induction. They did that last year because there was a problem between the principal and the university dean. I had to do it by myself and in my own way, [through] the PYP teachers I met.
>
> (Zenah, personal communication, 17 April 2014)

A week later, she told me that her father was driving her to the university for the induction week. I met her on the university campus. There were 50–70 secondary school students also visiting for the induction week. A woman came and introduced herself as a member of the admin staff and she asked all the students to go into the main hall because the university dean was going to give a short talk. I walked with Zenah to the hall and sat next to her. Shortly after, the dean came and spoke into the microphone. She talked about the university's rules, the dress code and the punishment for not wearing a full abaya when leaving or entering the campus. She gave examples of what particular students did and how she punished them. Meanwhile, I handed Zenah a pen and a notebook and asked her to write down her questions if she wanted to ask the dean (see Appendix O).

Suddenly, Zenah told me that she wanted to leave the hall. I followed her. On our way out, she told me that she planned to meet the PYP teachers she had met in the café. She went to the teaching staff offices and found two of the teachers. She asked them if they would allow her to attend one of their upcoming classes. One of the teachers said that she was going to a class and did not mind if Zenah attended. I was not allowed to join her. After an hour, I saw Zenah walking with the teacher and carrying a copy of a textbook and a CD. The teacher reported that Zenah took notes and spoke to students at the back of the classroom while she was writing on the board.

Zenah's choice to access live language-learning experiences taking place in class rather than staying in the hall and listening to the dean, like the other students, indicates her active role in planning for her future.

4.2.4 Concluding remarks and reflections on Zenah's case

The second section of Chapter 4 presented an analysis of Zenah's language learning journey, highlighting the influences of her parents: her mother's religious faith in Zenah's protective environment and an upbringing based on Islamic values and her father's attempts to provide his children with outside exposure to international culture and the English language. The ongoing intersection of language and faith occurring in Zenah's home gave her confidence and a sense of balance between being an English learner and a Muslim Saudi girl. The data reveal that Zenah wanted to maintain that balance and sought to pursue and have access to wider English socialisation opportunities that fit within Islamic values (halal and haram) and expectations (dawah). Thus, she made the choices to use English in the school prayer room (musalla) and to

organise international Muslim English speaker events at her school that would allow her to access language learning opportunities. Additionally, she made the choice to participate in a public event (in a city art gallery), executing it strategically by negotiating her engagement in the event to use her participation to access language learning opportunities. However, Zenah encountered religious and sociocultural circumstances associated with fatwa, the school administration, and the religious police that affected her continuation and expansion of such opportunities.

As Zenah struggled to find a balance between faith and language in making choices for potential language learning opportunities, she realised that she could find opportunities that do not require such a balance. The data reveal how Zenah invested in language learning opportunities with Ms Sana and Ms Rawan by relying on her own linguistic resources with the former (Ms Sana) and by accessing the language learning experiences of a Saudi woman who had lived in the United States with the latter (Ms Rawan). Further, her investment in language learning opportunities enhanced her life both personally and socially, helping her access information that benefited her university career choices. Therefore, Zenah's exercising of her agency was not equal across contexts in terms of how she shaped her actions and was shaped by others' perceptions and actions.

4.3 Issues impacting on English opportunities in private school paired cases

In this section, I determine prominent issues relating to Reema's and Zenah's cases that might limit or enhance opportunities for English language learning.

4.3.1 English learning and Saudi family dynamics

Family dynamics becomes a means of establishing language exposure opportunities for the two participants. Their parents' positive attitudes towards learning English can be understood within the Saudi context, where the King Abdullah Scholarship Program (KASP) is encouraged and financially supported, while English language fluency is also associated with participants' future career prospects. Thus, parents contribute prominently to constructing environmental influences that determine how their children receive language education, both at home and at school. Saudi family decisions and preferences regarding English learning choices are intertwined and interrelated with the Saudi context, in which it is 'difficult to distinguish between the social and the religious' (Al Lily, 2011, p.119). Consequently, multiple factors

appear to affect a Saudi family's decisions about language education: social hierarchy, reinforcing and transmitting conservative religious values, tribal/ family values and the related guardian role.

4.3.1.1 Social hierarchy

The family's financial status, tribe name and members' education and linguistic skills create a social hierarchy that influences parents' language education choices for the study participants. Two issues can be directly connected to the advantage of the family's social hierarchy for influencing the participants' English exposure, both socially and academically: being able to afford to select private/ international schools and being able to afford to employ English-speaking domestic workers. For example, Reema's family chose private schools that, presumably, have more advantages over state schools and focus on English learning by providing more exposure to English. In addition, these schools value lived language experience through their arrangements for trips abroad, where Reema could live in an English-speaking context. In Zenah's case, her father's diplomatic work in Jordan paved the way for her to join an international school, attend family diplomatic gatherings and use English to socialise with people from different countries. The family had influence in steering language opportunities at home through employing English-speaking domestic workers. For example, Dave and Maina at Reema's house and Eve at Zenah's house (see 4.1.1.1, Reema's family and household; 4.2.1.1, Zenah's family and household) were employed by the participants' two families with the goal of providing their children with exposure to English.

However, in alignment with Reema's family's social hierarchy, her explicit communication in English with her driver, Dave, which took place in the car, exceeded maintaining an employer-employee relation to establish power dynamics, i.e. who was the servant and who was the master (see 4.1.1.5, Driven to school). In addition, Reema's resistant behaviour toward her English teacher, Ms Sana, could result from the way she perceives private school as a learning space in which her social hierarchy allows her to challenge authority when the language learning she receives does not fulfil her needs (see 4.1.2.4, Reema in Ms Sana's class).

4.3.1.2 Values reinforcement

The data show two prominent orientations of values that the families seemed to prioritise in their dynamics that have, in a way, directly influenced the participants' potential language opportunities: tribal and religious conservative values. In Reema's family, mainly with regard to her father, Reema experienced the reinforcement of tribal values and the need to respect her father's tribal status among his relatives. On the one hand, maintaining tribal values ensures the family's inclusion in and belonging to their tribe; on the other, it ensures their acceptance among their relatives and tribal recognition, and it inculcates a sense of tribal pride. Her parents are cousins who both value the family name, which is also their tribal name, and her father is the eldest among her uncles. These values ended up constraining Reema's arrangements for her trip abroad, because she needed to be accompanied by a male guardian, in which the role of guardian was transferred from her father to her brother (see 4.1.1.3, Reema's guardian and future plans). Although Reema eventually overcame this obstacle, she remained sceptical regarding her prospects for her October 2014 trip abroad (see 4.1.1.3, Travelling abroad).

In Zenah's case, her mother reinforced her family's conservative religious values, which were also transmitted through the family's Friday religious sessions and afternoon Quranic school. Her family's assertion of conservative religious values led her to take into account her agency in navigating possible boundaries associated with these values.

4.3.2 Faith

Faith is a theme continually present across the two cases, with practical implications in Zenah's case because of her household's conservative religious values. Faith, whether represented through religious forms such as *fatwa* rules, *halal, haram* parameters, *ikhtilat* situations or *dawah* goals, can either limit or increase participants' access to language opportunities access. Thus, that issues of faith are associated with language learning is not surprising. For instance, the rich data coming from Zenah's membership of her musalla group for almost six months revealed progress in her language use, in which she maintained a balance between faith and language (see 4.2.3.2, Zenah as the musalla group leader). Her continuing progress indicates that she invested in both simultaneously. At the same time, as Zenah progressed, she recognised that maintaining this balance between language skills and faith was what enabled her continued access to further development while being at the musalla, in a 'rightful place with rightful causes'.

Religious forms such as the *ikhtilat* situation, *fatwa* rules and *halal* and *haram* parameters can be used to generate provocative boundaries constraining language socialisation whether in public or women-only spaces, whereas other forms such as *dawah* goals advocate an individual who is willing to cross social, economic, linguistic and geographic boundaries to communicate with other individuals. For instance, the *ikhtilat* situation, *fatwa* rules and *halal* and *haram* parameters were used by the seven musalla group members and the school principal to interfere in Zenah's language activities in the musalla group and cancel not only her latest conference arrangement for her online American guest speaker friends, Shazia and Nadeem, but also ban English use in the musalla (see 4.2.3.2).

The city council's charity bazaar event, like any other public places in Saudi society influenced by gender segregation to avoid *ikhtilat* situations, was organised in such a way as to keep females behind the bazaar's selling stalls so that they would not be close to or talk freely with male shoppers, Reema recognised a potential language opportunity with a male English-speaking shopper, she resisted the physical boundaries and walked around the stall to create her alternative language opportunity (see 4.1.3.2 The charity bazaar). In Zenah's art gallery event, there were no physical boundaries between artists and visitors, but at the beginning Zenah stood with her back to the wall, stepping away from mingling with visitors and creating imaginary boundaries for any possible *ikhtilat* situations (see 4.2.3.3 The art gallery).

The intersections of faith, in its various religious forms, and language learning opportunities reveal tensions and struggles between participants' desires to access greater language opportunities and how to negotiate the *ikhtilat, haram* and *fatwa* boundaries imposed on them, particularly in public spaces. On the one hand, religious forms can be interpreted and conceptualised differently using God's/ Allah's sacred texts, the Prophet's cited words/ hadith. On the other hand, *ikhtilat, haram* and *fatwa* boundaries are not physically clear, but rather they depend on the family's/ guardian's choices: in the end, it is the family dynamics of a young woman that embraces negotiations and gives their daughter the right to choose. For example, the change in Zenah's active language socialisation behaviour in the gallery was in alignment with her father's continuous support for her taking advantage of opportunities to communicate with people, thus reinforcing her self-esteem and promoting her language use, and eventually contributing to perceiving *ikhtilat* situations and the boundaries they produce as removable or changeable. However, Zenah's conservative religious upbringing by her mother and the

protective fenced environment reinforces her conceptualisation of religious boundaries. Thus, tension rises in Zenah's efforts to appropriate her socialisation in language opportunities and the *ikhtilat* situations she experienced for being a woman and a language learner.

4.3.3 Rights and responsibilities

Rights and responsibilities are closely associated with language learning opportunities and English use across the school paired cases. Rights and responsibilities took various forms including quiet/ polite resistance and aggressive resistance, enthusiastic engagement and quiet/ polite steady engagement. Also, when assigning particular roles, for example a religious role, accordingly, rights and responsibilities significantly influence and shape the forms of resistance or engagement executed by the participants. My observations in Ms Sana's class revealed that both Zenah and Reema acted very differently. Zenah showed quiet/ polite steady engagement inside the class, sustaining any possible learning opportunities that Ms Sana could offer, relying on her prior linguistic experiences and investing in the teacher position which Ms Sana allowed her to have. In contrast, Reema had an aggressive resentment that was observed in class. In addition, she utilized her role as class representative to accommodate her wish to remove Ms Sana (see 4.1.2.3 Being the students' representative; 4.1.2.4 Reema in Ms Sana's class).

In Zenah's case, having the musalla group leader role, Zenah's attempts to access a wider language space appeared to be slow and cautious, which I found fitting with how she described herself as someone who cared about her own faith and values and her mother's opinion. However, when her English use was banned from the musalla group activities, Zenah maintained quiet/ polite resistance until she quietly resigned from the group.

Evidence of enthusiastic engagement came from both Zenah's and Reema's data and Ms Rawan's arrival in the second academic semester (see 4.1.2.5 Reema in Ms Rawan's class; 4.2.2.2 Zenah in Ms Rawan's class). Using English on social media has become not only a way of reaching more English speakers for Reema, but English also gained for her a right to take active social stands and express opinions concerning social issues (see 4.1.3.1 The city mall and cafés). For Zenah, the rights she gained with English enabled her to investigate the regional university's offerings (see 4.2.3.4 Meeting in a café; 4.2.3.5 Visiting the regional university campus).

Chapter 5: The preparatory year programme (PYP) paired-case analysis and findings presentation

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the second of two paired-case analyses of my two participants, Sarah and Enas, who are at the same stage of their education. In the first and second sections of this chapter, I separately introduce Sarah and Enas as individual cases, highlighting their respective formal and informal learning contexts through which I follow each of them from mid-September 2013 until the end of May 2014. In the third section, I bring the preparatory year programme (PYP) paired cases together to determine emergent issues and characteristics that may either limit or enhance English learning opportunities. Finally, I conclude this chapter with a summary reviewing the most significant issues and findings raised in the paired-case analyses of Sarah and Enas.

5.1 Case 3: Sarah

5.1.1 Home and related events

5.1.1.1 Sarah's family and household

Sarah is from a large family that includes her mother, four married sisters, two brothers (one is married and working as a policeman; the other is at military school), six nephews and five nieces (see Table 5 for Sarah's family profile). All of them have lived most of their lives in the same region. Sarah's father passed away when she was one year old (1995), her eldest paternal uncle became the guardian of Sarah and her siblings. In 2005, Sarah's eldest brother reached 18 and became the guardian of Sarah and his younger brother. All Sarah's sisters married when they were 16 years old, with the permission of their guardian (parental uncle), and the eldest has a daughter who is a year younger than Sarah. When asked about this niece, Sarah said, 'Imagine! I'm an aunt to my best friend [laughs]. It's funny that she is my niece and she is 17' (Sarah, 2 October 2013).

Table 5

General Profile of Case 3

Name	Sarah
Age	19
Institution	Preparatory year programme (PYP)
Educational level	First year on a university-level programme; she completed state school near her home.
In her family	The youngest of her family, with six older siblings. Four sisters (34, 32, 32 and 30 years old). Two brothers (26 & 23 years old)
Father's occupation	Worked for the police force for 20 years and passed away when Sarah was one year old. The force, like other Saudi government sectors, continues paying his salary until all his male children reach 21 and all his female children are married.
Mother's occupation	A housewife. Education: a primary school certificate from an adult women's education school

Sarah attended primary, intermediate and secondary state schools near her home. She and her mother live in the family house built by her father. Her brother and sisters married their cousins and live in neighbouring homes. Her paternal uncles and several cousins also live nearby and often visit Sarah's mother. Sarah and her mother's income comes from Sarah's deceased father's retirement salary, and her brother contributes some of his income, too. There are no domestic workers in Sarah's house. Neither she nor any of her family members have ever travelled abroad.

Only one of Sarah's married sisters completed an undergraduate degree, at a community college. Her sisters greatly influenced Sarah's studies, and they encouraged her to be a good student and devote her time to learning. Sarah reported that when she was accepted onto the preparatory year programme (PYP) at the regional university, her sisters were so excited that they threw her a family party:

> What a surprise it was! They had my name spelled in silver balloons, Dr Sarah! I told them it's not a big deal because all university students who are planning to major in [information technology] or nursing or medical colleges must complete the PYP with high scores. I showed them the university website and the rules. (personal communication, 2 October 2013)

When Sarah volunteered to participate in the research study, her brother took a week to sign the consent forms. During that week, her mother called me to ask about my research and whether I would be filming or taking photos of the students. Also, she insisted that if I met Sarah outside the PYP campus, either she or her nine-year-old grandson, Khaled, would accompany Sarah. She mentioned that she called her relative, who works at the regional university, to ask about me, and her relative assured her that I could be trusted with her daughter. The relative assured her that I am a well-mannered person "who fears Allah" and would not be a bad influence on her daughter. The mother went on to tell me about Sarah's dream of becoming a doctor, helping herself and her family financially, and making them proud. She praised Sarah for putting her faith first and for being mature and successful, before ending the phone call with a short prayer to protect her.

Despite Sarah's family's limited income and protectiveness, the family were supportive of Sarah and hoped she would have better career choices than they had. Their close ties reflect their significant role in Sarah's life.

5.1.1.2 Sarah's school and English learning

Sarah is an outstanding student. She has compiled an enviable academic record and has received many local school awards for her achievements. She refers to her awards as sources of a strong sense of success and achievement that drive her to advance her learning further. Thus, by the time she finished secondary school in 2013, she had already made her plans. She wanted to go to medical college and become a doctor, so she applied to the PYP at the regional university.

Sarah began studying English language at the age of 11 in sixth grade at a state school. Her family, mainly her sisters, encouraged her to learn English and supported her studies financially by providing private female tutors:

> It is expensive and difficult to get female English tutors. And even if you find one, they are not sincere and work from the heart. I was lucky two years ago to find Tamador. She is from Sudan, works in a dentist's clinic and loves English. Her flat is close to my house. She is suitable for my situation. (personal communication, 1 January 2014)

Sarah mentioned that she liked Tamador after she told Sarah that she liked to be called by her name, not Teacher or Miss. Tamador shared her dream with Sarah, which was to emigrate to Australia in five years' time after first saving some money from her work in Saudi Arabia.

Tamador liked English and worked to improve it daily to enable her transition into Australian society. Though Sarah did not agree with Tamador's future choice of living in a non-Muslim country, because she didn't think it was a good plan to leave a Muslim country, she found Tamador's linguistic capabilities and current circumstances convenient for her.

Socializing with Tamador and learning English with her at home for two years helped Sarah overcome her state school English-learning experiences. Sarah's experience of learning English at a state secondary school had not been a happy one:

وكانت السيدة إيمان بلدي مدرسا للغة الانجليزية في مدرستي الثانوية. كانت دائما الصبر في الصف. تحدثت باللغة العربية في كل وقت. وكان فصلها مملة جدا. مرة واحدة، حاولت أن أشير إلى الفرق بين صوتين ب و ف، وأنها وبخ لي أن لا يقطع الدرس مرة أخرى! بعد هذا الحادث، توقفت عن أن تكون أول من رفع يدي للرد. درست بجد للحصول على علامات كاملة.

> Ms Iman was my English teacher at my secondary school. She was always impatient in class. She talked in Arabic all the time. Her class was so boring. Once, I tried to point out the difference between two sounds, b and p, and she scolded me and told me to not interrupt the lesson again! After that incident, I stopped being the first to raise my hand to answer. I studied hard to get full marks. (personal communication, 1 January 2014)

Sarah's experience of learning English before she started her PYP varied between informal and formal experiences. Whether those experiences met her expectations or not, she indicated that she made choices regarding who, how and what was more convenient for her. She preferred to be quiet in her school English class and to focus on her marks.

Sarah said that she acknowledged the importance of English in her life in general, as well as in her future career plans, particularly how she perceived herself in the future,

> و لكل انسان ناجح بالحياه هدف سامي يسعى نحوه مهني و شخصي. بالنسبة لي فهدفي طبيبة مسلمة سعودية واثقة بقدراتها اللغوية والمعرفية يشار لها بالمحافل العلمية الدولية. طلاقتي بالانجليزي إضافة لي.

> In life, every successful person has a noble career and personal goals that they seek. My goal is to be a Muslim Saudi who is confident in both her knowledge and linguistic capabilities and who is recognised at international scientific events. Being a good English

> speaker is something that adds to my self-esteem. (personal communication, 2 March 2014)

For Sarah, learning and using English do not contradict her beliefs. She confidently sees herself as capable of balancing faith, language and a career that paves the way for international recognition.

5.1.1.3 Being the expert on English in the family

Sarah's family is exceptionally proud of her academic achievements, particularly her English—they call her "the English expert". Sarah mentioned this description in a proud tone as she detailed how, even though she was the youngest among her siblings, she helped her sisters, nephews and nieces in different ways, such as translating her mother's medical transcripts and her nephew's video games:

> My mother calls me to translate information leaflets for her medicine, Ali [her brother] calls me to do his iPhone settings, Hanan [her sister] calls me to talk in English to her Filipino babysitter when she has mood swings, Rayan [her nephew] calls me to translate the FIFA video game on [the] PlayStation. (Sarah, personal communication, 1 January 2014)

In addition, she extends her language capabilities beyond the family. For example, she shared her experience of booking a hotel online with her friends using Snapchat, including a photo of an authorisation form she translated from English into Arabic and used to finish the booking (see Appendix P).

Her mother and siblings, as Sarah explained, believe that because she is good at English, her future career plans are guaranteed. Sarah shares the same belief: "With English I'll pass the PYP successfully. Then, I'll get [into] medical college easily and become a doctor with a high salary" (personal communication, 1 November 2013). However, her paternal uncles do not support these career plans. They believe, as Sarah reported, that when a female becomes a doctor, she will work in a hospital and mix with male patients and doctors. Because of their religion and culture, they believe that a career like this, where Sarah would be put into a sinful position, mixing with men and potentially bringing disgrace to her family name, is not suitable. Sarah told me about a distant female cousin who is single because she was a nurse and no one wanted to marry her.

Sarah's English capabilities were not only valued among family members but also helped to create a path towards larger career goals and financial stability. However, this path needed to be strategically planned and appropriate to the culture of her family/tribe name to avoid her paternal uncles' intrusion.

5.1.2 Formal contexts and related events

I met and recruited Sarah in the PYP building. In the following sub-sections, I describe several events that took place in the PYP building and the English classroom, led by Ms Laura, Sarah's teacher, while I was observing, following and recording Sarah.

5.1.2.1 Preparatory year programme (PYP) at the regional university

The PYP is a necessary foundational year that university students finish before selecting a major. The regional university has two separate, male and female, campuses and houses a number of colleges and PYP buildings. The female campus is located in the city centre, whereas the male campus is about 50 kilometres from the city. The regional university's female campus has high concrete walls with six metal entry gates. The campus has a small corner shop, shops selling books and stationery, a café, two ATMs, a library, classrooms, three halls, offices, science labs and a clinic. All the building's windows have a fixed bottom panel and a movable upper panel. Wi-Fi is available to students, and staff and students can access their records, e-mail accounts and class locations and times through the university's portal. The university's dress code requires female students to wear a long, loose black skirt with a long-sleeved white blouse. Female students are not allowed to use mobile phones or laptops with cameras; instead, they need to remove the cameras from their phones and cover laptop cameras with tape.

Regional university students, including PYP students, do not pay tuition fees and receive a monthly bursary of 1,000 Saudi riyals. The regional university has an annual contract with a foreign company to manage the PYP, train the teaching staff and provide textbooks to male and female PYP students. The PYP on the women's campus is housed in a modern four-storey building and has 65 female staff members, including 51 foreigners. English is used as the medium of communication among staff and students. The PYP students attend 20 hours per week of English classes in addition to eight hours of other courses that include science, maths, and/or information technology. The PYP male and female administration departments communicate by fax, e-mail and telephone. The male PYP English teachers set midterm and final

exams for both male and female PYP students. They write, print and photocopy the exams, and then send them in the morning to female English teachers on the female campus. In order for the female English teachers to prepare their students for the exams, they attempt to cover the information in the students' textbook.

PYP students need to score at least 70 per cent in English and 60 per cent in other subjects before they can choose a college major. The PYP gives priority to English use, not only academically but also in all other aspects of campus life. For instance, in my first week touring the PYP building with Sarah, she said, "It's English all the time", while pointing to the staff lounge at the end of the corridor (Sarah, personal communication, 1 October 2013). She explained that the English teachers were native speakers who did not know Arabic. In one incident, which occurred a day before my tour with Sarah, I saw her talking to her English teacher, Ms Laura, in the corridor. I noticed that Ms Laura did all the talking, while Sarah only kept smiling and nodding her head. Sarah reflected on the incident:

> كنت محرجة حقا [تضحك] لأنني لم أكن أعرف كيف أقول لها اني متاخرة على الفصل لأن صديقي محتاجة تروح لعيادة. بس وريتها نوتة مشرفتي و اشرت على صديقتي و قلت I need to go
>
> I was really embarrassed [laughs] because I did not know how to tell her that I was late for class because my friend needed to go to the clinic. I just showed her my advisor's note and pointed to my friend and said, "I need to go." (personal communication, 1 October 2013)

The first week in PYP seemed significant for Sarah in terms of forming an idea of what it means to be a PYP student. She was surrounded by a new environment and confronted in her language skills by people who were practically native speakers, which was difficult for her, the expert in her family (see 5.1.1.3). Sarah was not confident in her English, though she was aware of the priority that PYP assigned to English use and the demands this placed on her.

5.1.2.2 PYP English classroom and Ms Laura

PYP students do not have a fixed classroom location, as in cases 1 and 2 in Chapter 4. Students check their online schedules to locate their English classes. Classrooms have similar teaching facilities such as a smart board, whiteboard, desktop computer and projector. The desktop computer and other facilities' ports are installed in a grey podium in the corner of the

room, next to the whiteboard. There is no teacher's desk. There are no posters on the walls except a small poster with information on how to connect laptops to the smart board and projector. There are about 17–20 chairs with attached desks.

English is a demanding class (20 hours per week) that involves weekly quizzes, group presentations, midterm and final exams. Students attend two English classes per day. In the first class, they use a textbook for reading, writing and listening, while the second class focuses on students' workbook activities and presentations. In Sarah's English class, there were 12 students during the first academic semester. Eight more students were moved to her class for three weeks at the beginning of the second semester (10–27 February 2014). Ms Laura was Sarah's English teacher in the first and second academic semesters.

Ms Laura is a black South African-British English teacher with an MA in TESOL. The 30-year-old teacher had four years' (2008–11) experience of teaching English to Chinese students and one year (in 2012) with Saudi students in a PYP at a national university (see Chapter 3). She referred to her 2012 teaching experience as "eye-opening" regarding the importance of Islam and Saudi culture in education:

> I was given a list of rules, of dos and don'ts. They are not teaching rules, but religious and cultural matters, such as to avoid topics like women driving, women's customs, religious discussions, gender mixing [and] Western stories that might influence students' morals. (Ms Laura, personal communication, 28 October 2013).

Ms Laura dressed in a mid-length black skirt, a black cotton long-sleeved shirt, a large, colourful headband, short black stockings and colourful shoes. She told me that she wore the headband in the first week, after getting a short haircut, to keep her frizzy hair in place (personal communication, 16 September 2012). That week she noticed that students were greeting her in Arabic with *asalaam alaikum* (peace be unto you) when she met them in the PYP building. She believed that the students thought she was Muslim and that her headband was a hijab or veil. She did not try to point out that she was not Muslim, as she thought of it as a way to be friendly and build a rapport with her new students. Also, I observed that she used Islamic expressions, such as *in-sha-Allah* (God/ Allah be willing) while talking to students. She was cooperative and friendly with me in our informal meetings, which were typically held in the campus café to discuss what happened earlier in class.

In Ms Laura's classes, she started by asking the students to arrange their seats facing her in two rows (6–8 at the front and 4–6 at the back), while she stood in front of the whiteboard. She then checked students' names for attendance. The students would interrupt to correct their names' pronunciation. The name-calling and correcting of pronunciation was a funny and friendly 5-minute interaction, and Ms Laura got better as I observed her over the weeks. She would then tell the class about her lesson objectives for their first and second English classes of the day. She connected her laptop on the podium and displayed a students' textbook page on the board in pdf format (Appendix Q). For 10–15 minutes, she would go through reading the page from the board and pointing to students who must cover the information in the textbook. She was only responsible for writing the weekly quizzes, while the male English teachers wrote the midterm and final exams for both male and female PYP students.

For the workbook activity topics, Ms Laura allowed her students to come up with their own topics and use their own resources (including their own laptops, electronic dictionaries, magazines and newspapers) while working on assignments, projects and presentations. When it came to group work, she instructed the students to arrange their chairs and form their own groups. Most often, she directed each group to include two to four students. She did not interfere with whom students chose to be with in their groups; she would only interject if a group was not participating or was slow to come together.

Sarah enjoyed her English classes with Ms Laura, and she told me that she was lucky and thankful to be in a class with a passionate language teacher. Ms Laura also expressed her contentment to be with 12 good students who respected her and worked hard. But she expressed that she worried that allowing her students to use their own resources and suggest topics from outside the textbook might pose sociocultural challenges in her class for her to deal with.

5.1.2.3 Being a PYP student

Fear of failure and a strong desire to secure a place on her desired major seemed to create pressure for Sarah from the beginning of the academic year. She was aware of the importance assigned to being able to speak and read English fluently. She pointed to the transitional difficulties involving English use in PYP and English learning in Ms Laura's class, including her realization that students could not depend on the teachers but were rather expected to rely on themselves:

> I was stressed and felt pressure from what I heard from last year's PYP students and from reading the PYP online forum and tweets. For me, the new stuff is English, which is very hard, because it is the PYP life . . . It is all the time. I need to be good about using English not only to [my] English teachers but also to teachers of [my] other subjects. My mark in English is my future! Ms Laura is explaining everything in the book. It is good, but I need to know more than what Ms Laura's offering. I need to be a super learner who is always prepared, studies hard every day, doesn't rely only on Ms Laura, and uses English more and more. (Sarah, personal communication, 21 October 2013)

Sarah perceived the PYP as somewhat different from her previous school learning experiences, with a different focus and expectations, but not very different in terms of function: "Not everything in PYP is new to me. My school system is like my PYP. I know how to log in to my student online account and organize my subjects and access my results" (Sarah, personal communication, 11 October 2013).

A month after Sarah's reference to the PYP building and its teachers as being "English all the time", she was still aware of the high priority that the PYP assigned to English use and the demands this placed on her. For instance, when I asked Sarah why she could not talk to Ms Laura, she said:

> I think about what I say in English in my head before going to the teacher, but when I speak, my sentences are broken and the teacher nods her head and I think she, at the same time, tries to connect my words and make them meaningful [laughing]. Of course, I don't laugh like this. I act in [a] respectful way. (Sarah, personal communication, 4 November 2013)

Sarah recognized that she needed to put more effort into both her linguistic and social knowledge of English to make herself clearer and to avoid relying on her teachers to connect her words and understand their meaning. She realized that language-learning opportunities demand not only her linguistic capabilities, but also her awareness of the interpersonal dimensions of communication.

While she began to navigate being a PYP student, particularly the significance of English, she strategized a path to her greater goal of going to medical college and becoming a doctor:

> [English] is hard, with its intensive teaching hours; Ms Laura is a native speaker and gives weekly quizzes, and the male teachers at the other campus set exams. I [will] pass all these and head to medical college. I mustn't fail! (Sarah, personal communication, 11 October 2013)

Her statement that she "mustn't fail" suggested that she did not consider failure an option; rather, she assigned herself the primary responsibility for her success. However, she pointed to a difficulty that, though happening beyond her female-only campus, was affecting her plans. When Ms Laura explained to the class that the male teachers would set all their English exams, Sarah accidently yelled "ظلم" [unfair] in class (personal communication, 19 October 2013). She asked Ms Laura to excuse her behaviour. After class, Sarah went to Ms Laura's office to say that she was sorry for interrupting her and speaking in Arabic in class. Ms Laura sat with Sarah and showed her an e-mail from the male PYP administration about English examination procedures and pointed to the part of the e-mail that indicated that male English teachers wrote the midterm and final exams for all PYP students. Sarah told Ms Laura she did not understand why the other campus and the male teachers were involved in what was taking place with her teacher in her class and building. Ms Laura explained that both male and female PYPs belonged to the same regional university, and the university had the power to decide and construct what knowledge would be legitimate, including setting criteria for English exams. Sarah perceived her English class in the PYP building as an independent learning space where she had the right to know and access the aspects involved in assessment. Having male English teachers set her exams would give her fewer choices in negotiating the content of English exams. For Sarah, having gendered social boundaries in the PYP, including female English teachers setting the exams for their female students, would work well for her advancement.

After the first midterm English exam, Ms Laura told me that Sarah wanted to contact the male PYP administration department and asked whom she could contact. Ms Laura provided Sarah with contact information for the male PYP English coordinator. In Sarah's e-mail, written in both Arabic and English, she addressed the male English coordinator and sent a carbon copy to the female PYP English coordinator and Ms Laura. Sarah prioritized practical factors that affected her English class, including the inclusion of new topics that were not listed in the textbook and parts of the textbook that were skipped when the class was taught by a substitute

teacher.[14] She also included other issues related to how language exams usually took place in the female PYP building. She explained that when she needed to clarify a question in the exam, the proctors, who were from other colleges, did not understand English. In addition, when they wanted to contact the male PYP department, it took a long time for them to respond. At the end of the e-mail, Sarah stated that her purpose in e-mailing was that she thought the male PYP administration department was unaware of the circumstances of how English was taught and how exams took place in the female PYP building. Though Sarah did not receive a reply, she was satisfied with her action: "I'm happy I did it. I was worried about Ms Laura. But she's okay. The boys section didn't contact her" (personal communication, 27 November 2013).[15] Sarah confided in me that she had not consulted anyone in her family or Ms Laura when drafting her e-mail.

For Sarah, being a PYP student enabled her to realize her agency through the way she creatively and strategically navigated using the language and understanding how it would fit in numerous ways: within Ms Laura's English class, in the PYP environment, and in her broader transition to a future career at medical college. She enacted her agency by negotiating and challenging the hierarchically ordered instructional environment (i.e. the PYP male administration) and giving her account of what was happening with her and around her in her space (i.e. female students' exam environment and circumstances).

5.1.2.4 Being a bilingual assistant/helper in Ms Laura's class

Sarah expanded the scope of her English learning class beyond the immediate boundaries of the activities set by her teacher. She realized that she could gain more independence, establish her position as a quiet leader and choose to do more English when she had completed other assignments. Sarah was always the first to finish activities in class. When Ms Laura allowed extra time for the rest of the class and repeated her explanations of activities, Sarah quietly prepared for the next activity, or she would read from her textbook:

---

[14] Ms Laura took four days of sick leave and so her classes were taught by another English teacher.

[15] The male PYP administration department replied to the female PYP administration department and Ms Laura, attaching a copy of the company contract that highlighted their responsibility for setting the PYP midterm and final exams. Ms Laura did not tell Sarah that the male PYP administration department had e-mailed her.

> Ms Laura is now explaining a *Tale of Two Towns* vocabulary activity for the second time. Students work in groups on the activity on page 37. Sarah turns to the Sherlock Holmes mystery stories on pages 151 and 152. (my fieldwork observation notes, 4 March 2014)

After Sarah finished her part in group activities, she would look over her peers' answers and enquire if they needed help, but she also continued to read the Sherlock Holmes mystery stories.

Ms Laura praised Sarah's language-learning capacity and attitude, as well as her calm and helpful disposition during group activities: "Sarah is my favourite student in class. She has a strong determination and yet is so calm in handling class activities and always assisting me" (Ms Laura, personal communication, 1 November 2013). Sarah's behaviour indicated that there can be a reciprocal relationship between her personal views and her actions in the classroom:

> Our teacher is a bit slow this semester because we have new students in our class. They are not familiar with her teaching methods, and sometimes I think they want to give her a hard time [shaking her head in disapproval], so I like to keep myself occupied. I mean, not get bored or sleepy while she repeats instructions. (personal communication, 3 March 2014)

Sarah's observations of how Ms Laura dealt with the class allowed her to recognize the possible investment in expanding her current learning space to better resemble opportunities not open to her.

Sarah worked actively to change her entire English learning scenario by being not only the agent but also the means: "I like to read some of the stories at the end of the textbook when Ms Laura repeats things or gives the class extra time to work on activities" (personal communication, 3 March 2014). Several times, I observed Sarah helping her peers without interrupting Ms Laura's class routine. While Sarah waited for the other students to finish assigned activities, she worked on upcoming activities, though she did not write down the answers. She identified her individual and group participation as opportunities that she created for herself to overcome the limited support Ms Laura was able to offer, though Sarah did acknowledge her teacher's role: "I can succeed with minimal support from Ms Laura. But she is helpful for exam preparation" (personal communication, 3 March 2014).

However, in the second semester, the PYP administration department moved eight students from the overcrowded class of Ms Raja, an English teacher from Morocco, into Ms Laura's class. These eight students were used to Ms Raja, who explained things in both Arabic and English. Ms Laura, who did not know Arabic, tried to help them by explaining the instructions slowly and sometimes repeating them several times. During this period, I observed Sarah, who was working on her group presentation, trying to be patient and ignore the noisy complaints of the eight students, who sat together and refused to separate into two groups. Sarah offered Ms Laura her help if needed. After class, Ms Laura told me that she was grateful for Sarah in her class:

> Sarah understands me quickly. She doesn't like to rush me by saying 'Yes, yes' or nodding her head as some of my students do in this class when I repeat things. She likes to help all the class without showing off her learning abilities. (Ms Laura, personal communication, 27 February 2014)

Two weeks after Ms Laura made this comment, I observed an incident involving the eight new students speaking in Arabic while Ms Laura was explaining activity instructions. Ms Laura explained to them repeatedly that they needed to work on the activity in pairs. Sarah stood in front of the class next to Ms Laura and spoke in Arabic, repeating her instructions. One of the students responded that they had not brought their textbooks and did not understand Ms Laura because she spoke in English all the time. Two of the students laughed. Sarah looked at Ms Laura and told her that these students planned to transfer to other majors that did not require them to pass PYP courses, but they needed to attend classes to avoid absentee reports. Ms Laura reported the eight students to the administration department, and the students were given notice that they had been suspended for 4 days.

The social disruption of the eight students, who did not share Sarah's level of investment in Ms Laura's class or her ambition, did not constrain Sarah, who perceived the PYP as a social change for better future choices. She demonstrated a willingness, confidence and increased responsibility to actively protect not only her own learning space but also that of her teacher and classmates: "I care about Ms Laura, the time she spends repeating the lessons and caring about our levels . . . Also, about my class. We're here to learn and get self-sufficient careers. This PYP is for us and for Saudi generations tomorrow" (personal communication, 2 March 2014). Sarah's

attempts at agency might involve nonvisible behaviours and beliefs but, in this incident, Sarah took a step in voicing her needs and exercising her capacity to take charge of her learning space. Sarah observed the changing dynamics in Ms Laura's class and helped her teacher, who could not understand the students' Arabic comments and did not understand their behaviour in her class. Sarah moved to stand supportively by Ms Laura's side. Sarah perceived herself as a concerned learner who was investing in English as a path to her greater goal of going to medical college, which led her to position herself as a legitimate agent choosing to act and speak, and to change her current language learning space.

5.1.2.5 Sarah's group-formation trajectory

With all her stress and anxiety around the constant use of English in PYP spaces, whether in relation to meeting professional goals or the more immediate high standards required for learning achievement, Sarah stayed alert to classroom group dynamics by exploring potential English-language opportunities that might let her access better linguistic support. Ms Laura told the class to work in groups on textbook and workbook activities and presentations, which involved choosing and discussing presentation topics in class and using presentation materials. The two academic semesters during which Sarah navigated her position in the group can be illustrated by the following dynamics:

Quiet leader and resource provider

Sarah explained that her fellow students made friends in school during the first week. The three students she knew were already sitting together in a group. She admitted she felt too shy in the first week of the semester to walk up to anyone and ask to be in their group. I observed the class as Ms Laura told her students they would be working in groups on workbook activities and presentations. When she asked them to form groups, they began to exchange looks around the room, standing up to ask their peers who should go to whom, with or without chairs. Some students carried their chairs from the back of the room to the front, while others dragged their chairs across the floor. Sarah was left without anyone with whom to form a group. Basma, a student at the back, stood with her chair and exchanged looks with Sarah. Ms Laura noticed and asked Basma to come and join Sarah. Sarah smiled and nodded to Ms Laura as Basma placed her chair in front of Sarah. Basma asked Sarah what she wanted to present on, and Sarah asked whether it was okay with her to use a topic from the textbook instead of coming up with a new

one. Basma agreed, and so Sarah chose the topic of 'Palestinian youths', one of their reading lessons. She pulled her laptop from her bag and showed Basma some photos they could include in their PowerPoint slides. Basma pulled out her iPad and showed Sarah some slide designs. Sarah nodded and asked Basma to think about the main idea for two slides, while she did the same for two other slides. Ms Laura started walking among the groups, beginning with Sarah's. She admired their organisation and progress, saying, 'Excellent work, Sarah and Basma. Already you have five well-informed slides' (Ms Laura, 4 October 2013). Ms Laura then walked to the next group, remarking to them and noting again that Sarah and Basma's group was excellent. After class, Sarah told me that, at first, she felt shy and did not want to walk up to students to ask if she could join them, fearing they might refuse. She felt Ms Laura saved her when she asked Basma, who was in the same lonely situation, to come and join Sarah in a group. Sarah said she tried to be patient with Basma during their discussion of presentation topics, because Basma was looking at design colours and fonts when they should have been deciding what information to put on the slides. Sarah described her first group experience as 'awkward', but expressed her happiness that Ms Laura noticed her and that her fellow students turned to look when Ms Laura pointed to her and praised her work to the class.

Although Sarah initially showed fear of rejection in group work, ultimately, she actively engaged with the students in her group by identifying her role in it and the other members' potential. A hidden goal is revealed here in Sarah's desire to be noticed by Ms Laura and recognised by the class. At the same time, Sarah's choice of topic from the textbook, although Ms Laura allowed them to go beyond the textbook, indicates her focus on class content, which was likewise their exam content. She preferred to remain consistent and stick to the materials at hand rather than spend time looking for new ones.

Flexible collaborator on the path to a final result

On subsequent days, as Ms Laura told students to start working, either on their group presentations or group workbook activities, five to seven students looked directly at Sarah, whispering about whether she wanted to go to them or they to her. Their whispering became loud, along with the noise of chairs being dragged across the floor. Ms Laura told the students whispering to Sarah to stop, in a raised voice, asking for two students different from those who worked with Sarah the day before in the workgroup activity to work with her today. Ms Laura

pointed to Fayza and Misk, two students standing next to each other with chairs in their hands, to join Sarah. With Sarah sitting near the podium, Fayza and Misk carried their chairs over to her.

In this three-member group, Fayza and Misk kept quiet, looking to Sarah to take the lead. Sarah asked if they had any ideas for their presentation. Fayza said that they had been thinking of making a poster instead of using presentation slides. Misk explained that a poster would be similar to the ones made in science classes. Sarah approved, observing that, because the poster idea was new in Ms Laura's class, it would be better to use textbook topics. Fayza argued that a 'dull' textbook topic would limit the innovative impact of a poster. Sarah opened a new Microsoft Word document on her laptop and inserted four text boxes and three shapes. She turned the laptop screen around and, pointing to the text boxes and shapes, told Fayza and Misk that all these spaces would need to be filled with information on their chosen topic, after which Fayza and Misk agreed to select a topic from the textbook. After some discussion, they agreed to use the topic 'Naming around the world'. Fayza suggested some slight modifications and the inclusion of local examples, explaining the latter in Arabic. Sarah pointed out that they needed to translate the examples into English. She asked Fayza to write the examples in Arabic and Misk to read and edit; she would then translate into English, after which Fayza would check the spelling and Misk would type the translation into a space on the poster. While Fayza and Misk started working, Sarah collected information on the topic and made notes about where to fit the information on the poster. Ms Laura stood next to Sarah's group and told the class that the members in this group were hard at work and that they would probably be the first group that week to earn full marks. Sarah looked up at Ms Laura and smiled confidently, then looked at Fayza and Misk and said, ' ما شا الله علينا ' [Allah bless us. Very good. Let's finish this poster.] (personal communication, 7 October 2013).

Sarah's willingness to collaborate, negotiate new ideas, and stay on task whilst knowing how things should proceed indicated her immediate awareness of the activity and the persons involved in her group, as well as the path to and vision of the final result.

Empowering the group

I observed during the first two weeks that Sarah kept her seat next to the podium, where Ms Laura placed her textbook, attendance sheet and pencil bag. Her position in the classroom becomes significant to group formation insofar as her group is the first that Ms Laura passes while making her rounds to check on group activity progress and that she praises the group and

presents it to the class as an example of quality teamwork and new ideas. Sarah said that a couple of students asked her why she did not change seats so as to join their group, but she said she preferred to be near the front so that Ms Laura would intervene if students wasted Sarah's group's time by speaking Arabic, not participating or working on other assignments. Her immediate awareness of Ms Laura's organization of group work and monitoring of their progress enabled Sarah to recognise the potential of occupying a seat near her. Investing in a space close to the authority figure of Ms Laura empowered Sarah's own learning.

On 9 March 2014, Sarah heard from Rana[16] that their English teacher, Ms Laura, was a Christian, not a Muslim as they had thought. Sarah confided in me that she had thought Ms Laura was a Muslim because she often used Islamic expressions, such as *in-sha-Allah* [God/ Allah willing], and covered her hair. Sarah was clearly puzzled by this revelation and refused to comment when I asked her about Ms Laura being a Christian. Two weeks later, when I brought up Ms Laura in conversation with Sarah after class, she replied that, 'I always like to speak English with Ms Laura, and she is very lovely and respected. She is a Christian but in fact she knows a lot about Islam when we discuss Saudi culture.' (Sarah, personal communication 22 March 2014). Later that day, Sarah sent me a screenshot via WhatsApp from the Islamic website http://fatwa.islamweb.net (appendix R) showing a *fatwa* addressing a concern over the rule regarding Muslims learning English. The *fatwa* began by stating that, as the language of the Quran, Arabic is the best language. It went on to say that Muslims should not speak languages other than Arabic unless the need arises, such as when an addressee does not understand Arabic, in which case, there is nothing wrong with using English. The *fatwa* concluded by stating that, in principle, learning English is permissible for Muslims. Sarah said that she felt supported and confident in using English thanks to this *fatwa*, having decided that Ms Laura, as her English instructor, fit her interpretation of it. Her justification for interacting with Ms Laura was language learning, a strong reason unrelated to the faith of the teacher.

The way Sarah described her view of Ms Laura reflects the tension she was trying to resolve in how she sees the world around her, particularly in relation to language learning. When I asked whether she would discuss Islam with Ms Laura, she replied:

---

[16] One of my excluded participants and a member of the university student media team. She learned that Ms Laura was a Christian while interviewing her for the PYP weekly newspaper.

> Of course, I want to debate, because when you are a good Muslim, you cannot ignore the opportunity for *dawah*, but I don't have sufficient religious and linguistic knowledge appropriate for such a situation, especially if she asks me to provide evidence and facts. This is too risky for me! The non-Muslim will not be convinced easily by the Islamic faith. And there are many stories where it starts simply with a learning purpose and ends dangerously, with the Muslim girl questioning her own faith. (personal communication, 27 April 2014)

Sarah's flexibility became evident when, after learning about Ms Laura's religion, she constructed her own idea of how it was permissible to seek language-learning opportunities from a non-Muslim English speaker. The tension between her faith and her desire to learn a language presents a learning opportunity that reaches its height in her decision to invest in Ms Laura's English class. Sarah uses her interpretation of the *fatwa* and reluctance for *dawah* as reasons not to attempt to convince a non-Muslim to embrace the faith at the risk of starting to doubt her own. She cites English as a disadvantage with a non-Muslim with superior linguistic capabilities. Sarah is content with this reasoning, choosing to protect her faith while pursuing language learning with Ms Laura. Even after discovering Ms Laura's religion, Sarah does not move her seat from near the podium or stop being helpful to Ms Laura in class.

Embracing change and choosing a role corresponding to her strengths and weaknesses

By the last week of November, I observed two students sitting close to Sarah and becoming notable members of her group:[17] Fatima and Enas had joined the group, making this the second time they had worked with her. Sarah told me that Enas had talked to her during a class break about the idea of working together, and she agreed. Enas used to sit at the back, with Fatima. According to Ms Laura, Fatima is a good student but she is usually scolded by Ms Laura for her jokes and funny comments. Sarah met Enas during the first week in the PYP building. Sarah mentioned that she liked Enas and Fatima being interested in not only befriending but also working with her. She added that both Enas and Fatima travelled abroad and that their English

[17] Although Ms Laura told them to change groups, they justified staying together by stating that they had already prepared information for the group work with Sarah during the class break.

was good—especially Enas's. She liked a video that Enas had shown her from her trip to Walt Disney World, and Enas told her that they could use the video in their presentation. She mentioned she had recently started following Enas on Twitter. Sarah perceived Enas's and Fatima's addition to her group as an enhancement, encouraging her to invest in class language learning opportunities and potential, which might allow her to better access linguistic support. The two students had the advantage of travelling abroad and using English, so they had accounts of personal language experiences, whereas Sarah had never been abroad. However, I wondered if Enas and Fatima's sense of humour and joking about society would cause tensions for Sarah. For example, I observed an incident during an activity where the students described the activities they were likely to do when visiting cities like Tokyo, London, Dubai or New York. Ms Laura was standing next to Sarah's group and discussing with Sarah, Fatima and Enas their answers. Fatima was saying how she would choose to go skydiving in Dubai and the following conversation ensued:

Sarah: What are you going to wear?

Enas: Of course barachute.

Ms Laura: You mean a parachute!

Fatima: A strong suit that resists wind and protects the body from crashing on land.

Sarah: With no abaya? That's haram [the whole class laughing]!

Misk (from the next group): Not haram! It is just *ib*.

Fatima: I agree. Just *ib*.

Ms Laura: What do haram and *ib* mean in English?

Enas: Haram means that the bearded men are not happy with what you are doing [class laughing]. And *ib* is when you do something and the old ladies cover their mouth and nose with their scarfs [class laughing again].

Sarah: [looking at Enas] *Astaghfirullah*[18] Enas! Sorry Ms Laura. When our Islamic religion says no, this means haram, and when our Saudi customs say no, this is ib.

Ms Laura: And what do you think, Enas, about Fatima's skydiving? Haram or *ib*?

Enas: It is halal. All halal because it is fun! […]

[18] An Arabic expression that literally means to seek forgiveness from Allah. It is used as an exclamation of exasperation.

[Enas drawing with her blue pen on the corner of Sarah's notebook a woman wearing an abaya and flying with a parachute (see Appendix S**)**]

Enas: [showing the class her drawing] Yippee, Sarah's flying [class laughing]!(Transcript of the recorded interaction, 2 April 2014)

After class, Sarah expressed shock at Enas's answer and justified why she had immediately stepped in to clarify the difference between what was prohibited by religion as haram and what was considered culturally inappropriate as *ib*. She delivered her explanation respectfully. Later, I asked Sarah whether she was offended by Enas's drawing. She reminded me that she had laughed with the others. She went on to explain that she understood Enas's joking style. Also, she reported that she had only interfered in the discussion because she felt both responsible for and capable of delivering the local cultural knowledge of Saudi society that Ms Laura might lack. I asked her whether she was affected by her relationship with Enas, and she described how Enas's ideas about her future were dreamy and unrealistic. Moreover, Sarah said that sometimes Enas offends others who do not know her: 'I always tell her to respect the line between what she can say and what she can't say even if it is a joke' (personal communication, 7 April 2014).

Despite Sarah perceiving the tension that Enas can cause, she recognised potential benefits from investing in their relationship. Sarah is confident in her faith and in respect of what it means to be a language learner, PYP student and young Muslim Saudi woman with the constraints these might impose. Sarah also clearly understands her desired goals in Ms Laura's class and her larger goals in PYP and a future medical career.

Sarah's group-forming trajectory includes being a quiet group leader and resource provider. She demonstrates a willingness to collaborate and is flexible in her approach to group work. Sarah empowers the group by taking advantage of Ms Laura's scaffolding, embracing change and choosing a role that corresponds to her strengths and makes up for her weaknesses. Mitigating these challenges, whether in relation to fulfilling professional goals or in meeting the more immediate high standards of learning achievement, she stays alert to the dynamics of group class activity, exploring potential English opportunities that might allow her to access better linguistic support.

5.1.3 Non-formal learning contexts and related events

Although most of the data in Sarah's case were gathered in formal language learning spaces because of the intensity of her PYP schedule, Sarah allowed me to accompany her to the city mall on one occasion, which was towards the end of the data collection period. Before our trip to the mall, I received a call from Sarah's mother and another one from her brother. The mother's call was similar to the call she made to me when Sarah was recruited for the study (see 5.1.1.1). That is, she told me how good a student her daughter is, also that she is a good Muslim devoted to her faith and of whom her family is proud. She reminded me that her grandson, 9-year-old Khaled, would be coming with his aunt Sarah on our outing. After that, Sarah's brother called to confirm that he would be driving Sarah and Khaled to the mall. He added that he would pick them up after two hours, but Sarah told him that an hour and half would be enough because she had to study.

Sarah's family maintained a close involvement regarding her mobility—where she would go and with whom, as well as ensuring that she was chaperoned by her nephew while she was out. This is understood as a form of protection in Saudi society, so Sarah was not annoyed. Also, Sarah allowing me to accompany her occurred more towards the end of the data collection period, once her family permitted it. In other words, it was not only my relationship with Sarah as a researcher but also my relationship with her family that allowed me to meet with her.

5.1.3.1 Complexity of permissible English opportunities

Finding permissible English opportunities where Sarah can use English in public spaces creates tension for her, because of her faith; she must always define which opportunity is halal and which could be sinful. On 19 February 2014, I met Sarah and Khaled standing at the mall's main gate. I saw her brother in his car, parked close to them. As I was introducing myself to Khaled, Sarah waved to her brother, and he started his car and drove slowly by us, leaving the car park. We walked inside the mall and took the escalator up to the women-only café (see 4.1.3.1). We chose a table with three chairs, and as we took off our face covers and started folding our abayas, a waitress came to our table and whispered that male children who are ten years old or over are not allowed in. Sarah replied that her nephew was only nine, but the waitress insisted that he looked ten, and other female customers would start complaining if he stayed. Khaled said to Sarah that he would not mind waiting outside. Sarah refused Khaled's suggestion and put her abaya back on. I wore mine, and we left the women-only café, taking the

escalator down to the public café. While I queued behind Sarah along with five other women under the sign 'Family Section' (Appendix T), Khaled went to find us a table. When it was Sarah's turn to order, she asked the male Indian worker for a latté and a hot chocolate. He, holding a marker and two cups in his hand, asked in English and Arabic what her name was. She replied, 'Khaled.' The worker wrote the name on both cups and said: 'You don't look a Khaled.' Sarah did not reply. After he took her two orders, she said: 'Thank you.' I ordered and came to join Sarah and Khaled at the table that Khaled chose, behind a partition, separating the family and single men sections. I noticed that Sarah had brought her laptop and English textbook in her bag. I asked if she was planning to study, and she replied that she had told her mother that I would be helping her with a new presentation. Sarah's mother could not understand that Sarah was acting as a participant in my research, helping me without Sarah benefiting academically from it as well. So Sarah had told her that she too was benefiting from our meetings, قلت لماما حصه زي تماضر 'I told mama Hissah is like Tamador' (see 5.1.1.2). With a smile, I offered my help if Sarah needed it, and Sarah told me not to worry because she understood research and data collection. Khaled was playing a game on Sarah's phone. I pointed to Khaled's name on Sarah's latte cup and said, 'Okay Miss Khaled.' Sarah laughed and explained what happened with the Indian worker, saying it was always better to keep the talk focused on her order and not give a strange man, referring to the worker, the chance to talk freely with her. When I asked her about whether the family section sign above us restricted her interactions, she replied, 'Hmm . . . maybe. But still I have Allah's sign and directions in my heart' (personal communication, 19 February 2014). Sarah added that if we were still in the women-only café, her conversation with the worker would be different. The worker would be female, and she would not be in the sinful position of talking to a man. So, in this case, she had kept the interaction short, with formal communication and within the boundaries of her purpose of ordering coffee. Sarah expressed that she would prefer to walk around the city mall and chat in English with female workers. The problem, she stated, was that there were no female workers who spoke English.

Khaled then reminded Sarah that she had promised to get him a laboratory science kit. We then went together to a department store opposite the café. Sarah asked the shop assistant, a Filipino male, where to find the science kits, and we followed him. He pulled a box off a shelf, put it on the ground between him and Khaled, and started explaining in English to Khaled that there was an electric stove that needed to be charged, while I was standing next to Sarah about

five metres from them. Khaled replied that he did not understand and asked him to repeat again about the stove and how to charge it to his aunt, while pointing to Sarah. The shop assistant then picked up the box and moved two steps toward Sarah: 'Hello madam. Actually, this is an age-restricted kit for 15 and above.' The assistant went on to explain how to use, charge and store the stove while Sarah gave short replies like 'Yes' and 'Okay'. Sarah paid for the kit, and we left the store. Sarah received a call from her brother that he was waiting outside for her and Khaled.

Sarah's cautious behaviour and formal communication with male English speakers indicate a complex tension delimited by her beliefs regarding what society and faith permit. Bringing together how she carried Allah's directions in her heart and how she had acted in those spaces, the café and the department store, reveals the impact of her faith values on her choices for language opportunities. That is, her use of English in those spaces was limited and determined by her understanding of faith as presented in the Quran, or hadith, and the fatwa.

Two weeks later, I met Sarah in the PYP building and we recalled our trip to the mall. Reflecting on her short conversations with the Indian café worker and the Filipino department store assistant, she expressed what she goes through before participating in a conversation using English:

> احس دايم بقلق و ربكة و انا افكر ايش أقول بشكل صحيح ومين أخاطب رجل او امراة وعن ايش و بعديين يربكني الناس اللي تقول انتي شايفة نفسك و عنصرية معه بس ترا انا احط حدود لكلامي معه و بكذا اضبط ايش ردوده
>
> I feel stress all the time, thinking what to say correctly and to whom. Am I speaking to a man or a woman? Saying what? Also, I feel stress that some people may think that that I'm racist or arrogant. But I'm neither. I'm just making limits for my talk and his [i.e. the Indian café worker's] replies.' (personal communication, 2 March 2014)

For Sarah, her engagement with language opportunities in public spaces does not only involve navigating English but also navigating appropriate social and religious ways of choosing what to say in the immediate context in relation to the gender of whom she is addressing. The ongoing tensions arising from this navigation create social and religious boundaries that influence how she formally communicates with the Indian worker, which might be seen by others, according to her, as arrogant behaviour from her towards foreign workers. For this reason, as she pointed out, she is always confident in the PYP building and its women-only campus: 'I call this building women's homeland and I dare anyone, like my uncles, to talk about it in a bad way' (Sarah,

personal communication, 2 March 2014). Sarah suddenly mentioning her parental uncles reveals that her preference for women-only spaces involves more than the gender of the speaker, her faith or any religious boundary. For Sarah, the PYP building with the language opportunities it offers and the medical career it promises can create change, and even the change within Saudi sociocultural boundaries that Sarah seeks. For this reason, within the PYP's women-only boundaries, Sarah has better choices to access language opportunities than seeking language learning opportunities in public spaces.

5.1.4 Concluding remarks and reflections on Sarah's case

Sarah's large family, with extended family members living nearby and her paternal uncles' intrusion into her life in the name of protecting the family honour, all affect her mobility and constrain her choices. Faith is an important issue in her life and career. It also affects her perceptions of choice in terms of language learning. For this reason, Sarah had better choices to access language opportunities within PYP women-only buildings.

5.2 Case 4: Enas

In this section, I focus on the second of the preparatory year programme (PYP) paired case studies. As with the third case (see 5.1 Case 3: Sarah), I present an overview of Enas and her family's background and circumstances to highlight the issues of language at home. I also introduce several learning contexts and related events. Through them, I follow Enas and report on my analysis of fieldwork data.

5.2.1 Home and related events

5.2.1.1 Enas's family and household

Enas's family includes her father, mother, twin brother Rakan, younger brother (10 years old) and younger sister (7 years old). Her mother owns and manages a private school for girls in which Enas studied during her primary, intermediate and secondary years before joining the PYP at a regional university. Her father manages his own business and often travels (see Table 6 for Enas's family profile).

Table 6

General Profile of Case 4

Name	Enas
Age	19
Institution	Preparatory Year Programme (PYP)
Educational level	First year in a university-level programme: She completed grade school at a private school managed by her mother
In her family	Enas has a twin brother, Rakan, and two younger siblings
Father's occupation	8 years in government before managing his own business Education: MBA in Business Management
Mother's occupation	Owns and manages a private school for girls. Education: BA in Mathematics.

Enas's life, as she describes it, was affected from an early age by her mother's illness. Enas took care of her mother when she had severe symptoms. Her mother frequently had doctors' appointments abroad that she travelled to with her husband. During those times, Enas was left in charge of her siblings: 'We usually stayed at my grandmother's house, and I took care of my brothers and little sister and their homework, and I didn't allow my twin brother to stay out late [laughs]' (personal communication, 16 December 2013). The way Enas described her feelings about caring for her siblings—including her twin brother, Rakan—and their education indicates a sense of responsibility during her parents' absences.

Enas shares with her father his interest in the family's tribal roots; her father likes to collect and write tribal war stories and poetry, and he is planning to publish a book about their family tribe and its warriors. Enas promised her father she would translate his book into English. Enas describes herself as a 'modern young Bedouin woman' (personal communication, 26 October 2013). She likes to listen to the stories her father tells. Being a responsible daughter and having close relations with her father reflect Enas position in her family and her love of her tribal history.

5.2.1.2 Enas's school and English learning

Although Enas studied at her mother's school, she told me she never used her mother's position to be treated differently to other students. She preferred to be responsible for her actions at school and to work as hard as her class peers. Also, she believed that if she was given special

treatment, it would affect her mother, because they live in a small community where her mother's name is important for her private school business: 'They [the students] would complain to their parents, and that would not be good for my mother' (personal communication, 16 December 2013). Enas was a very active student and a member of many school clubs (physics, geography, English). In the school's English club, she and another student edited the weekly language magazine, covering school news, social events and interviews with new students and teachers. Enas created a section in the magazine where she translated tribal proverbs into English (see Appendix U). Enas expressed pride about being an active, successful and self-reliant student at school who works to improve her English language skills. However, she mentioned that she was worried about how she would fit English into her career after finishing secondary school, 'I have chances here [i.e. in PYP at regional university] too. I practice English in PYP, and it is improving, and I'll do my master's there [in the United States], inshallah' (personal communication, 7 November 2013). She is confident in her language skills but beliefs there are few chances for her skills to be useful if she stays in the region. She mentioned her father's promise to allow her to study abroad.

5.2.1.3 Enas's and her twin brother's unequal university choices

In July 2013, Enas's twin brother, Rakan, applied for the King Abdullah Scholarship Program (KASP), whereas Enas applied to the PYP at a regional university: 'Dad suggested that my brother spend this year in America, and I'll join him the next year' (personal communication, 21 October 2013). In the same month, Enas travelled to Riyadh, the capital, and stayed at her aunt's house while attending a three-day undergraduate student success workshop at a national university. The workshop was designed to help new students adjust to university life, including training on using online university tools to choose classes and organise schedules. Enas found the workshop advertisement on a Saudi university website and applied by email. She told me that it was her idea as part of for preparing for university.

Her first trip abroad was just two weeks before joining PYP, when she and Rakan accompanied their mother to the United States for medical treatment when their father could not go. Ahead of this trip, Enas downloaded English language learning apps for university students from the British Council website (https://www.britishcouncil.sa/en/english/students), with audio files from the BBC's 6 Minute English, and saved 100 words in her phone. She commented that she wanted to be prepared to step in if her mother and brother needed help communicating with

doctors and nurses. However, using English in the United States was not what she expected: ‘Americans spoke quickly and unclearly. I couldn’t understand anything. I just nodded my head’ (personal communication, 9 October 2013). After her mother’s treatment appointment, they all went to look at Rakan’s American language school. Enas liked the place and felt that Rakan offered a better learning opportunity than she had: ‘Lucky you يا حظك! I told him. Oh, going there is always my dream, but what I’m doing right now is real’ (personal communication, 20 October 2013). They spent the last two days at Disney World, and Enas used her video camera to record videos of her trip. She reported that she was close to her brother during the trip because she stepped in for him whenever he needed help with language. Also, they compared their expectations for their language learning experiences at her PYP and his American language school.

After returning home, Enas created a study area in the corner of her bedroom. She hung cards and pictures from her Disney World trip, as well as a green hoodie and a cap that Rakan gave her. Both the hoodie and the cap had Rakan’s language school logo on the front. When Enas showed me her bedroom, she sat on her red office chair in her study area and commented, ‘I Skype with my brother sitting on this chair. My parents sometimes come and blow kisses and wave to him from behind me’ (personal communication, 26 October 2013). Enas shared a photo on Instagram showing her messy desk with the following hash tags: #english #learnenglish #انجليزي (i.e. English) #IDIOM #idioms #Englishlanguage #exams #Saudigirl #enjoy #glamour #study-hard #study-motivation #Proud #Bedouin #Ambition. Enas’s choice of hashtags for her study space reveals her focus and determination to advance her linguistic capabilities and a strong desire to push the boundaries of her physical room, connecting her self-perception as a language learner and being a proud, young Saudi woman. Also, these hashtags are her way of strategically navigating her desired English spaces to overcome the inequality of learning opportunities created by her family’s decision to finance her twin brother’s language school education in the United States, while enrolling Enas in a PYP at a regional university near the family home.

5.2.2 Formal learning contexts and related events

5.2.2.1 Making the PYP a choice

Enas's goal of studying in the United States during the 2013–14 academic year, with her twin brother, had shifted to being in the preparatory year programme (PYP). I met Enas after my tour with Sarah on the second floor of the PYP building. Enas came with her friend Fatima to tell me that she was going to participate in my data collection. She had already signed a consent form and was expecting her father's consent by email later that day. She introduced her friend Fatima and said, 'We are PYP students and the future of Saudi youth!' (Enas, personal communication, 1 October 2013).

Enas offered to help show me around and/or invite more participants if I needed them. I mentioned that I had already had a tour with Sarah, and she quickly replied that touring with her is different. Enas said she would take me to the 'fun places in the PYP building' [as she looked at Fatima and laughed] (Enas, personal communication, 1 October 2013). Together, we took the lift to the first floor, and I walked behind them across the main hall to a food stand that was selling buns. Enas introduced the girl behind the stand as Wedad. She was wearing a T-shirt with 'I'm ♥ the PYP cupcakes' written on it. Enas told me that Wedad is the sister of her classmate, Amel, and Wedad graduated from university two years ago. She said Wedad advertises her buns on Instagram. Enas had told her that the foreign teachers in the PYP building would not mind her using the hall and she had helped Wedad design the print on her shirt. Enas was excited to show me how she helped Wedad and told me that she got the stand idea from her brother's video of his American language school campus. She saw the T-shirt on the school website for an event. She asked me if I was disappointed with her 'fun place', and she went on to talk about the 'real fun and cool places at Rakan's campus' (Enas, personal communication, 1 October 2013).

'Imagine, they have a fitness place, and you can also stop for few minutes in your day to watch live performances on campus' (Enas, personal communication, 1 October 2013). Enas added that until five years ago there had been no PYP in her region. She confided in me that she was doing the PYP without selecting a major. Next year, she would go abroad and select a major. However, there was no single major in her plan now, except speaking English and using it properly. She asked me if I knew Manal Radwan, a Saudi representative to the United Nations. She read about Manal's life and wants to work for the Foreign Ministry or international agencies. Enas's plans for her future career seem more like a vision than a plan. Her decisions vis-à-vis

selecting a major are influenced by her torn sense of self and the connection of self and learning space, i.e. the PYP and Rakan's language school.

Fatima stayed talking to Wedad while Enas and I walked back to Ms Laura's second English class of the day, and Enas showed me where she sat. I moved a chair towards the wall from where I could observe her and my other participants,[19] who were sitting in front. As the students were entering the classroom, Enas suddenly said that she knew I would be interested in her as a PYP student. Her tone was serious, as she added that PYP was not always as fun as people in the media or in their families described. Turning on her mobile phone, she opened the university's main website, started reading the PYP course descriptions, and commented that English was not only an academic subject requiring 20 hours per week of classroom time but also the medium of instruction for every other subject and the medium for communicating with PYP staff. Ms Laura entered the classroom with two students running behind her. One was Fatima. Ms Laura stood in class, staring at Fatima and the other student, who were walking to their chairs at the back. Ms Laura said, 'The two of you again! Be careful. Next time I won't let you enter my class' (Ms Laura, personal communication, 1 October 2013).

Fatima pulled her chair to sit down, and Enas said, ' وينك يا حيوانه [where were you, animal?]'[20]

Fatima, showing her a bun and said, 'At your fun place.' The two giggled, and Ms Laura told them to be quiet as she starting calling names from an attendance sheet. Ms Laura told the class to complete their presentation slides from the last class and check their sentence grammar. Enas opened the middle of her workbook pages, and there was a textbook different to Ms Laura's class textbook.

Enas said, 'This is from Rakan. I have the same book he is using. I'm going to show it to Ms Laura when she looks in the mood to hear me talk' (Enas, personal communication, 1 October 2013). After class, I waited for Ms Laura to gather her belongings to tell her that I would be including Enas as a participant. While we were walking in the corridor, Ms Laura looked at me and said with a smile, 'Has she [Enas] told you about Mr. Johnson?'

I replied, 'Who is he?'

---

[19] At the beginning of my fieldwork data collection, I had three participants in each formal learning context.

[20] A familiar word that could also be offensive in a different context.

Ms Laura said, 'He is the English teacher of Enas's brother.' She added that Enas talks about him all the time and that she, Ms Laura, feels that he is her rival teacher. She suggested that perhaps Enas did not tell me about him because she had just met me. Ms Laura stopped suddenly to laugh and say, 'The idea that Mr. Johnson is teaching in the female premises makes me wonder how Enas thinks sometimes and even if she really is in my class.'

Ms Laura's last comment suggested a relationship between Enas's sense of her current language space and her sense of self in terms of her brother's learning space. Though she displayed her knowledge of the PYP system, the PYP building and its fun places, she kept comparing the PYP to her brother's language school in the United States, which kept surfacing. Bringing up Enas's senses of these two learning spaces left Ms Laura's last comment resonating in my mind. But now, through my research lens, I wondered whether the PYP was a choice for Enas or if she merely made it seem to be her choice.

5.2.2.2 Testing boundaries in Ms Laura's class

In light of Enas's continuous comparisons between her current learning space in the PYP and her brother's KASP opportunity, her attempts to invest in Ms Laura's class are faced with challenges of navigating interpersonal and sociocultural boundaries. For example, when Ms Laura had ignored a discussion activity in the students' workbook that required students to discuss career alternatives if they decided not to pursue a university degree, Enas immediately noticed that Ms Laura moved to the following page and avoided any discussion. The following conversation ensued:

Enas: Ms Laura, we skipped the discussion activity. This one! [Reading from the bottom of the page.] What are the alternatives to going to university? Is going to university always the best thing to do?

Ms Laura: It's almost nine thirty. We need more time. You can work on it at home.

Enas: Ms Laura, we could talk about it now. We will discuss it in groups first if you want. Okay, Miss?

Ms Laura [smiling]: I'm worried about your answers, Enas.

Fatima: Enas *wallahi,* [21] a good girl, Ms Laura.

[21] I swear by Allah.

Sarah: It won't be in the quiz or the exam, so why do we need to do it?

Misk: No exam for this activity means delete.

Enas: No, Miss. I will say if I'm not going to university, I would have started a project. I can think of many ideas and pick the one I feel I'm able to work on, and that can be a project. You see Amel [putting her hand on the shoulder of the student sitting in front of her], her sister Wedad has an Instagram bun business. I can do something like her and, of course, I'd have taken an English course to know more about international business.

(Transcript of recorded interaction, 28 April 2014)

In the above interaction, Enas, from her position as a first-year PYP student, began negotiations that might lead to a potential change in Ms Laura's class. Though these negotiations appear to be concerned with the scope of a skipped activity in the students' workbook, they strategically produce a legitimate position for Enas through which she seeks to challenge the student-teacher boundary and the social force of peers who do not share the same goals in Ms Laura's class. With a known example, Amel's sister, the bun-seller in the PYP building, Enas used an imaginative future self to demonstrate how she would prioritize English in her choice of an alternative career path, other than a university degree.

In another observed incident, Ms Laura asked the class to work on a culture presentation to celebrate Saudi National Day. Enas suggested presenting Bedouin heritage culture and reminded the group members that they could ask their parents or grandparents to help them with information. Two students rejected the idea, claiming that National Day celebrates the unity of the country, whereas Bedouin culture is for not all, because some students do not have this heritage. They accused Enas of being offensive. Ms Laura was afraid of things escalating, so she cancelled the cultural presentation. Ms Laura told me that Enas came to her office explaining that, in their region, there were some culturally sensitive matters, but she assured Ms Laura that such matters were not harmful. Ms Laura confided in Enas the risk of losing her job if a student complained about sensitive topics, such as a different heritage. Boundaries, the insinuation presented in Ms Laura's job contract, and the social force of peers resulted in a rejection of Enas's attempt to expose her language learning space and her differences. Yet, Enas was determined to gain more access to her desired English opportunities. She navigated controversial social topics that represented her and how she saw herself as a person in a larger world. In

another example, while the class was discussing ideas for the university open day,[22] a student suggested that the class interview the female PYP coordinator. A student suggested creating posters about English idioms. Enas looked at the student who suggested idioms and gave her a thumbs-up. She moved to sit next to this student while two other classmates talked to Ms Laura about their ideas. Enas asked the student whether she would like to act out the idioms in a stage performance, instead of presenting them on a poster. The student nodded her head and agreed with Enas. Enas then mentioned these ideas to Ms Laura in the following conversation:

> Enas: We can do the idioms as a play, or we can walk around campus and act. My brother told me about a Halloween theme activity in their class. The students wore clothes like actors in horror films.
>
> Ms Laura [laughing]: They wore costumes.
>
> Enas: Yes, Miss. Costumes. We are not going to say Happy Halloween, of course [laughing]. Sarah won't like that.
>
> Sarah: Halloween is *haram* [smiling].
>
> Another student: No, it is not *haram*!
>
> Enas: Okay, okay, Sarah. I know. We are not going to say Happy Halloween. We will act out the idioms. Ms Laura, is it okay if I show the class?
>
> Ms Laura: One minute. [She goes around the room to collect the students' ideas written on paper strips. She stands at the back of the class.] You may show us now, Enas.
>
> [Enas tells the class to guess which Arabic idiom she is acting out and starts to perform while the class tries to guess the idiom. The atmosphere in the class is fun, and the students laugh. When a student says the right idiom, Enas claps.]
>
> Enas: Bravo! We will do the same, but in English.
>
> (Transcription of recorded interaction, 11 February 2014)

In this interaction, Enas is strategically using humour in her attempt to navigate social and religious boundaries to access potential learning opportunities. She was influenced by her

[22] A day in the middle of the academic semester scheduled to allow secondary school students to explore the university campus and visit the PYP building and other college buildings. This day includes some fun activities and performances.

perceptions of her goals for learning English and her brother's class stories. At the same time, she recognised what would not be religiously or culturally acceptable, such as the concept of Halloween. When her ideas were opposed by some students, she responded by acting to clarify her ideas, using cultural and social resources. Enas seemed to view PYP, Ms Laura's class and even her peers as opportunities that she could shape into desired learning opportunities; thus, she exemplified a more realistic understanding of her own strengths and weaknesses. A clearer conceptualization of her learning goals helped Enas to challenge both physical and cultural boundaries and influenced how she acted and what she said in class, where she always displayed laudable efforts. She realised that English learning depended upon neither space nor time and that it was within her capacity to enact her English learning in goal-oriented situations.

5.2.2.3 Bringing desired change

Growing awareness of the differences between the opportunities open to her brother in KASP and those open to her at the PYP enabled Enas to invest in expanding her learning space to resemble opportunities not open to her. In Ms Laura's class, Enas frequently suggested changes to class activities using information about her brother's English learning classes at the American language school. At one point during my observation, the students were working in groups on an activity that required them to make a 10-minute presentation on one of five topics (Hajj, cold and flu, shopping, Saudi Arabian fashion and wise Internet use) using their textbooks, the library or the Internet. Enas read the instructions for the activity and asked, 'Is it okay, Ms Laura, if we use our videos in the presentations? In my brother's class, they can use their own stuff, not just textbooks and websites' (personal communication, 3 March 2014). In her comment about the class presentation, I observed that Enas was trying to change the activity instructions to include her own material. Enas wanted to incorporate videos and photographs from her vacation to Florida's Disney World into her presentation. Ms Laura agreed and Enas expressed her opinion to the group that the selected topics were dull:

Enas: Any other ideas, girls?

A student: Let's talk about mobile use.

Sarah and another student: Okay!

Enas: That will be like this topic. [She pointed to the suggested topic of wise Internet use on the activity instruction sheet.]

Ms Laura: No, Enas. They aren't the same!
Enas: Teacher, is it okay to use our videos and photos and talk about them?
Ms Laura: What is in these photos and videos?
Enas: We show the places we travelled to and talk about them. [Enas continued to discuss the topic with the group members for a few minutes.]
Enas: Teacher, we agreed to talk about America and its culture. We'll call it 'America through a Saudi's eyes'.
Ms Laura: Could you fill in the sheet with your group number and topic title?
(Transcript of the recorded interaction, 3 March 2014)

On presentation day, Enas and her group wore black T-shirts with the caption 'Dare To Be Different', displayed an American flag on the right side of the board and set out a table with plates of food and a basket full of colourful strips of paper (see Appendix V). Enas told the class that her group would take them on a 10-minute journey to America. The four group members presented geographical and cultural information, while the slides showed maps and texts; recipes, as Enas pointed to food on the table; and famous American people, while a student distributed strips of paper with quotes from them. Enas concluded the presentation by displaying a video of fireworks, which she had recorded during her trip to Disney World, saying:

> Why would a Saudi girl want to go there? For me, I think I'd like to go there to develop my English, take the TOEFL and get a degree in politics or management [smiling and rolling her eyes]. Yes, yes. I'm still figuring out what do. Okay! Then? Return here and develop my country (audio recorded observation, 6 March 2014).

In her group's presentation, Enas incorporated her desired learning opportunities that were not open to her within the activity instructions at the beginning. By resisting, participating, sharing and negotiating, she pushed for an idea for a topic not listed and to support her idea with contextual material (slides, food, quotes, pictures, videos etc.). She expanded the dimensions of the activity and evolved, in tandem with a greater sense of self, to make the ending her own, defining herself as an English learner with a purposeful dream, while a video of fireworks at

Disney World played on a background slide. Her mention of ‘my country’ before ending the presentation deserves attention; she transforms herself from a Saudi girl on a Disney trip to a career-oriented international young woman who speaks English. Though she states she is in the process of ‘figuring out’ her undergraduate major, she begins to embrace whom she is and where her English fits into her career journey, and she recognises that no matter where she ends up pursuing her degree, she will still open as many doors as possible and has the will to return home.

Enas had invested in expanding her learning space using knowledge gained from her brother’s learning experiences and her own experiences while travelling in the United States. Further, she had also invested in her learning space, manipulating sociocultural and religious aspects of Saudi society, such as halal, haram, ib and abaya. By criticising the society in which she lived and exposing her free-thinking personality, in addition to her awareness of the difference between her learning space and that of her brother, she showed her awareness that the differences in her learning space were caused by the institution itself, or society. In an observed incident, during an activity in which students described the things they were likely to do when visiting cities like Tokyo, London, Dubai or New York, Ms Laura was standing next to Enas’s group discussing their answers. In the group, which included Sarah, Fatima and Enas, Fatima explained that she would go skydiving in Dubai.

Sarah: What are you going to wear?

Enas: Of course, a barachute.

Ms Laura: You mean parachute!

Fatima: A strong suit that resists wind.

Sarah: With no *abaya*? That’s *haram*! [The whole class laughs.]

Student A: Not haram! It is just *ib*.

Fatima: I agree. Just ib.

Ms Laura: What do haram and ib mean in English?

Enas: Haram means that the bearded men are not happy with what you are doing. [Class laughs.] And ib is shame in English. When you do something and the old ladies discover that, then they cover their mouth and nose with their scarfs. [Class laughs again.]

Sarah: [Looking at Enas] *Astaghfirullah*[23] Enas! Sorry Ms Laura. When our Islamic religion says 'no', this means haram, and when our Saudi customs say 'no', this is ib.

Ms Laura: And what do you think, Enas, about Fatima's skydiving? Haram or ib?

Enas: It is *halal*. All halal because it is fun!

[With her blue pen on the corner of Sarah's notebook, Enas draws a woman wearing an abaya and flying with a parachute (see Appendix S)]

Enas: [Showing the class her drawing] Yippee, Sarah's flying! [Class laughs.]

(Transcript of the recorded interaction, 1 May 2014)

During this interaction, I was sitting close to Sarah, Enas and Fatima. The whole incident looked more like a 3-minute comedy scene. Enas turned Ms Laura's class into a platform on which she addressed, in a funny yet challenging style, the enquiry Ms Laura made about the meaning of the Arabic terms *haram* and *ib.* By assigning a powerful position to herself, Enas confidently expanded her English space to mock sociocultural and religious aspects of Saudi society. Picking recognizable Saudi stereotypes of bearded men and Bedouin women, Enas addressed her peers and played with social and religious stereotypes to bluntly expose her own thoughts. Further, Enas's drawing represented a visual sociocultural reference that suggested more than just a flying covered woman wearing an abaya. It indicated a breakout for her individuality in a society in which women with black abayas all look the same to outsiders like Ms Laura.

I sat with Ms Laura after class in the campus café and chatted about the abaya-and-parachute discussion. Ms Laura indicated that she was surprised at how quickly the discussion had escalated, and she was glad that it only lasted for a few minutes before the students moved on to the following activity. Ms Laura admitted that she discussed the topic of Saudi female abayas a couple of times with two local Saudi women with whom she was friends. She said conversations had taken place when she first moved to Saudi Arabia and she was having a difficult time wearing the abaya. Her two Saudi friends made fun of the way she had been

[23] An Arabic expression that literally means to seek forgiveness from Allah. It is used as an exclamation of exasperation.

wearing it, but they never criticised the custom itself. Ms Laura could not believe that Enas had broached one of the most taboo subjects in Saudi culture. Enas crossed controversial and challenging institutional and sociocultural boundaries in an effort to change how sensitive social topics can be criticised and argued. For Enas, negotiating those boundaries publicly with her peers could be a change she aims to bring to her learning space.

Contrary to the change that Enas loudly was bringing to Ms Laura's class, Enas kept two peers in her group: Fatima and Sarah (see Case 3). When I first met Enas, she was sitting at the back with Fatima. In November 2013, the two of them carried their chairs from the back of the classroom to the front, near the podium and next to Sarah. Enas confided in me that Sarah asked her before class if she would like to join her in the group. Also, Sarah asked her if she could watch her Florida Disney World videos. Enas said that she would be glad to have Sarah in the group, 'كل مره يشطح مخي ترجعني للواقع Every time my mind wanders, she brings me to reality' (Enas, personal communication, 22 November 2013). Enas perceived Sarah's reactions to her suggested topics as a way to see how socioculturally provoking they were. She strategically used Sara's responses to keep herself from saying or doing something that could make her an outcast by the teacher and her peers.

In addition to Enas's attempts to expand her learning spaces, whether using her brother's language school or manipulating sociocultural Saudi aspects to resemble opportunities not open to her, she attempted to shape a learning space in which she could imagine her future self. Her brother, Rakan, told her about what was happening in his English class and how Mr Johnson was teaching in his classes. From the American language school website, Enas got Mr Johnson's email address and sent him a couple of emails. In an email sent in the second week of December 2013, Enas introduced herself and described her language level and learning goals. She provided some details about her current English level (e.g. her grades, writing level, Ms Laura's comments), her learning settings (taught by a native English speaker, name of the textbook, number of class hours, assessment tools), and her interests (TOEFL score, writing in English). These details in the email describing her current learning space indicate that Enas invested in Ms Laura's class to gain access to a potential learning opportunity and join the American language school for the July 2014 English programme.

In Enas's attempts to bring desired change to her language learning space, she relied on her awareness of the differences between the opportunities open to her brother in KASP and

those open to her at the PYP (Mr Johnson's and Ms Laura's classes), her understanding of local sociocultural Saudi contextual boundaries (ib, halal and abaya), her knowledge of trips abroad (including to Florida's Disney World) and her sense of an imagined future self to dynamically shape how she saw learning language opportunities and acted in them.

5.2.3 Informal learning contexts and related events

Unlike my previous three cases (in which I was allowed by my participants to follow them to their chosen physical contexts), in my fourth case, I followed Enas in temporary contexts made by her. Enas mentioned in our first interview that when she used to go to the city mall, she had a problem with the religious police because she wore a colourful abaya, not a black one, and she did not cover her face. Now she prefers to stay at home and shop online. Besides, she needs to stay with her mother. Due to Enas's mother's illness, her mother manages her private girls' school business from home most of the year. Because of these factors, Enas suggested I come to her house. I asked her whether I should call her mother for permission to come, and Enas said there was no need because her mother considered Enas responsible, whether with her mother at home, working or travelling. I visited Enas at her home three times in February, March and April, 2014.

Her family's house, which is located on their farm, had a main gate and high walls. A male domestic worker opened the gate for my driver's car, and we went inside. Next to the house was a garden with palm trees, rose bushes and a lawn. To the right of the house, close to the entrance gate, was a large traditional black Bedouin tent. The worker directed me to wait in the 'reception tent'. Inside the tent, traditional rugs, mattresses and embroidered cushions were spread on the ground. In the centre of the floor were two Arabic coffee pots in the fire pit and three different types of dates. I sat on a mattress and, after ten minutes, Enas joined me, wearing a T-shirt with a *shemagh*[24] pattern and ripped jeans. Enas told me that her father used the tent for gatherings with his friends in the evenings when he was home. He was planning to turn it into a private museum in the future; she said, 'Maybe I'll work as [a] tourist guide in this tent, and my English [will prove] to my father that I'm capable of doing whatever I want' (Enas, personal communication, 9 February 2014).

[24] A red-and-white patterned headscarf worn by Saudi men.

We walked from the tent to the house, and to the left of the house there was a swimming pool; next to it was a wooden outdoor sauna. We went inside the house and took the stairs past the first floor (Enas referred to it as her parents' floor) and up to the second floor. We walked past a sitting area in the hall where her younger brother and sister were playing on a PlayStation with three other children. Enas opened a white door to show me her bedroom. In the corner of her bedroom was her study area, where her laptop, webcam, red chair and books resided. On the wall hung a hoodie and a cap with her brother's school logo (see 5.2.1.3). Enas mentioned that most of her time at home was spent sitting in her chair Skyping her brother, emailing and chatting with her friends online. Sitting and spinning in her red chair, she said, 'Fatima and other girls say that I'm lucky. I can do everything because I have everything! People assume things they think they know for sure. Frankly, I'm not. My brother is the lucky one' (Enas, personal communication, 9 February 2014).

Enas suggested that she show me a 'fun place that only close friends know about' (Enas, personal communication, 9 February 2014). We went to the ground floor and took the stairs down to the basement. The basement was an open area turned into a home theatre, replete with audio and video equipment and seats arranged in front of a large-screen television. Enas mentioned that her brother used to stay there for days, but after he went abroad the place was hers. She invites her friends to watch movies on DVDs. She added that two weeks before she invited Fatima and seven members of the female English teacher preparatory year programme (PYP) to come to her house and watch a film, *Wadjda*. She told me that she chose the movie to show it to the teachers, because it might give them a glimpse of Saudi society. The movie is about a young Saudi girl who wants to get a bicycle and race a boy from the neighbourhood, but her family and teachers do not approve because they fear societal judgement or view bicycles as dangerous to women's virtue.

Enas offered to invite me next time she planned a house party. I noted that Ms Laura's name was not mentioned among the seven PYP female English teachers that came to Enas's house party. Enas revealed that when she told Ms Laura about the party, she pointed out to Enas that, according to their job contracts, she and the other native-English teachers were not allowed to socialise with Saudi students outside the campus. Enas confided in me that she only invited Fatima and her cousin because she trusted them not to tell the authorities about the seven PYP members who agreed to come.

Visiting Enas at her home and listening to her talking about what had happened around her home and with whom, I started to realise that she was creating her own language learning- opportunities. In those opportunities at her home, she could resist sociocultural boundaries more than she could when she was in public spaces, or even the PYP formal learning space, where she was socioculturally and institutionally challenged by the religious police and Ms Laura.

5.2.3.1 Pursuing individuality

In Enas's attempts to live as she chooses, she negotiated and subverted socially constructed expectations. On 11 March 2014, I was invited by Enas to a house party. When I arrived, I went to the black tent and met Enas. She told me that everyone was in the pool, so we made our way there. There were five female English teachers from the PYP, Fatima and Enas's cousin, Areej. They were in swimwear, sitting in and around the pool, drinking cola and fruit juice. They were talking about their experiences of teaching and learning English. Fatima asked the PYP English teachers about the topics female students in other countries asked the teachers about. One of the teachers, Jan, said boyfriends were her students' favourite topic. Another teacher, Elly, added that sex was her students' most asked-about topic. Enas howled, 'Sex, of course! Do you have your Saudi students talk about sex? No!' (Enas, personal communication, 11 March 2014). Elly told Enas about her job contract, which states that teachers are not to discuss social or religious topics with students, including sex. Enas said, 'Just break the rule. Let us—I mean, your students talk about their lives and their interests without making you panic or "Shhh" [putting her hand on her mouth]. It's good for them! [smiling]' (Enas, personal communication, 11 March 2014).

Areej interrupted to talk about her everyday 3 a.m. road trip to her work in an elementary school located in the middle of the desert that had only 21 students. She described her first-year experiences of teaching English to seven students in their first-level elementary class. Her students liked learning English and decorated their notebooks with colourful drawings of the alphabet. She mentioned that she felt sorry for four of them because they loved learning, but they could not complete their schooling because their fathers married them off the following year. A PYP English teacher, Lindsey, recalled that a similar incident happened to one of her students when she was teaching in an institution in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia's capital city, and she wondered how a family could decide the destiny of its young girls and deprive them of completing their

education, especially if the girls loved learning. Enas tilted her head back and roared, ‘You see! They carry the same mentality. No difference if your family lives in the desert or in the city—as long as you’re a girl, your family still determines your future. Look at me! I was told all my life that my family is proud of me. But now I’m waiting for my brother to [achieve] success so that I can get a chance’ (Enas, personal communication, 11 March 2014).

Fatima immediately cut Enas off: ‘ أوه عاد يا الله أحمدي ربك على النعم اللي انتي فيها Oh Allah! Be grateful to God for the blessings you have. Things will change. I know many girls who were in worse circumstances, and now they’re doing what they want, like studying abroad and travelling with no problem. Right, Hissah?’ Areej then chimed in with a story of a colleague from five years before who was now about to finish her master’s degree in the United Kingdom. Other guests joined in, contributing similar stories.

Enas’s house party with the talk around the pool was Enas’s projection of what a language class should be like. It should mirror Saudi female students’ lives, desires and personal stories. That talk revealed that Enas had become invested in her dream to study abroad, only to find that her family’s commitment to her dream was not as strong as she was led to believe. The family prioritised the progress of Enas’s brother, Rakan, and waited for him to show that he could learn English abroad. They asked Enas to support her brother’s chance to travel and enrol in an American school, while promising her that she would be next. Then, the family was going to allow Enas to join him in studying abroad. Enas thought it was unfair because her family had been recognising her linguistic capabilities, her cultural awareness, and her pride in her Bedouin heritage. Enas’s disappointment appeared to be caused by her father’s attempt to conceal his gender-based preference for his son over his daughter, which was in line with the traditional Saudi sociocultural value set for guardians.

In Enas’s last interview, we talked about the March pool party at her house, and she mentioned that she was personally ‘touched’ by Areej and Lindsey’s stories about their students who were unable to continue their studies. She thought that, with her English capability, she expected to be privileged with more opportunities than her brother. Further, she believed her enrolment in KASP would be more beneficial and valuable for other young women in the family. She said, ‘I’ll be the first girl studying abroad and an example not only for my sister but also all [Enas mentions her tribe/ family name] girls’ (Enas, personal communication, 14 May 2014). Areej’s and Lindsey’s stories about their female students’ educations being ended by their

families triggered Enas's sense of her own boundaries, her family, and expanding and limiting her future horizons. She responded by exposing and criticising the larger social values: *ib*, *haram*, and *halal*. In a subtle way, she was criticising her father's values, yet despite Enas's verbalised resistance throughout the discussion that took place around the pool, she was negotiating her individuality while walking the boundary lines. Enas's mentions of her sister and the young women in her tribe deserve attention; she balances the relationship between her individuality and awareness of herself and other young women's lives.

5.2.3.2 Seeing the world beyond sin

Besides using house parties to form English socialising opportunities with English speakers where she could push sociocultural boundaries more than she could in Ms Laura's classes, she also used online spaces to gain better access to language opportunities. Enas has been subscribing to online English learning groups since intermediate school. Through these groups, she has made several friends online, whom she added to her messaging contact list and exchanged emails with. Among these friends is Nathan, an American man from New York that she had had a 'nice friendship with' for two years (personal communication, 17 November 2013). She mentioned that Nathan was interested in knowing about people living in the desert, Bedouin culture and the histories of Arab tribes. She added that her communication with Nathan was a friendly relationship that was helpful for her to practise English and exchange interesting information about the weather, culture and her assignments and presentations (see Appendix W). In addition, she found the space constructed by them to be a respectful and safe space to express and share their religious opinions and beliefs. For example, Nathan sent a link to Enas about a story in an American newspaper about a Muslim imam who helped a Russian Orthodox family. 'I read the story. It's a really human thing that makes you feel happy about the world' (Enas, personal communication, 17 November 2013).

Enas preferred to keep her friendship with Nathan private and not share it with her family, friends or colleagues, unlike her other online contacts, whom she would talk about along with what they were discussing; however, Enas felt that Nathan being non-Muslim was risky, and she could not predict how people would react. During my first visit to Enas's house, while we were sitting in her corner office area in her bedroom, she confided in me that in December she was talking to Fatima and Sarah about New York. Enas mentioned information about the

Hudson River and then mentioned Nathan, at which point Sarah (Case 3) remarked how sinful it was to have a friendship with a non-Muslim person. Enas recalled Sarah's words, 'If it were me, I'd stop contacting him immediately, and I'm sure Allah will reward you' (Enas, personal communication, 16 February 2014). Enas emailed Nathan and told him about the stress she was facing in staying in contact with him. She then stopped sending and replying to Nathan's emails for five weeks.

When she emailed him at the end of January 2014, he replied that he had predicted that her friend would influence her not to contact him (see Appendix W). Enas looked back on the five weeks with some surprise, disbelieving her own actions. She regretted listening to Sarah and blamed herself for blindly following her. She said, 'I wasn't really convinced by her talk of sin. Check my emails! They are fun, cool, and friendly! Where is the sin in that?' (Enas, personal communication, 16 February 2014). Enas's question about sin sounds like her way of defining what sin is in her world and what sin is in Sarah's world. She recognised that she was manipulated by Sarah's own understanding of faith and Sarah's faith boundaries, that were not her own, in relation to her desired goals for her life and career and the compromises that she was willing to make to achieve those goals. Enas's decision to resume communication with Nathan links to how she sees her right to gain access to desired language opportunities and her continuous pushing for that right to the limits and beyond in favour of those opportunities.

5.2.4 Concluding remarks and reflections on Enas's case

The second section of Chapter 5 presented an analysis of the fourth case's data, highlighting Enas's voice and actions and paying attention to details about her home, formal and informal learning contexts, and related events. Enas's language experiences were directly and indirectly impacted upon by two parallel language learning schemes: the PYP and KASP. She invested in expanding her learning space in Ms Laura's class in the PYP to assemble opportunities not open to her but open to her twin brother in KASP. At home, her family treated her as a responsible adult by charging her with taking care of her siblings when her parents travelled and allowing her to freely invite her friends over and organise house parties; however, they did not allow her to have the same opportunity as her brother in enrolling in KASP. Yet she was determined to pursue her desired language opportunities by bringing opportunities home and inviting PYP English teachers to her house parties. She resisted and challenged sociocultural and faith boundaries, as well as navigating through interpersonal and social relationships using her

understanding of the local sociocultural Saudi context and the knowledge that she gained through these formal and informal language opportunities.

5.3 Issues impacting on English opportunities in the preparatory year programme (PYP) paired cases

The possibilities emerging across the two preparatory-year programme (PYP) paired cases fall under two prominent forces (sites of struggle) that directly and indirectly affect these possibilities in relation to English opportunities: social institutions, represented by family and faith, and societal change, represented by the making of judgements and decisions concerning Sarah's and Enas's desired language learning experiences. Between the two forces, or sites of struggle, the ongoing multidirectional flux and flow of socialised negotiations carry perceptions of choices as well as identifications and the permeability of boundaries affecting the enhancement of opportunities for English, whether in formal or informal language learning contexts. In the following sections, I explore these sites of struggle and their roles in shaping ongoing negotiations with evidence from the PYP paired-case analysis.

5.3.1 Saudi families

As in the private school paired cases in Chapter 4, Saudi families continue to be important socialising forces producing and reproducing decisions—which are likely influenced by local sociocultural contexts, faiths and tribe/family names—concerning the two participants' desired language learning experiences in the PYP paired cases. The role of the male guardian in the Saudi family greatly enhances the impact of the family in female children's career plans, and so it is important to examine the dynamics of the family as well as the guardian-female child's relationship in terms of authority, empathy and the guardian's engagement in the child's language learning plans and her broader goals in life. For example, we can see an interesting distribution of family force in Sarah's family. Because her father died young, her mother and older married sisters domestically engage and invest in her language learning by recruiting and paying for a private English tutor. Sarah's brother, who is assigned to be her guardian, is empathetic to her plans. However, Sarah's paternal uncles can be considered to be part of the family force structure, as they care about the family's name. Sarah's preference for the women-only PYP building for language opportunities relates to the medical career it promises and the

possibility to pursue change. This is a change that, on the one hand, the family force represented by her mother, sisters and brother approves of because it is a change within Saudi sociocultural boundaries. On the other hand, her paternal uncles cannot oppose it, as the PYP is a government educational institution.

In Enas's case, the family force is represented solely by her father, as her mother appears to be absent because of her illness and managing her private school business. The father, as Enas stated, based his children's careers on their genders, allowing Enas's twin brother to join the King Abdullah Scholarship Programme (KASP) in the United States and enrolling Enas in the PYP at the regional university. Though Enas and her father shared some interests, such as their Bedouin heritage, tribal stories of war and poetry, and though her father also praised her English capability and talked about using it for a shared project with Enas, she did not encompass action and resist unjust intrusions into her desired career choices.

In both cases, their Saudi families offered limited opportunities for the participants to be socialised into choices, and so Sarah and Enas had to adapt rather than resist. It can be said that their stances on resisting Saudi family force led to a site of struggle, rather than a site of agency.

5.3.2 Faith

The second issue affecting English opportunities in the PYP paired-case analysis is faith. Faith was found to have a strong connection to Sarah's and Enas's opportunities for English learning. Faith, in the school paired cases, encompassed the complexity of multilevel forces. At a personal level, faith refers to Enas's and Sarah's relationship with Allah. In that sense, faith was not a boundary to the two participants; rather, it was their internalised understanding of their faith and personal reasoning. The personal level of faith is crucial to explain the possibilities of choice within faith at the negotiating level. Faith at the negotiating level can be viewed as a means to challenge a religious boundary, as a way to exercise the two participants' sense of agency. For example, Enas questioned the notion of sin after being challenged by Sarah that her relationship with Nathan, a non-Muslim American man, was haram (see 5.2.3.2). Her questioning does not indicate that she was rebelling against her faith; rather, Enas recognised that her definition of sin was inconsistent with Sarah's reasoning of what sin is. Therefore, she was willing to negotiate the religious boundaries imposed by Sarah's negotiating level of faith. This negotiating level of faith allows for the existence of dual relationships between how the two

participants navigate their desired goals and their judgement of religious boundaries based on their interpretation of religious sources. These navigations may be considered to be both the outcome and origin of the participants' agency. For example, Sarah reconstructed her own idea of how it was permissible to seek language-learning opportunities from a non-Muslim English speaker. Sarah used her interpretation of the fatwa and her reluctance regarding dawah to allow herself to invest in Ms Laura's English classes (see 5.1.2.5).

5.3.3 Perceptions of choice

Between the forces of Saudi family and faith, the data show that across the two cases perceptions of possibilities to exercise agency in relation to English use are aligned with the nature of the space boundary. That is, Enas and Sarah socioculturally mediated their right to choose whether engaging in communication using English was connected to their desire for an appropriate space that might increase their agency by imposing fewer boundaries.

5.3.3.1 Perceptions of choice in the PYP

The PYP, as a government educational institution that claims to offer native-like English learning experiences as well as social institutions, in the sense that it maintains Saudi sociocultural boundaries with its gender-based policies and foreign teaching staff being restricted to the topics they can discuss with students, was altered across the cases as contexts of study. To what extent were language learning and participants' goals and ambitions accommodated by the PYP? Did Ms Laura's English class influence participants' resistance? Enas and Sarah perceive the PYP as a set of linguistic resources and behaviour rules that they draw on and reproduce, challenge and transform during social interactions in Ms Laura's English class. Across the paired cases, Sarah's goals and ambitions were more easily accommodated in the PYP space than were those of Enas, who appeared to be pursuing whom she wanted to be as an individual, shaping language opportunities and acting on them. Sarah was more willing to accept authority-oriented decision-making, except in one incident when she emailed the male PYP English coordinator to object to gender-based English examination procedures (see 5.1.2.3). Sarah in an agent way navigated her position in class to empower the group by taking advantage of Ms Laura's scaffolding, embracing change and choosing a role that corresponded to her strengths and made up for her weaknesses (see 5.1.2.5). At the same time, Sarah strategically and dynamically

created a private space within the group in which she invested her linguistic capabilities (see 5.1.2.4). For Enas, her growing awareness of the differences between the opportunities open to her brother at KASP and those open to her at the PYP allowed her to invest in expanding her learning space to pursue opportunities not open to her and, further, to resist attempts to silence her voice. The evidence from the presentation with the Walt Disney video and the 'Dare To Be Different' T-shirt revealed Enas's attempts to bring change and transform PYP English classes for university-level Saudi female language learners, pushing sociocultural Saudi contextual boundaries (e.g., in terms of ib, halal, and abaya).

5.3.3.2 Perceptions of choice in public spaces

In both cases it was challenging for individuals to make choices in public spaces. In Sarah's case, her public space access had to be arranged by calls from her mother and brother. Even inside a mall, she had to be accompanied by a man. Further, she admitted that she was not only restrained by space-gender hung signs but also by her faith, which did not let her socialise with someone using English if that person was male (see 5.1.3.1). In Enas's case, public spaces were sites where she was confronted by religious police authority for her Westernised look, which constrained any possibility for her to move or stay in a public space and eventually took away her socialisation possibilities (see 5.2.3).

5.3.3.3 Perceptions of choice in physical privacy

As the Saudi families in the paired cases mediated differently the participants' language learning desires and the sociocultural boundaries that they produced and reproduced, the participants, as emerging adults, appropriated their own language socialisation spaces. For example, although Enas represented herself as in conflict and caught between being 'the modern young Bedouin woman' (5.2.1.1) and her desire to break free of all constraints on her actions, her ability to recognise an alternative way to be provided a necessary condition for agency to be activated. Home, with physical privacy and less parental intrusion (intentional or unintentional) from her family, was the space where Enas had more freedom of action. She pushed that freedom to the limit and beyond in favour of creating English socialising opportunities (5.2.3). She did this by hosting home parties for the PYP staff, choosing socially sensitive topics for discussion, and showing her guests a controversial Saudi movie called Wadjda. This showed that Enas was

the agent of her own socialisation (see 5.2.3.1). Further, with regard to physical privacy, Enas positioned herself as a constructive and interactive agent who could invest in her interest in Bedouin heritage by socialising online with English speakers from different faiths, even though this might be considered a sin (5.2.3.2). In Sarah's case, her large family, extended family members living nearby, and her paternal uncles' intrusion into her life in the name of protecting the family honour all limited her physical privacy to a great extent and negatively affected her perception of the choices she had. For this reason, Sarah had better choices to access language opportunities within PYP women-only buildings.

To conclude, my exploration of how Sarah and Enas exercised their agency required an exploration of the sites of struggle in the participants' spaces, in which they were confined and moved in pursuit of desired language learning experiences. The results revealed the possibilities for participants to exercise their agency and to enhance their perceptions of choice in relation to the space—and its sociocultural boundaries—and whom they were while in that space.

Chapter 6: Exploration of Saudi young women's desired language learning opportunities: A cross-case analysis

6.0 Introduction

In chapter 1, section 1.4, I presented the purpose of this 8-month multisite ethnographic research study: investigating agency in the English language socialisation of young Saudi women by observing their daily lives, listening to them talking about themselves as language learners, and following them from mid-September 2013 until the end of May 2014. My ethnography reported on four journeys, highlighting issues related to the ways in which the four young Saudi women were accessing and constructing their English learning opportunities and analysing their navigation across sociocultural and religious boundaries within the inside-outside, gender-divided Saudi region. Across the four cases, the intersection of faith, family and choice influenced how the participants positioned themselves in contexts in which they accessed and used English. In turn, this affected their agency negotiations, as well as their investment in learning English. The four young Saudi women proved to be agentive beings who were capable of negotiating the circumstances of their lives while participating in learning English. To recap, I first highlight the previous two chapters (4 and 5).

In Chapter 4, I introduced two private school students, Reema and Zenah, highlighting the respective formal and informal learning contexts through which I followed each of them. I presented an analysis of how their family environments influenced their English exposure socially and academically: affording access to select private/ international schools and interaction with English-speaking domestic workers. Additionally, my analysis of their perceptions of choice in terms of their language opportunities shows that the issue of faith — whether represented through religious forms such as fatwa rules, halal requirements, haram parameters, ikhtilat situations or dawah goals — can limit or increase participants' access to language opportunities.

In Chapter 5, I presented two preparatory year programme (PYP) students, Sarah and Enas, highlighting their voices and actions and paying attention to details about their homes, formal and informal learning contexts, and related events. Sarah's large family, the extended family members living nearby and paternal uncles' intrusion in her life — in the name of protecting the family's honour — affected her mobility and constrained her choices. The

intersection of faith and family within her household affected her perceptions of choice of language learning opportunities and had an impact on her life and career. The data reveal that she prioritised balancing family and religious values with English learning goals. Sarah chose positive and steadily growing language opportunities within PYP women-only buildings, sustaining and reproducing sociocultural settings that matched her family and religious values. In the other PYP case study, Enas's language experience was influenced directly and indirectly by her resistance to sociocultural norms and her prioritisation of language learning schemes, such as the PYP and King Abdullah Scholarship Programme (KASP). She resisted and challenged sociocultural and faith boundaries and navigated interpersonal and social relationships using her understanding of the local sociocultural Saudi context and knowledge that she gained from her twin brother's English learning experiences abroad. She invested in expanding her learning opportunities in Ms Laura's class at the PYP to pursue opportunities not open to her but open to her twin brother in the KASP. At home, her family treated her as a responsible adult by charging her with taking care of her siblings when her parents travelled and allowing her to freely invite her friends over and organise house parties; however, they did not allow her to have the same opportunities as her brother, such as enrolling in the KASP. Nevertheless, she was determined to pursue her desired language opportunities by bringing opportunities home and inviting PYP English teachers to her house parties.

In this chapter, I conduct a cross-case analysis of the four young women's journeys, highlighting the issues they faced as they actively navigated their religious beliefs and other sociocultural boundaries in pursuit of language learning opportunities. The pair-case analysis for both the private school and PYP participants revealed the consistent presence of sociocultural boundaries that were constantly being negotiated and renegotiated as participants attempted to shape their language learning opportunities. In the following section, I explore the dynamics of participants' agency by highlighting struggles within the spaces that confined participants and their agency in these struggles. First, I focus on the English language in relation to social institutions, represented by family and faith, and in relation to societal change, represented by the participants' judgements and decisions. I argue that the participants gained an increasing awareness of the available choices and their ability to exercise agency in relation to English opportunities, which increased their resistance to boundaries enacted in their English classes in private schools and PYPs and by their teachers. However, their resistance to the boundaries in

contexts of family and faith was more muted. These differences reflect participants' investments in their multiple identities as those identities were understood in moments of time, and those understandings depended upon not only the opportunities they granted for themselves, but the access their families and guardians granted to a range of local, national and international communities as they too attempted to negotiate on-going changes in the larger social context.

6.1 Family

Family beliefs about language, learning and children's role in society are important components to understand how children can influence language learning at home and the ways in which they do so (Fogle, 2012). Family mediates the link between language use and society (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008). In this research study, the participants families' beliefs, values and attitudes about the English language shaped how they directly and indirectly influenced their daughters' exposure to English. At the same time, the participants themselves had perceptions of English as a goal, which influenced their exercise of agency and choice.

Sociocultural (e.g. male guardian role and tribe name) and religious (e.g. halal and haram) factors are intertwined and interrelated with the Saudi sociocultural context in Saudi family decisions and preferences regarding English learning choices, a context in which it is 'difficult to distinguish between the social and the religious' (Al Lily, 2011, p. 119). Consequently, multiple factors appear to affect Saudi families' attempts to prompt English among the participants, as well as their decisions about language education: family dynamics, social hierarchy, reinforcing and transmitting religious and tribal/ family values, gender preferences and guardian roles. Furthermore, both families and participants were influenced by the government's educational projects for female youth: preparatory year programme (PYP) and King Abdullah Scholarship Programme (KASP), in which English language is associated with the prospects of these two projects. However, the influence of these factors varies across cases.

6.1.1 Saudi families' perceptions of English as a goal

In this research, I found that Saudi families' attitudes towards English learning and how they perceived language in their daughters' use of language in an everyday family environment influenced how their daughters made choices regarding, and invested in, language learning opportunities and exercised their agency. For example, when the dynamic of family shows that parents have different plans for their daughter, the daughter tends to account for both parents'

views on language learning while negotiating her access to such opportunities. The description of Zenah's family illustrates the influence of her parents on the daily lives of the children in the family. Although Zenah's father had a direct effect on the children's English use and international exposure, Zenah's mother attempted to provide her family with a protective environment and an upbringing influenced by Islamic values. For this reason, Zenah tended to balance the influence of both her parents, particularly faith and language learning, in her life and future choices.

Across the four cases, the families' attempts to create a space for language opportunities varied, case by case, from hiring personal tutors, to hiring English-speaking domestic workers, to pursuing opportunities to travel abroad. Thus, this sense is crucial for understanding the daughters' choices in relation to language opportunities. However, when a family appeared to ignore the participant's desire to access desired opportunities (as in Enas's case), the participant relied on her own knowledge of language learning experiences (knowledge from her brother's learning experience) to develop her own sense of language opportunities and devise ways to have and access such opportunities.

In Sarah's case, her family's limited income and educational status, her brother's guardian role as regard her and her paternal uncles' intrusion influence the ways in which her family support and protect her by making careful decisions and providing Sarah with trustworthy access to English opportunities (e.g. the Sudanese nurse who taught Sarah English). Furthermore, her family probably consented to her participation in this study because they thought I would be able to help Sarah with her English.

In Enas's case, her family's gendered practices constrained Enas from enjoying the same opportunities as her brother in terms of enrolling in the KASP. The family's apparent lack of socialisation with Enas allows Enas a degree of privacy that she invested in by bringing opportunities home and inviting PYP English teachers to her house parties.

Another significant issue seen across the cases was the intersection of the Saudi family, language learning and learners' expectations. The family played an active and influential role in mediating these expectations of English as a goal. The families assisted in matching their expectations and learners' expectations by facilitating language learning opportunities in ways that, in turn, influenced their language developmental trajectories in wider contexts. These multidirectional influences, in which a Saudi family was involved, whether through micro-level

interactions within primary contexts in the home environment or through the values and beliefs inscribed in their social interactions and connected to macro-sociocultural Saudi contexts, could have created tensions and sites of struggle for language learners. In other words, when parents perceived English as a goal, they perceived it as a transformational movement towards a learner's possible future self in line with the family's expectations, which influences their efforts to transmit and transform language learning opportunities in a morally worthy way.

For example, in Sarah's case, her family saw English as a bridge between their daughter's medical career aspirations and their own financial situation, and mediated these expectations within their tribal values. Sarah's family directly assisted Sarah in accessing language learning opportunities that accommodated her tribal community's concerns. Thus, her family found that not only English but also a PYP institution met those expectations. I consider her family's consent to Sarah's participation in this research to be in alignment with English as a goal and the expected outcome of my impact, as a Saudi English speaker with whom Sarah could practise her English.

However, the intersection of a Saudi family's perceptions of English as a goal and the language expectations of learners sometimes do not lead to a positive influential role for the family in mediating these expectations. The family's mediation of these expectations may be influenced in part by sociocultural and religious factors which in return could lead to restricting learners' growing language learning repertoires and influence their roles, means and agency within their English opportunities. So, despite the families' perceptions of English as a goal and their efforts to facilitate English opportunities at home and prioritise English in the participants' schooling decisions, they tend to take a protective approach against language learning opportunities outside formal learning contexts. In other words, the families consider language learning opportunities in public spaces as risking the family name and their daughters' reputations, particularly the issue of potential male-female mixing. The female participants, on the other hand, could show layered complex and often contradictory versions of agency, leading them to participate and resist, that involve power relations between the family and learners and potentially create sites of struggle and tension. Yet, a learner herself usually finds opportunities to shift contexts for language learning, including her home environment, which could lead to transformation and change within the family.

6.1.2 Family and language learner agency

Language learner agency is recognized as a 'constant process of negotiation, achievement and revision', rather than a product of learners' interactions or their beliefs about language (Fogle, 2012:28). This understanding of agency helps to interpret the impact learners negotiate on their language learning opportunities and social worlds. In this sense, agency is about more than an action a language learner exerts but may entail a dramatic effect as a learner impacts on her language learning trajectories and social worlds (Duff, 2012; Duff & Doherty, 2015; Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015, Miller, 2014). For example, in the first case study (see 4.1.1.3 Reema's guardian and future plans), Reema expressed her concerns about whether her father would allow her to travel by herself during her 2014 spring break and, eventually, allow her to join the 2015 KASP and study at an American university. Reema's family's decision-making process for her future plans took into account family tribal values and the transition of the role of guardian from father to brother. Her father's strong valuation of *ib* (shame) and his concerns over the opinions of his own brothers and other relatives in his tribe, if he allowed his daughter to travel alone, represent fixed boundaries in Reema's construal. While considering her decision, Reema tried to find spiritual refuge in the Istikhara prayer; as she prayed, her thoughts revealed her struggle, 'I'm not sure how. I just want to make sure that I'm strong enough to go there and live this sort of life.' Reema's agency led to a shift in how the family acted on tribal values. Her resistance to her father's decision produced a site of struggle in which she took on a new role of negotiating a crucial decision regarding her potential language learning opportunities and her life. Effecting the change she desired in the context of her family indicates various ways she devised, including her use of the Istikhara prayer and her mother's support to convince her father to allow her to travel alone. Eventually, she succeeded in obtaining permission to travel. Further, the impact that her agency has on her life is evident in the daily photos and video posts streaming from different places in Boston, indicating her actively shaping her upcoming October 2014 independence (see 4.1.1.4 Travelling abroad).

In Enas's case, there was unequal learning opportunities created by her family's decision to finance her twin brother's language school education in the United States, while enrolling Enas in a PYP at a regional university near the family home; this inequality affected how Enas navigated her desired English opportunities and developed her strategic construction of boundaries. After Enas's holiday to visit her twin brother and his American language school in

2013 caused her to recognise that he received better language learning opportunities than she did, she returned home willing to transform her PYP class to have similar opportunities. She articulated her suggestions for new language activities and use of personal resources, like her Disney trip video, to her teacher, Ms Laura. Her suggestions included some controversial ideas, such as attending Halloween and skydiving sessions while wearing an abaya; even Ms Laura, who is not Saudi, understood them as challenging institutional and sociocultural boundaries. Even other students in her class objected to Enas's ideas and shamed her for them. Despite these obstacles, Enas continued to execute agentic behaviour in negotiating the expansion of her potential English opportunities in Ms Laura's class. She appropriately used humour to tone down the discussion and also referred to her Bedouin heritage to strengthen her claim of knowing what is culturally appropriate.

Whilst in Reema's case, her agentic behaviour was directed towards her 2015 potential language opportunities, Enas's agentic behaviour was manifested in immediate potential language opportunities in Ms Laura's class. So, despite their different intentions, their agentic behaviours could indicate that their sense of agency emerges from a dynamic dimension that includes ongoing negotiations of their construal of boundaries, which immediately affects their desired English opportunities. At the same time, each seems to exhibit the gradual formation of a stable dimension of her sense of agency, which develops along with their growing language learning trajectories, including any temporary diversions from boundaries, such as the time that each one spent in the United States, in relation to both their past language experiences and future selves. The simultaneous tendency for the two dimensions to balance the generation of a range of Reema and Enas's potential capacities to create their language opportunities can be understood as their agency.

6.2 Faith

Faith is continually present in all aspects of life; it is the dominant culture. Its ideology is ubiquitous and found everywhere in Saudi society, and its fatwas as well as its halal and haram terms, khalwa and ikhtilat situations, dawah goals, all transform a set of rules and ideas into a dominant way of thinking and behaving (Al Lily, 2011). It was not surprising that the faith issue is shared across all four cases' findings. The findings in the current study demonstrate the influence of faith on the identity of agents in language learning, in multitude of complex ways.

6.2.1 The duality of faith in understandings of personal agency

The findings suggest the existence of dual relationships between how the learners perceived the language learning opportunities in relation to their faith beliefs. The learners' personal agency allowed them to find ways to pursue learning opportunities by clear self-positioning for themselves as Muslim language learners. For example, perceiving a space of prayer room as a potential English opportunity that could be expanded beyond the school reflects not only exercising a learner's agency, but, further, a personal agency constructing a Muslim language learner. The exercise of personal agency and construction of identity in relation to faith and language opportunities can be conceptualised in relation to how learners navigate boundaries by construing them as changeable or movable, which they tend purposely not to choose to shape or shift.

In the coming sections, I first draw attention to the ongoing tensions of participants navigating their faith and values as female, Muslim Saudi learners while accessing potential language learning opportunities and turning them towards their desired English opportunities. For them, being female, Muslim Saudi women living and studying in a Saudi regional context involves encountering various sociocultural, institutional and faith boundaries to their desired English opportunities. Their perceptions in creating those opportunities and managing their growth seemed to connect to the sociocultural, institutional, and faith boundaries in their lives and their potential investment in and personal meanings of their language learning. In the previous chapter, it was found that major sociocultural, institutional and faith boundaries affected participants' desired language opportunities: male guardian or mahram issues, non-mahram male friendships, faith obligation and duty, and institutional resources (language teachers and their teaching methods). These findings suggest the existence of dual relationships between how the participants navigated their desired English opportunities and their strategic use of boundaries. These navigations may be considered as both the outcome and origin of the participants' agency. For analytical reasons, I will use boundaries to capture the aspects of Saudi contexts that I find relate to my cases.

6.2.1.1 Movable boundaries and growing desired language opportunities

The first category consisted of participants' construal of boundaries as changeable or movable and their perception of their removal of boundaries as something worth investing in. This suggests that each time a participant successfully changes her construal of boundaries, she

receives a sense of her potential capacity to participate actively in changing them. For example, Reema's expectations of what a language teacher should offer were not met in Ms Sana's class. Her status of being the class representative also helped influence her strategic construal of Ms Sana as a movable boundary as well as her own perceived investment in her involvement. These personal gains had a greater impact on Reema's life as she discovered her potential, her voice and her sense of self, particularly her charity bazaar participation and her Boston trip, which represent significant opportunities and practices in the study findings. Further evidence for participants' construal of movable boundaries is found in Zenah's work in the musalla/ prayer room group activities from September 2013 to February 2014. She distributed English language pamphlets and posters and organized open-day events involving various English performances, thus moving her faith from the small prayer room to the school theatre stage. The investment she made in her construal of the musalla group boundaries enhanced her capacity to navigate further religious loopholes and devise new methods to promote her faith through English without putting herself or her faith at risk.

Another example comes from Enas and her "nice friendship" with her American friend, Nathan, from New York. Her online friendship of five months was temporarily interrupted thanks to Sarah's religious advice: 'If it were me, I'd stop contacting him immediately, and I'm sure Allah would reward me.' Enas stopped exchanging emails with Nathan, but only for a few weeks. After she started emailing him again, she commented, 'I wasn't really convinced by her talk of sin. Look at my emails. They are fun, cool, and friendly! Where is the sin in that?' Her regrets about listening to Sarah in the first place could be connected to her construal of male friendship boundaries as changeable. Enas wanted to regain her investment in Nathan's friendship and in the English opportunities they both created and grew.

6.2.1.2 Fixed boundaries and constrained desired language opportunities

The second category consisted of participants' construal of boundaries as unchangeable or fixed and their perceptions of the removal of these boundaries as something worth investing in. Most of these boundaries represent faith and morals and their interpretations. They typically evoke a great sense of respect from the participants and prevent them from violating boundaries. Faith can be associated with God/ Allah's sacred texts, the Prophet's cited words/ hadith, fatwas and Islamic virtue, and laws such as dawah and khalwa, whereas morals can be associated with family honour and value. For example, Reema maintained the English opportunities she created

when communicating with her driver, Dave, by continuing their employer-employee relationship and challenging any tendency to turn a conversation into an intimate one. My data indicate the tension she felt between what she perceived as being moral and halal when defining her driver as "not a family member", i.e. non-mahram, and being friendly and "polite". Her construal of the mixed boundaries involved in turning the situation towards her desired English opportunities indicates her tendency to continuously navigate between language, morals and faith. Reema successfully kept producing desired English opportunities in her daily conversations with her car driver by traversing religious and cultural boundaries, but the growth of these language opportunities always seemed to always be a matter of lively and fallible negotiations between her strategic construal of mixed boundaries.

In Sarah's case, her interpretation of khalwa had a strong impact on her construal of gender boundaries as fixed boundaries limiting her communication only to other females. She defended her construal of gender boundaries according to her beliefs in the Prophet's hadith of Allah's two fingers (i.e. faith) and the human heart (i.e. one's destiny). For this reason, she was socialized into choices embedded in her strategic construal in a way that constrained her English opportunities. Further, Sarah actively shared her construal of fixed boundaries with Enas by stopping her contact with Nathan for a few weeks.

The participants' construals of the boundaries of their language opportunities might not always fit within these three categories because they are likely to involve in-depth negotiation with the level of investment they already have in their language opportunities. For example, Sarah represented herself as a dawah advocate who would be willing to communicate in English with a non-Muslim woman and invite her into Islam. However, when she heard that her English teacher, Ms Laura, was a Christian, she manipulated her construal of dawah as a fixed boundary by replacing dawah with khalwa. The reason behind her strategic change could be connected to the seven months she invested in Ms Laura's English classes. What became evident across the four cases in relation to the three categories of the participants' construal of boundaries was that sociocultural and faith boundaries alone were not constraining the participants from making language opportunities. Participants' construals of boundaries were characterized by their constant reinterpretation and deconstruction of what halal and haram represented and how these notions could turn language possibilities into new opportunities. It was partly through these

navigations that the participants developed a perceived sense of their agency. In other words, these navigations could be considered both the outcome and origin of the participants' agency.

6.3 Choice

The analysis of the participants' choices of which boundaries to navigate revealed dynamic relationships between their recognition of any potential investment that they might gain by shifting boundaries and accessing greater and more English learning opportunities. For Enas, Sarah, Reema and Zenah, befriending Nathan, helping Christian Ms Laura, chatting with driver Dave and Skyping male Muslim American Nadeem contributed to creating English learning opportunities in which they were simultaneously engaged in multiple navigations of boundaries where they deployed their construals of boundaries being both movable and being fixed. Justifying her invitation to Nadeem to Skype with her school, Zenah critically and comprehensively examined both her language learning purpose, her linguistic and non-linguistic resources, and her being at the musalla as a 'rightful place with rightful causes': 'We are learning English, using English and having fun with English and learning about Muslim youths from Canada, America, Ireland, Australia, Pakistan.' Zenah's language learning experiences included her role assisting Ms Sana in teaching English, learning English in an international school in Jordan, continuing to use its English coursebooks, even in her Saudi school, and the story of her mother with her broken English convincing their Christian Filipino babysitter, Eve, to convert to Islam. Considering these experiences and examining how Zenah justified her choices shows how she navigated her way through conjoining and developing her linguistic and non-linguistic experiences in the musalla and her online linguistic experience with Nadeem. Through her repeated navigations, which were regularised by her construal of faith and sociocultural boundaries, she asserted her sense of agency and developed a capacity to negotiate the expansion of greater desired language learning opportunities and challenge even highly sensitive and powerful boundaries. For example, when musalla group members complained, she mitigated this with the possibility of switching to audio-conferencing instead of video. Even when the members raised the issue of inviting male guests to a women-only place, citing a fatwa opposing ikhtilat, Zenah did not stop. She only stopped Nadeem's Skype conference when the school principal herself interfered and cancelled not only the conference but also using English in the musalla. I consider that Zenah's struggle in continuing the negotiation of Nadeem's Skype conference with her school came from her strong belief in her faith and seeing the conference as a way to extend

the musalla space to better balance her language and faith. Through this struggle, she saw a potential chance to create greater English learning opportunities where she could be both a good language learner and a good Muslim. One way to conceptualise her struggle as a failure is to maintain a distinction between Zenah's desired language and faith opportunities and how she perceived such opportunities from her own experiences (her agency) and the properties of the musalla itself that are worth investing in.

In Enas' case, she found that Nathan could be part of her desired English learning opportunities. The data in their emails reveal that she recognized and maintained a distinction between her English learning opportunities and perceived such opportunities from her own experiences, thus enhancing her sense of agency with mutual respect expressed by her and Nathan. Her temporal struggle started when Sarah influenced Enas', and partly affected her, desired English learning opportunities.

After establishing the relationship between the participants' negotiations of their language learning opportunities and how they construe boundaries while gaining access to those opportunities, I now examine the possible influence of temporary diversions of sociocultural boundaries that occurred in two case studies.

6.3.1 Choices of alternative language opportunities

Drawing on the ways in which Reema, Zenah, Enas and Sarah constructed their language learning opportunities and managed their participation, we can see that participants' language opportunities did not always mirror their goals for their desired English learning opportunities and their self-image as language learners. An analysis of data on participants' home environment language learning reveals their knowledge about their linguistic resources and the opportunities for and challenges of constructing their desired language learning opportunities, whether in their immediate or imagined future learning environments. In accordance with their knowledge, they immersed their recognition of their struggle in balancing family and faith obligations and duties, as well as in dealing with sociocultural and institutional boundaries. We saw in the first section of this chapter how the participants could navigate their strategic construals of boundaries in deciding which were fixed and which were changeable, so as to constantly negotiate the potential possibilities of turning language opportunities toward their desired English learning opportunities. However, when they recognized that their negotiations would not lead to expected language opportunities, they would make choices with regard to how they relate to those

opportunities themselves and resist and divert to alternative opportunities. The analysis has shown that some patterns of the participants' English learning opportunities are not consistent with how they expressed their desired opportunities; rather, there seemed to be alternative English learning opportunities. The term resistance is used in this study to describe the oppositional feelings and actions of people (Ahearn, 2001).

For example, in Ms Sana's class, in which the students complained about her poor teaching methods, Zenah had her own linguistic resource, her old English learning coursebook from Jordan, in her bag. She checked a grammatical rule or vocabulary list in that book every time Ms Sana turned her back to the students to write on the board. Zenah's use of her old English coursebook as a resource in her learning of English indicates, at one level, her resistance to the human language resource at the front of the class (Ms Sana), on another level. Her actions demonstrate enhanced agency in creating her own alternative English learning opportunities. While Zenah was constructing alternative English learning opportunities, Reema was exploring the possibility of utilising Zenah's advanced linguistic capabilities and the shared wooden table between the group members to ask Zenah to write word translations. Reema was vocal in resisting Ms Sana's teaching, and she was even actively involved in turning her resistance into an official complaint to remove Ms Sana from the school. However, in terms of the language learning opportunities within her immediate classroom environment, her resistance took the form of enhancing her agency to shape an alternative language opportunity: 'I'm learning nothing there [pointing to the board] from her [Ms Sana]. I prefer to sit here [pointing to her chair] and study with [Zenah]' (Reema, personal communication, 22 January 2014).

The analysis reveals similar forms of resistance in Sarah's adaptive strategies to cope with the disturbance to the flow of the immediate language learning environment in Ms Laura's class, such as Ms Laura's slow repetition of activity instructions for the whole class and the noise caused by the new students moving from the bilingual teacher's class. During the class, Sarah opened her English coursebook's back pages and spent time reading Sherlock Holmes stories. She created her alternative English learning by utilising part of an already-existing resource, i.e. the Sherlock Holmes stories inside her coursebook. Furthermore, her explanation of her alternative language opportunities indicated a greater sense of agency in balancing this alternative opportunity, the scope of the immediate learning environment and the 'minimal support from Ms Laura' (5.3.2.1).

Different patterns of resistance are shown in Enas's case. Enas demonstrated obvious active participation in Ms Laura's class, particularly in introducing language learning activity ideas similar to those her twin brother experienced in his American language school. These ideas, which were socioculturally and intuitionally challenging to the immediate learning environment, were part of her desired language opportunities. However, her ideas were not always encouraged; many times, other students and Ms Laura resisted them. In response to this immediate learning environment resistance, she developed her own resistance to create an alternative opportunity by contacting Mr Johnson, her brother's English teacher. Her emails to Mr Johnson with details of her current English level (e.g. her grades, writing level, Ms Laura's comments), her learning setting (taught by a native English speaker, name of the coursebook, number of class hours, assessment tools) and her purposes (TOEFL score, writing in English) were all part of her alternative opportunities shaping and leading to her joining the American language school's July 2014 programme. Her sense of agency is shown not only in resisting and challenging the immediate learning environment to fit into her desired English opportunities, but also in her construction of an alternative opportunity in which she imagined her future self.

Other patterns of resistance and alternative language learning opportunities appeared to occur at micro- and macro-levels. For instance, Zenah was accessing more desired language opportunities in the school prayer room, the musalla; however, the musalla group members resisted her progress and made an official complaint, to which they attached a fatwa, to stop her. Though Zenah was banned from using English in the religious room on the macro-level by the school principal, she created an online alternative opportunity with Nadeem, her Muslim-American friend from the WAMY organization. Her alternative language opportunity at the micro-level indicates her enhanced agency to balance her goals and utilise the religious and linguistic resources by 'using English and having fun with English and learning about Muslim youths from Canada, America, Ireland, Australia, and Pakistan'. Another form of resistance and an alternative language opportunity that could be located at macro- and micro-levels come from the data obtained from Reema and her car driver, Dave. Whilst obvious sociocultural boundaries threatened any attempt by the two opposite-sex people to be alone together and have a conversation in public, Reema's resistance to such boundaries enabled her to create an alternative language opportunity inside the car, in which she could safely communicate with her driver. Furthermore, by looking in the rear-view mirror while talking to Dave, Reema not only

redefined the boundaries inside the car but also kept the dynamic of the alternative opportunity. In the charity bazaar incident, the place, like any other public place in Saudi society influenced by gender segregation, was organised in such a way as to keep females behind the selling stalls so that they would not be close to or talk freely with male shoppers. When Reema recognized a potential language opportunity with a male English-speaking shopper, she resisted the physical boundaries and walked around the stall to create alternative language opportunities.
The four participants' sense of agency is indicated not only by their construction of their desired English learning opportunities, but also by their purposeful reshaping of different forms of resistance and their efforts to recycle these to form alternative English opportunities.

6.4 Agency in the English language socialisation of young Saudi women

Thus far, I have conceptualised the agency accounting for my participants' language opportunities as the ongoing negotiations of a dynamic dimension holding their construal of boundaries and stable dimensions and foregrounding their language learning trajectories and future selves. These two dimensions have simultaneous tendencies to balance the generation of a range of my participants' potential capacities to create their language opportunities. For my conceptualisation to be comprehensive enough to explain how agency functions, I need to capture the sense of tension balancing these two dimensions by focusing not on the agentic behaviour but on the agent herself. Dynamic equilibrium could be useful here because the term helps explain how a phenomenon can be changing and prohibit change at the same time by comparing the observation of a single aspect of the phenomenon to observe it from different aspects. That is, equilibrium located at one lens of observation, whilst dynamic, is achieved by taking account of the various lenses. In the case of my research data, such as the analysis of the transformation of religiously forbidden or sinful language opportunities to not only permissible language opportunities but also their own language opportunities, dynamic equilibrium can be used to focus on agency as it is observed through two lenses. I assume this way is the closest one can get to the analysis of agency as it is experienced, rather than the breaking down of agency to sense and actual learning behaviour.

The way explained agency I moved from any conception of agency as a property or a competence of language learner. For example, Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001: 148) view agency as a 'relationship that is constantly co-constructed and renegotiated with those around the individual

and with the society at large'. Seeing it like this, I could relate part of my agency conceptualisation to their view, particularly the continuous negotiation, though I reinforce individuals' construal of boundaries rather than assuming vague relationship with *'with the society at large'*. On the other hand, the notion of investment as proposed by Norton (2000) to illustrate the connection between language and learners, could not be comprehensive enough to capture the recycled relation for participants' potential personal language gains that were related to their strategic decision to enable or limit their agency. From their construal of boundaries perspective, when their perception of their removal of boundaries as something worth investing in. This suggests that each time the participant successfully moves her construal of boundaries, she receives a sense of her potential capacity to participate actively in changing these boundaries. For Reema, her expectations of what a language teacher should offer were not met in Ms. Sana's class. Her status of being the class representative also helped influence her strategic construal of Ms. Sana as a movable boundary as well as her own perceived investment in her involvement. In short, this case study has suggested two things: (a) the notion of investment alone may not be comprehensive enough to explain participants; construal of boundaries, and (b) agency with the intended concept of investment, that is investment in relation to how individuals construe boundaries, could introduce a more comprehensive understanding of agency, in which navigation may be considered as both the outcome and origin of the participants' agency.

Agency has been largely associated with resistance in second language socialisation research (Duff, 2002; Harklau, 2000; Morita, 2002, 2004; Norton, 2000; Talmy, 2008), various forms of resistance were presented in Chapter 4 and 5, the forms indicated various strategies by the participants in which they could keep their desired language learning opportunities but usually they coped in creating what I called alternative language opportunities.

Unlike the results of studies reporting that learners showed their resistance by displaying destructive and/or undesirable behaviour (Atkinson, 2003; Talmy, 2008), Sarah coped with the disturbance of the flow of the immediate language learning environment in Ms Laura's class, and created her alternative opportunities utilising course book as resource. Though she was quiet but unlike Morita's (2002, 2004) Japanese student's resistance form, i.e., being silent in Canadian university classrooms. Sarah's resistance form had some similarities with Norton's (2000 & 2001) participant, Katarina, who stopped attending her language class because she was treated as merely an immigrant woman. Furthermore, she took a computer course to (re)gain her

legitimacy. my analysis revealed similar forms of resistance in Sarah's adaptive strategies to cope with the disturbance of the flow of the immediate language learning environment in Ms Laura's class, such as Ms Laura's slow repetition of activity instructions for the whole class and the noise caused by the new students moving from the bilingual teacher's class. During the class, Sarah opened her English course book's back pages and spent time reading Sherlock Holmes stories. She created her alternative English opportunities by utilising a part of an already-existing resource, that is, the Sherlock Holmes stories inside her course book. Furthermore, her explanation of her alternative language opportunities indicated a greater sense of agency in balancing the alternative opportunities, the scope of the immediate learning environment, and the 'minimal support from Ms Laura' (5.3.2.1). Some patterns of resistance and alternative language opportunities appeared to occur at micro and macro levels whilst other shown not only in resisting and challenging the immediate learning environment to fit into the participants' desired English opportunities but also in their construction of an alternative opportunity in which she imagined her future selves.

In the light of discussion, agency as researched in this study has been found to be a complex, intricate construct which enables an individual to invest in both self and language simultaneously allowing coexisting and socialising in desired language opportunities.

CHAPTER 7: Conclusion

7.0 Introduction

In Chapter 1, I stated my purpose for undertaking this research study was to understand how young Saudi women are socialised into practices of choice around English language learning opportunities. Based on the premise that language learners are 'agents in the formation of competence' (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011:6) who 'play a defining role in shaping the qualities of their learning' (Dewaele, 2009: 638), I examined my four case studies in Chapters 4,5 and 6, considering my role as an ethnographer as well as the review of literature on agency in second language socialisation I consulted. With reference to these discussions and the new insights they generated, I begin by consolidating in the first section of this chapter what I believe are some of the most significant issues uncovered in this study and discuss their potential implications in the area of agency and learners' desired language opportunities, particularly in communities where faith influences individuals' learning and socialisation. In other sections of the chapter, I make a number of suggestions that could influence the directions for further research. Also, I offer views on my research's contributions to the intersection of language and faith. Finally, I give in the last section of the chapter my reflections on the research journey, the findings, and my experience as a researcher and individual.

7.1 Conclusions and implications

What can we learn from the case studies of the four young Saudi female language learners?

The four case studies have provided a number of vital insights into understanding of how young Saudi women were socialised through English into practices of choice. From the second language socialisation perspective, the roles that Reema, Zenah, Sarah and Enas played in having and accessing language learning opportunities could be explained in reference to the construct of agency. The case studies of these four young Saudi female learners suggest that agency led to various shifts in how their families acted, whether on tribal or faith values, influencing learners' construal of contextual boundaries and their choices of possible language learning opportunities, ultimately widening these learners' access to such opportunities. Across their language learning journeys, agency was reflected through the learners' constant negotiations of circumstances, conflicts and challenges arising between their desired language learning opportunities and the local sociocultural boundaries in each case. Whereas in some cases, a number of negotiations led

learners to confidently appropriate voices for themselves in English, other negotiations reproduced sites of struggle and tension in which learners received a sense of their potential capacity to act, allowing them to recognise what else their agency could enable them to do. The research findings unveil a number of important insights into the dynamics of learners' agency in relation to those sites of struggle, highlighting the complex forces of family, faith and sociocultural boundaries, all intertwined in multiple layers. In addition, the study unveils further insights into the interactions of learner's negotiations at multiple layers and language learning goals they gained as a result of language socialisation.

7.1.1 Pedagogical conclusions and implications

Understanding how young Saudi women navigate boundaries to access language learning opportunities is useful to ensure how the aims and purposes of university preparatory year programmes (PYPs) are fulfilled in Saudi Arabia. PYPs are places where young Saudi female language learners encounter difference, and for some of them, it is their first such encounter. The implementations/operational recommendations of PYPs need to not only focus on English language learning, but should also allow young Saudi women to engage with difference and with the world as global citizens. Therefore, the most important pedagogical implications are to consider how PYPs, as women-only spaces and educational institutions, can support female learners in negotiating, resisting, shaping, and/or creating learning opportunities and in their engagement with the world. This requires putting learners and teachers at the center of PYPs, and understanding them both as novices and experts who interact and benefit from these interactions. It is through these interactions that PYP programmes can foster individual opportunity and transformation. Further, what students create by way of opportunities or transformation should not be understood as undermining their faith. Therefore, such consideration requires bringing together a) parental, religious and cultural awareness and b) understanding of the PYP's potential in order to engage with and potentially help these young women in crossing boundaries and in advancing their potential to impact society on a wider scale.

7.1.2 Theoretical conclusions and implications

The findings of this current research demonstrate the value of second language socialisation (SLS) as a theoretical framework, particularly when the individual agency of

participants is a central research interest. This framework takes into account the multidirectionality of influences of both the expert and the novice in the position of agents socialising each other (Talmy, 2008). In addition, SLS has explicitly theorised a relationship to the context by offering an understanding of how context and language are developed through everyday interactions within particular communities. Further, in the current research study, SLS framework supports understandings of how boundaries are crossed across communities/spaces as well as highlights processes of changes within the community itself. With such understandings, issues related to language learners' families and faith can be attended to in conjunction with attention to individual agency. This study has identified ways in which particular practices are involved in participants' choices:

- Consulting religious documents and/or otherwise engaging in religious reflection and prayer
- Using resources from the home context to extend classroom activities (e.g., materials from travels)
- Engaging in conversations in and beyond the home (e.g., online, with household staff)
- Negotiating with family members for extended freedom

Hence, the SLS framework could draw explicit attention to how learners create ways of acting and being by focusing not only on their capacity to act within communities but also on their capacity to cross boundaries. This attention requires considering the interconnection of language learning and the participants' construal of boundaries in relation to such considerations as faith, families and choices, because it is through language that practices of choice influence learners' perceptions of boundaries and shape how they cross boundaries.

7.1.3 Ethical conclusions and implications

Working with Saudi female participants in a research context requires awareness of Saudi context and understanding of 'young woman' adulthood. For example, though some of the participants in this study were 18 years old, they are considered minors in terms of consent. Shared materials carry a potential risk far beyond failure to protect individual anonymity, a risk that extends to the participant's family name and reputation. At the beginning of my fieldwork I attempted to set a number of rules whenever a participant wanted to share a personal material

with me. Eventually, I found it more effective to accept what participants shared but to engage critically with whether to use the material or not. I continue to find the participant's mother's voice referring to me as 'the good woman' as a strong reminder to think through any hint of potential risk for the participants. I believe my experiences have greatly boosted my awareness of what might create potential risk and shaped my professional development of 'whom I am' in fieldwork. It is through such experiences that researchers can define both their personal discipline and ethical decision-making.

7.2 Thoughts on myself as a researcher and individual

At various stages in writing my thesis, I reflected on my role as an ethnographer, on what I was researching and on how the two could impact the contribution of my work I found myself going back to Wellington (2015: 87).

> Part of being critical involves being critical of our own thinking, beliefs, faith and knowledge, not just other people's. This requires us to be sensitive to and to be aware of our own biases, prejudices and preconceptions. This is part of the requirement for our own 'positionality' to be included in a thesis, article or research report

I was aware of my writing passing through the lens of my experiences and values every time I referred to my research project as being sensitive. Obviously, my cautions and fears come from the voiced angle of my compositional lens. I am a PhD Saudi woman researcher whose academic degree pilgrimage in the non-Arabic world was guaranteed by her male guardian's/mahram's trust and belief in her life goals. My cautions and fears were of putting myself into situations or bringing up issues of concern that might relate in one way or another to my own vision of self back home. These are some of the reasons why I included two sections on being an ethnographer in introductory and methodology Chapters. I committed to being explicit about my growing understanding of myself and my research purpose. This growing understanding accompanies me in my life and in my sense of self and choice.

References

Agar, M. (2008). *The professional stranger: An informal introduction to ethnography* (2nd ed.). Bingley, UK: Emerald.

Agar, M. (2009). Ethnography. In G. Senft, J. Östman, & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *Culture and language use* (pp. 110–120). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/hoph.2.10aga

Ahearn, L. M. (2001). Language and agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 30,* 109-137.

Ahmed, L. (2011). *A quiet revolution: The veil's resurgence from the Middle East to America.* New Haven, CT: Yale University.

Akeel, M. (2013, February 11). Women in Saudi Arabia: Breaking barriers. *Qantara.* Retrieved from http://en.qantara.de/content/women-in-saudi-arabia-breaking-barriers

Al Asmari, A. R. (2013). Practices and prospects of learner autonomy: Teachers' perceptions. *English Language Teaching, 6*(3), 1–11. Retrieved from http://www.ccsenet.org/journal/index.php/elt/article/view/24446

Albalawi, B. R. (2014). Student attitudes toward intensive English program at CSCED and their effects on academic achievement. *International Journal for Innovation Education and Research, 2*(10), 139-157.

Alhamdan, B., Honan, E., & Hamid, M. O. (2016). The construction of the universality of English within Saudi Arabian education contexts. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 38*(5), 627–641. doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2015.1126553

Al-Haq, F. A. & Smadi, O. (1996). The status of English in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) from 1940–1990. In J. A. Fishman, A. W. Conrad & A. Rubel-Lopez (Eds.), *Post-Imperial English: Status change in former British and American colonies* (pp. 457–484). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Alhazmi, A. & Nyland, B. (2012). The Saudi Arabian international student experience: From a gender-segregated society to studying in a mixed-gender environment. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 43*(3), 346–365. doi:10.1080/03057925.2012.722347

Al-Khateeb, S. A. H. (1998). Women, family and the discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia. *Marriage & Family Review, 27*(1/2), 167–189.

Al Lily, A. E. A. (2011). Online and under veil: Technology-facilitated communication and Saudi female experience within academia. *Technology in Society, 33*(1/2), 119–127.

Al Maiman, I. (2005). *A study of seventh-grade Saudi students' motivation level to learn English as a foreign language* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Kansas: USA.

Alnassar, A. S., & Dow, K. L. (2013). Delivering high-quality teaching and learning for university students in Saudi Arabia. In L. Smith & A. M. Abouammoh (Eds.), *Higher education in Saudi Arabia: Achievements, challenges and opportunities* (pp. 49–60). Netherlands: Springer.

Alrabai, F. (2016). Factors underlying low achievement of Saudi EFL learners. *International Journal of English Linguistics, 6*(3), 21–37. doi.org/10.5539/ijel.v6n3p21

Al-Rasheed, M. (2013). *A most masculine state: Gender, politics, and religion in Saudi Arabia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Al-Seghayer, K. (2014). The four most common constraints affecting English teaching in Saudi Arabia. *International Journal of English Linguistics, 4*(5), 17–26.

Alseweed, M. A., & Daif-Allah, A. S. (2012). An intensive preparatory English learning module for PYP students: Benefits and challenges. *Journal of Arabic and Human Sciences, 6*(1), 1–19.

Alseweed, M. A. (2009). Attitudes of Saudi secondary school level students towards the learning of English as a Foreign Language An intensive preparatory English learning module for PYP students: Benefits and challenges. *Journal of Arabic and Human Sciences, 2*(1), 9–22.

Alshumaimeri, Y. (2013). The effect of an intensive English language program on first-year university students' motivation. *Journal of Educational & Psychological Sciences, 14*(1), 11–33.

Al Uthaymeen, M. S. (1992). *Alsaid althameen fe rasayel ibn Uthaymeen*. Makkah Al-Mukarramah: Dar Althiqa.

Arebi, S. (1994). *Women and words in Saudi Arabia: The politics of literary discourse.* New York, NY: Columbia University.

Aro, M. (2015a). Authority Versus Experience: Dialogues on Learner Beliefs. In Kalaja, P., F. Barcelos, A. M., Aro, M., & Ruohotie-Lyhty, M, Beliefs, agency and identity in foreign language learning and teaching (pp. 27-47). Finland: University of Jyväskylä

Aro, M. (2015b). In Action and Inaction: English Learners Authoring Their Agency. In Kalaja, P., F. Barcelos, A. M., Aro, M., & Ruohotie-Lyhty, M, Beliefs, agency and identity in foreign language learning and teaching (pp. 61-87). Finland: University of Jyväskylä.

Atkinson, D. (2003). Language socialization and dys-socialization in a South Indian College. In R. Bayley & S. Schecter (Eds.), *Language socialization in bilingual and multilingual societies* (pp. 147–162). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Bahgat, G. (1999). Education in the Gulf monarchies: Retrospect and prospect. *International Review of Education, 45*(2), 127–136.

Baquedano–López, P., & Figueroa, A. M. (2011). Language socialization and immigration. In A. Duranti, E. Ochs, & B. B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *The handbook of language socialization* (pp. 536–563). Malden, MA: Wiley–Blackwell. doi:10.1002/9781444342901.ch23

Baquedano–López, P., & Hernandez, S. (2011). Language socialization across educational settings. In B. Levinson & M. Pollock (Eds.), *A companion to the anthropology of education* (pp. 197–211). Malden, MA: Wiley–Blackwell.

Batrawy, A. (2013, December 16). Freedoms for Saudi university girls end at gates. *Independent Mail.* Retrieved from http://www.independentmail.com/news/2013/dec/16/freedoms-saudi-university-girls-end-gates/

Bukhari, F., & Denman, B. (2013). Student scholarships in Saudi Arabia: Implications and opportunities for overseas engagement. In L. Smith & A. M. Abouammoh (Eds.), *Higher Education in Saudi Arabia: Achievements, Challenges and Opportunities* (pp. 151–168). Netherlands: Springer.

Corbyn, Z. (2009, November 5). Oasis in the desert. *Times Higher Education*. Retrieved from http://www.timeshighereducation.com/features/oasis-in-the-desert/408895.article.

Crago, M. B. (1992). Ethnography and language socialization: A cross-cultural perspective. *Topics in Language Disorders*, 12 (3), 28-39.

Dávalos, G. K. (2012, July). Woman in Saudi Arabia: A golden age for Saudi women. *Qantara.* Retrieved from http://en.qantara.de/content/woman-in-saudi-arabia-a-golden-age-for-saudi-women

Davis, K. A., & Henze, R. C. (1998). Applying ethnographic perspectives to issues in cross-cultural pragmatics. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *30*(4), 399–419.

Dewaele, J. M. (2009). Individual differences in second language acquisition. In W. C. Ritchie & T. K. Bhatia TK (Eds.). *The new handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 623–646). Bingley, UK: Emerald.

Doumato, E. (1992). Gender, monarchy, and national identity in Saudi Arabia. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 19*(1), 31–47.

Doumato, E. (2009). Obstacles to equality for Saudi women. In *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1979–2009: Evolution of a pivotal state. A special edition of Viewpoints.* Washington, DC: The Middle East Institute.

Duff, P. A. (1996). Different languages, different practices: Socialization of discourse competence in dual-language school classrooms in Hungary. In K. M. Bailey & D. Nunan (Eds.), *Voices from the language classroom: Qualitative research in second language acquisition* (pp. 407–433). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Duff, P. A. (2002). The discursive construction of knowledge, identiy, and difference: An ethnography of communication in the high school mainstream. *Applied Linguistics, 23,* 289–232.

Duff, P. A. (2012). Identity, agency, and second language acquisition. In S. M. Gass & A. Mackey (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 410–426). New York: Routledge.

Duff, P., & Anderson, T. (2015). Academic language and literacy socialization for second-language students. In N. Markee (Ed.), *The handbook of classroom discourse and interaction* (pp. 337-352). Malden, MA: Wiley–Blackwell.

Duff, P., & Doherty, L. (2015). Examining agency in (second) language socialization research. In P. Deters, X. Gao, E. Miller, & G. Vitanova (Eds.), *Interdisciplinary approaches to theorizing and analyzing agency and second language learning* (pp. 54–72). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Duff, P., & Talmy, S. (2011). Language socialisation approaches to second language acquisition: Social, cultural, and linguistic development in additional languages. In D. Atkinson (Ed.), *Alternative approaches to SLA* (pp. 95-116). London: Routledge.

Elyas, T., & Picard, M. (2010). Saudi Arabian educational history: Impacts on English language teaching. *Education, Business and Society: Contemporary Middle Eastern Issues, 3*(2), 136–145.

Esposito, N. (2001). From meaning to meaning: The influence of translation techniques on non-English focus group research. *Qualitative Health Research, 11*(4), 568–579.

Falzon, M. A. (2009). Introduction. In Falzon, M. A. (Ed.), *Multi-sited ethnography: Theory, praxis and locality in contemporary research (*pp. 1–23). Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Farooq, M. U. (2012). Effects of learner autonomy on teaching practices and outcomes in an ELT classroom. *European Journal of Scientific Research, 94*(3), 316–330.

Faruk, S. (2013). English language teaching in Saudi Arabia: A world system perspective. *Scientific Bulletin of the Polytechnic University of Timişoara Transactions on Modern Languages, 12*(1), 73–80.

Fischer, C. (2006). *Qualitative research methods for psychologists*. Burlington, MA: Academic Press.

Fogle, L. W. (2012). *Second language socialisation and learner agency*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Garrett, P. B. (2008). Researching language socialization. In K. A. King & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education. Volume 10: Research methods in language and education* (pp. 189–201). Boston, MA: Springer.

Giddens A. (1984). The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Gordon, D. (2004). 'I'm tired. You clean and cook': Shifting gender identities and second language socialization. *TESOL Quarterly, 38*(3), 437–457.

Greene, M. (1997). The lived world, literature and education. In D. Vandenberg (Ed.), *Phenomenology & Education Discourse* (pp. 169–190). Johannesburg, South Africa: Heinemann.

Garrett, P. and Baquedano-López, P. (2002). Language socialization: Reproduction and continuity, transformation and change. *Annual Review of Anthropology 31*, 339–361.

Harklau, L. (2000). From the "good kids" to the "worst": Representations of English language learners across educational settings. *TESOL Quarterly*, 34, 35–67.

He, A. W. (2003). Novices and their speech roles in Chinese heritage language classes. In R. Bayley & S. R. Schecter (Eds.), *Language socialization in bilingual and multilingual societies* (pp. 128-146). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Hilal, K. (2013). Between the fears and hopes for a different future for the nation-states: Scholarship programs in Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates from a public policy standpoint. *International Journal of Higher Education, 2*(2), 195–210. doi.org/10.5430/ijhe.v2n2p195

Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. In J.B. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), Sociolinguistics: selected readings (269–293).Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.

Islam, S. I. (2014). Saudi women: Opportunities and challenges in science and technology, *Education Journal, 3*(2), 71–78. doi:10.11648/j.edu.20140302.15.

Jarf, R. (2008). Online collaboration in translation instruction among students and instructors. In E. Croitoru & F. Popescu (Eds.), *Translation studies: Retrospective and prospective views* (pp. 128–141). Romania: Galaţi University.

Kalaja, P., F. Barcelos, A. M., Aro, M., & Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. (2015). Beliefs, agency and identity in foreign language learning and teaching. Finland: University of Jyväskylä.

Lam, W. (2004). Second language socialization in a bilingual chat room: Global and local considerations. *Language Learning & Technology, 8*(3), 44–65.

Lantolf, J. P. & Pavlenko, A. (2001). (S)econd (L)anguage (A)ctivity theory: understanding second language learners as people. In M.P. Breen (Ed.), *Learner Contributions to Language Learning* (pp. 141-158). Harlow: Longman.

Layder, D. (1997). *Modern social theory: Key debates and new directions*. London: UCL.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1986). But is it rigorous?: Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. In D. D. Williams (Ed.), *Naturalistic evaluation* (pp. 73–84). San Francisco, CA: Jossey–Bass.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Le Renard, A. (2008). Only for women: Women, the state, and reform in Saudi Arabia. *Middle East Journal, 62*(4), 610–629.

Le Renard, A. (2012). Personal development and the “rights of women”: Women’s appropriation of religion in Saudi Arabia. *Critique International 46*, 67–86.

Le Renard, A. (2014). *A society of young women: Opportunities of place, power, and reform in Saudi Arabia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University.

Marcus, G. E. (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 24*, 95–117.

McMullen, M. G. (2014). The value and attributes of an effective preparatory English program: Perceptions of Saudi university students. *English Language Teaching, 7*(7), 131–140.

Mernissi, F. (1991). *Beyond the veil*. Cambridge: Schenkman.

Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education* (2nd ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey–Bass Publishers.

Miller, E. (2014). *The language of adult immigrants: Agency in the making.* Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Ministry of Higher Education. (2014). *King Abdullah scholarships program.* Retrieved from http://www.mohe.gov.sa/en/studyaboard/King-Abdulla-hstages/Pages/default.aspx

Moore, L. C. (2008). Language Socialization and second/foreign language and multilingual education in Non-Western in non-Western settings. In P. A. Duff & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education. Volume 8: Language socialization* (pp. 175-185). New York: Springer.

Morita, N. (2000). Discourse socialisation through oral classroom activities in a TESL graduate program. *TESOL Quarterly*, *34*(2), 279–310.

Morita, N. (2002). *Negotiating participation in second language academic communities.* Unpublished thesis, University of British Columbia.

Morita, N. (2004). Negotiating participation and identity in second language academic communities. *TESOL Quarterly*, *38*, 573–603.

Nakhoul, S., Maclean, W., & Rashad, M. (2016, April 25). Saudi prince unveils sweeping plans to end "addiction" to oil. *Yahoo Finance Canada.* Retrieved from https://ca.finance.yahoo.com/news/saudi-prince-unveils-sweeping-reform-plan-economy-123035627–sector.html

National Transformational Program 2020. (2016). *Saudi 2030 vision.* Retrieved from http://vision2030.gov.sa/en/ntp

Nonaka, A. M. (2011). Language socialization and language endangerment. In A. Duranti, E. Ochs, & B. B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *The handbook of language socialization* (pp. 610–630). Malden, MA: Wiley–Blackwell.

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning*. London: Longman.

Norton, B. (2001). Non-participation, imagined communities, and the language classroom. In M. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp. 159-171). Harlow, England: Pearson Education

Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B. B. (2011). The theory of language socialization. In A. Duranti, E. Ochs, & B. B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *The handbook of language socialization* (pp. 1–21). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Pavan, A. (2013). A new perspective on the quest for education: The Saudi Arabian way to knowledge society. *Higher Education Studies, 3*(6), 25–34. doi:10.5539/hes.v3n6p25

Pavan, A. (2014). The new Saudi educational renaissance: In between the "capacity to aspire" and the "capacity to remember." *Higher Education Studies, 4*(5), 37-46. doi10.5539/hes.v4n5p37

Pharaon, N. A. (2004). Saudi women and the Muslim state in the twenty-first century. *Sex Roles, 51*(5/6), 349–366.

Polanyi, L. (1995). Language learning and living abroad: Stories from the field. In B. F. Freed (Ed.), *Second language acquisition in a study abroad context* (pp. 271–291). Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

Poole, D. (1992). Language socialization in the second language classroom. *Language Learning, 42*, 593–616.

Priestley, M., Biesta, G.J.J. & Robinson, S. (2015*). Teacher agency: An ecological approach.* London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Quamar, M. M. (2013). Education as a ladder for Saudi women: An overview. *Journal of Arabian Studies: Arabia, the Gulf, and the Red Sea, 3*(2), 265–277. doi:10.1080/21534764.2013.863680

Rasdi, M. T. H. M. (2000). *The architectural heritage of the Malay world: The traditional mosque.* Penerbit, Malaysia: Penerbit UTM Press.

Reinhardt, J., & Zander, V. (2011). Social networking in an intensive English program classroom: A language socialization perspective. *CALICO Journal*, 28(2), 326–344.

Ross, M. (2008). Oil, Islam, and women. *American Political Science Review, 102*(1), 107–123.

Schieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (1986). *Language socialisation across cultures*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University.

Talmy, S. (2008). The cultural productions of the ESL student at Tradewinds High: Contingency, multidirectionality, and identity in L2. *Applied Linguistics, 29*, 619–644.

Douglas Fir Group. (2016). A transdisciplinary framework for SLA in a multilingual world. *The Modern Language Journal, 100*(S1), 19–47.

van Geel, A. (2012). Whither the Saudi Woman? Gender mixing, empowerment and modernity. In R. Meijer & P. Aarts (Eds.), *Saudi Arabia between conservatism, accommodation, and reform* (pp. 57–78). The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations.

Vidyasagar, G., & Rea, D. M. (2004). Saudi women doctors: Gender and careers within Wahhabic Islam and a "Westernized" work culture. *Women's Studies International Forum, 3*(27), 261–280.

Watson–Gegeo, K. A. (1988). Ethnography in ESL: Defining the essentials. *TESOL Quarterly, 22*, 575–592.

Wong, M. S. (2015). Called to teach: The impact of faith on professional identity construction of three Western English teachers in China. In M. Wong, C. Kristjansson, & Z. Dörnyei (Eds.), *Christian faith and English language teaching and learning: Research on the interrelationship of religion and ELT* (pp. 11–31). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group.

Yamani, M. (2004). *Cradle of Islam: The Hijaz and the quest for an Arabian identity*. London, UK: I. B. Tauris.

Yamani, M. (2008). The two faces of Saudi Arabia. *Survival, 50*(1), 143–156.

Yin, R. K. (2002). *Applications of case study research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

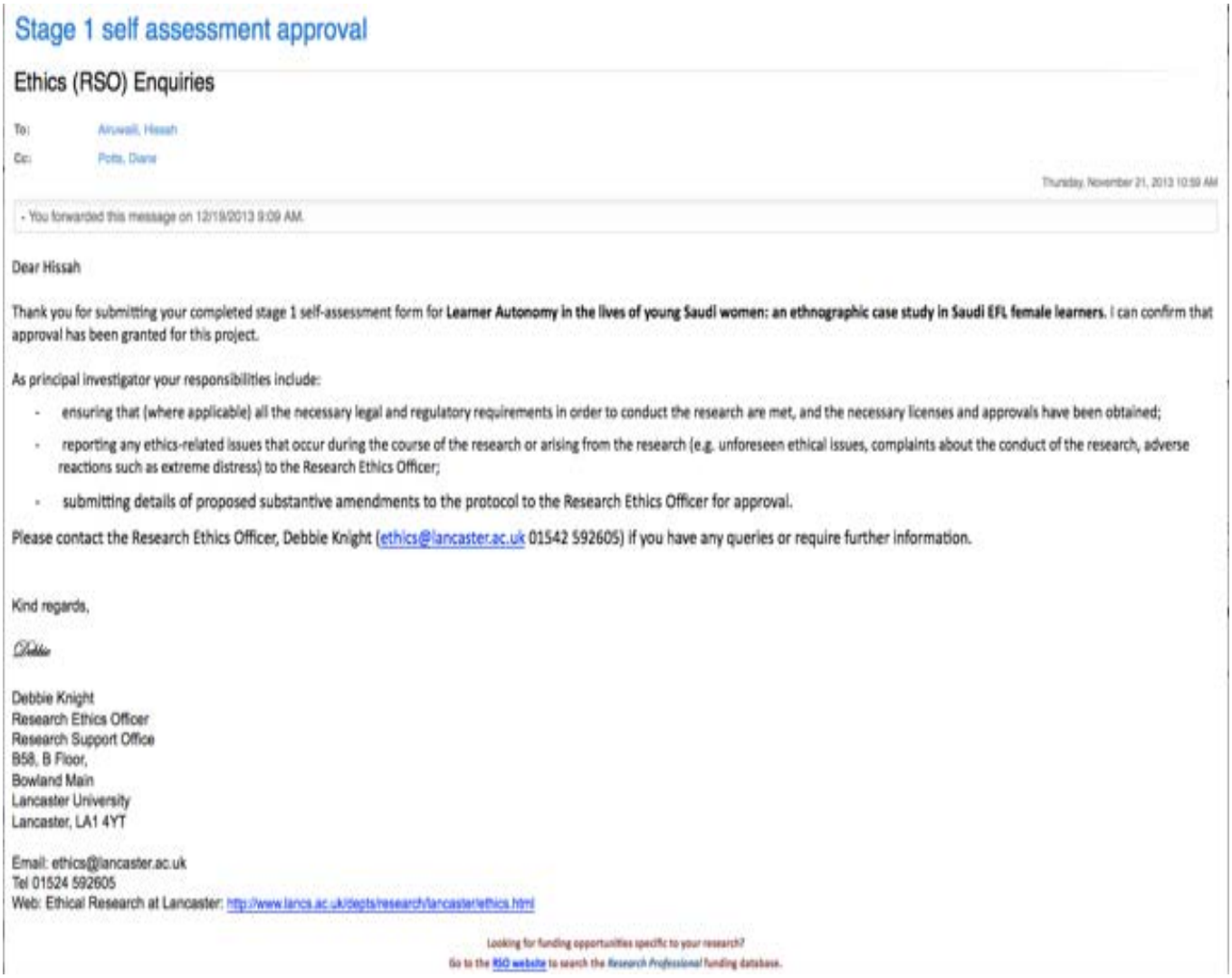
Zappa–Hollman, S., & Duff, P. (2015). Academic English socialization through individual networks of practice. *TESOL Quarterly, 49*, 333–368.

Zuengler, J., & Cole, K. M. (2005). Language socialization and L2 learning. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook for research in second language teaching and learning* (pp. 301–316). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Appendices

Appendix A

University Research Ethics Committees (UREC) approval



Stage 1 self assessment approval

Ethics (RSO) Enquiries

To: Alruwaili, Hissah

Cc: Potts, Diana

Thursday, November 21, 2013 10:59 AM

- You forwarded this message on 12/19/2013 9:09 AM.

Dear Hissah

Thank you for submitting your completed stage 1 self-assessment form for **Learner Autonomy in the lives of young Saudi women: an ethnographic case study in Saudi EFL female learners.** I can confirm that approval has been granted for this project.

As principal investigator your responsibilities include:

- ensuring that (where applicable) all the necessary legal and regulatory requirements in order to conduct the research are met, and the necessary licenses and approvals have been obtained;
- reporting any ethics-related issues that occur during the course of the research or arising from the research (e.g. unforeseen ethical issues, complaints about the conduct of the research, adverse reactions such as extreme distress) to the Research Ethics Officer;
- submitting details of proposed substantive amendments to the protocol to the Research Ethics Officer for approval.

Please contact the Research Ethics Officer, Debbie Knight (ethics@lancaster.ac.uk 01542 592605) if you have any queries or require further information.

Kind regards,

Debbie Knight
Research Ethics Officer
Research Support Office
B58, B Floor,
Bowland Main
Lancaster University
Lancaster, LA1 4YT

Email: ethics@lancaster.ac.uk
Tel 01524 592605
Web: Ethical Research at Lancaster: http://www.lancs.ac.uk/depts/research/lancaster/ethics.html

Looking for funding opportunities specific to your research?
Go to the RSO website to search the Research Professional funding database.

Appendix B

Information Sheet for the student participants

Hissah Alruwaili
PhD candidate
Department of Linguistics
Lancaster University, England
Tel. (in UK): +44 (0)7405495604
Tel. (in Saudi Arabia): +966 (0)505972579
E-mail: h.alruwaili@lancaster.ac.uk

September 2013

Information Sheet (Students)

This letter is to inform you about the research project and to ask for your consent

Research Project: Learner Autonomy in the Lives of Young Saudi Women - An Ethnographic Case Study of Saudi EFL Female Learners.

My name is Hissah Alruwaili and I am a PhD candidate at Lancaster University. I am working on my research study that will be conducted with participants from ~~xxxxx~~. The purpose of the study is to explore participants' social practices in English speaking classrooms and in other spaces the participants usually use English such as home, cafés, gym, regional conferences, etc. The study focuses on how the participants manage their English language learning inside the class and how they extend their communication in English in different physical and digital spaces.

Please take your time to read the below contents before making your final decision. Please do not hesitate to ask for further information as I will be happy to provide you with more details.

1. The study will mainly take place primarily in English classrooms during the academic year 2013-2014.
2. I will be conducting and audio-recording interviews with you three times during this academic year (September 2013, January and April or May 2014). The interviews should not take more than 60 minutes and they would take place inside the approved settings.
3. I will join you twice a month outside your classroom in digital or physical contexts of your choice in which you use English.
4. In these contexts (including the classrooms), I will observe and take notes.
5. When necessary, I will be carrying out audio-recorded conversations with you after observing you in classrooms or in other contexts. In these conversations, I will ask you several questions about the activity that has just finished. The conversation should not take more than 15 minutes.
6. I would take photos and collect samples of your English classroom literacy materials (posters, textbooks, memos) and digital records (chat logs, tweets, text messages).
7. Any data I collect during the study will be treated in strict confidence and will be anonymised. All data will be used for educational and academic purposes only. For example, it will be used in a PhD thesis, academic presentations and publications.
8. Only with your guardian\parent's approval, can you take part in this project.
9. You are free to withdraw at any time without penalty.
10. If you decide to withdraw after participating for 4 months or more, your consent will be asked for any data collected up to the point of your decision to be retrained and used.

If you have any questions, please do ask me and I will be more than happy to respond. You can also contact my supervisor:

Dr Diane Potts (pottsdi@lancaster.ac.uk).
Telephone: 01524592434
Office C89
Lancaster University
County South College
Lancaster LA1 4YL
United Kingdom

I would be very grateful if you could help me with my research. If you are happy to take part in the project, please sign the attached consent form.

Many thanks!

Hissah Alruwaili

Appendix C

The research informed consent for the student participants

نموذج الموافقة (الطالبات)

عنوان مشروع البحث :استقلالية التعلم لدى الطالبات السعوديات :دراسة حالة اثنوجرافية لدارسات اللغة الانجليزية بوصفها لغة اجنبية.

الموافقة حالة في ادناه التوقيع و البحث مشروع لماهية الموجزة التالية النقاط قراءة الرجاء:

اولا: أؤكد أنني قرأت وفهمت ورقة المعلومات الخاصة بالدراسة المذكورة أعلاه وأتيحت لي الفرصة لطرح الأسئلة
ثانيا: إنني أتفهم لي القرار بالمشاركة طوعية وأنني أحرار في الانسحاب في أي وقت دون إبداء أي سبب

ثالثا: كما أتفهم إذا ما قررت الانسحاب بعد المشاركة لمدة 4 أشهر أو أكثر، فسوف تتم الموافقة على أي بيانات تم جمعها حتى تاريخ قراري بالإبقاء عليها واستخدامها

رابعا: اتفهم وأوافق على ان يتم تسجيل صوتي بمسجلة الصوت و أيضا عمل المقابلات و أن تتم ملاحظتي سواء أثناء وجودي داخل فصل اللغة الإنجليزية وغيرها من الأماكن بينما استخدام اللغة الإنجليزية

خامسا: اتفهم أنه سيطلب مني مشاركة ما انتجه من مواد دراسية أو رقمية و انا صاحبة القرار بتحديد اين، ماذا وكم أريد أن أشارك به

سادسا:اتفهم أنه قد يتم نشر النتائج ولكن سيتم الحفاظ على عدم الكشف عن هويتي سواء بالاسم أو أي معلومات محددة

سابعا: أؤكد أنني قد تلقيت نسخة من نموذج الموافقة هذا وصحيفة المعلومات المرفقة باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية

ثامنا: أوافق على المشاركة في الدراسة المذكورة أعلاه

الاسم	
التوقيع	
التاريخ	

Consent Form (Students)

Research Project: Learner Autonomy in the Lives of Young Saudi Women- An Ethnographic Case Study of Saudi EFL Female Learners.

Read the following points carefully and sign the form if you agree to take part in this project:

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I understand that if I decide to withdraw after participating for 4 months or more, my consent will be asked for any data collected up to the point of my decision to be retained and used.
4. I understand and agree that I will be audio recorded/interviewed and observed while inside EFL classrooms and other spaces where I use English.
5. I understand that I will be asked to share my classroom and digitally generated English materials and that I decide where, what and how much I want to share.
6. I understand that the results may be published but that anonymity will be maintained throughout and I will not be referred to by name or any identified information.
7. I confirm that I have received a copy of this Consent Form and of the accompanying Information Sheet in Arabic and English.
8. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name:	
Signature:	
Date:	

Appendix D

Information Sheet for the student participants (in Arabic)

حصه محمد - طالبة دكتوراة
قسم اللغويات - جامعة لانكستر - انجلترا
Tel. (in Saudi Arabia): +966 (0)505972579
E-mail: hissah@ju.edu.sa

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY
Department of Linguistics and English Language

سبتمبر 2013

نبذة عن مشروع بحث اطروحة الدكتوراة
نسخة لولي أمر الطالبة

الغرض من هذا الخطاب اعطاء نبذه عن مشروع البحث و طلب موافقتكم لمشاركة ابنتكم فيه

عنوان مشروع البحث :استقلالية التعلم لدى الطالبات السعوديات :دراسة حالة التوجرافية لدارسات اللغة الانجليزية بوصفها لغة اجنبية.

السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته

اعرفكم اولا بنفسي .. حصه بنت محمد الرويلي في مرحلة دراسة الدكتوراة في جامعة لانكستر و حاليا اعمل على [redacted] مشروع بحثي يطبق في المدارس الثانوية بمنطقة.

الغرض من هذا المشروع البحثي استكشاف الممارسات الاجتماعية لدارسات اللغة الانجليزية بوصفها لغة اجنبية في داخل الفصول الدراسية إلى جانب ممارسات اللغة خارج الفصل الدراسي كالمنزل و الانترنت و غيره و التركيز هنا سيكون على كيفية ادارة الطالبات المشاركات للغة الانجليزية و استخدامها في مختلف المواقف و الحالات.

الرجاء قراءة النقاط التالية الموجزة لمشروع البحث قبل اتخاذ قرار المشاركة .و الرجاء ان لا تتردد في طلب مزيد من التفاصيل و الإيضاحات.

١. مشروع البحث سيتم تطبيقة بشكل اساسي داخل فصل اللغة الانجليزية طيلة العام الدراسي الحالي ٢٠١٣-٢٠١٤.

٢.سأقوم بمرافقة الطالبات المشاركات مرة واحدة بالاسبوع خارج الفصول الدراسية في اماكن يتحدثن فيها باللغة الانجليزية.

٣ .سأقوم بملاحظة الطالبات المشاركات داخل و خارج الفصول الدراسية و تدوين معلومات عن كيفية ممارستهن للغة في الأماكن المختلفة.

٤ .سأقوم بعمل مقابلة مع كل طالبة مشاركة و تسجيها صوتيا ثلاث مرات خلال مشروع البحث :اكتوبر ، يناير و ابريل . مع العلم ان المقابلة لا تستغرق اكثر من ستين دقيقة و ستكون داخل المنشئة التعليمية)الجامعة أو المدرسة(.

٥ .سأقوم بجمع عينات و صور للمواد التعليمية الخاصة بتعلم اللغة الانجليزية و التي تصممها الطالبات المشاركات .(دفاتر ، لوحات، قصاصات ورقية)

٦ .سأقوم بعمل تسجي صوتي لمحادثات اسبوعية مع الطالبات المشاركات بحيث لا تتجاوز ١٥ دقيقة بعد انتهاء درس اللغة الانجليزية.

٧ .جميع البيانات التي سيتم الحصول عليها من الطالبات المشاركات سيتم التعامل معها بسرية كاملة و لن تستخدم الا لاغراض البحثية.

٨. يمكن للطالبة المشاركة الانسحاب من المشروع وقت ما شاءت دون قيد او شرط

الرجاء عدم التردد سواء للاستفسار أو طلب الإيضاح مني أو مخاطبة مشرفتي الدراسية

Dr. Diane Potts (d.j.potts@lancaster.ac.uk).
Telephone: 01524592434
Office C89
Lancaster University
County South College
Lancaster LA1 4YL
United Kingdom

.سأكون ممتنة لموافقتكم على مشاركة ابنتكم هذا المشروع البحثي، و كل ما عليكم فعله هو قراءة الاقرار المرفق و توقيعه

.الله الموفق

حصه محمد الرويلي

اقرار الموافقة

نسخة ولي أمر الطالبة

عنوان مشروع البحث :استقلالية التعلم لدى الطالبات السعوديات :دراسة حالة التوجرافية لدارسات اللغة الانجليزية بوصفها لغة اجنبية

:الرجاء قراءة النقاط التالية الموجزة لماهية مشروع البحث و التوقيع اثناء في حالة الموافقة

١ .لقد قمت بقراءة و فهم خطاب المشروع البحثي و فهم ماهيته و اعطيت الفرصة للاستفسار

٢ .اني اتفهم بأن مشاركة ابنتي ستكون تطوعية و يمكنها الانسحاب متى شاءت دون قيد أو شرط

٣ .لقد وافقت على إجراءات البحث من مقابلة و ملاحظة و محادثة داخل و خارج الفصل الدراسي إلى جانب جمع و مشاركة .بيانات و لابنتي الحق بتحديد كيف و متى و ما هية هذه البيانات

٤ .اتفهم بأن البيانات قد تنشر أكاديميا لكن سيتم الاحتفاظ بسرية البيانات الشخصية للطالبات المشاركات

٥ .لا يوجد لدى مانع من مشاركة ابنتي تطوعيا في مشروع البحث

اسم ولي الامر	
التوقيع	
التاريخ	

Appendix E

The male guardians' approval forms

Dr. Diane Potts (d.j.potts@lancaster.ac.uk)
Telephone: 01524592434
Office C89
Lancaster University
County South College
Lancaster LA1 4YL
United Kingdom

بسكون ممتنة لموافقتكم على مشاركة ابنتكم هذا المشروع البحثي، و كل ما عليكم فعله هو قراءه الاقرار المرفق و توقيعه

والد الموفق

حسه محمد الرويلي

اقرار الموافقة

نسخة ولي أمر الطالبة

عنوان مشروع البحث :استقلالية التعلم لدى الطالبات السعوديات :دراسة حالة التوجرافية لدارسات اللغة الانجليزية بوصفها لغة اجنبية

والرجاء قراءة النقاط التالية الموجزة لماهية مشروع البحث و التوقيع اسفله في حالة الموافقة

١. لقد قمت بقراءه و فهم خطاب المشروع البحثي و فهم ماهيته و اعطيت الفرصة للاستفسار

٢. انني افهم بأن مشاركة ابنتي ستكون تطوعية و يمكنها الانسحاب متى شاءت دون قيد أو شرط

٣. لقد وافقت على إجراءات البحث من مقابلة و ملاحظة و معادثة داخل و خارج الفصل الدراسي إلى جانب جمع و مشاركة البيانات و لابنتي الحق بتحديد كيف و متى و ما هية هذه البيانات

٤. افهم بأن البيانات قد تنشر أكاديميا لكن سيتم الاحتفاظ بسرية البيانات الشخصية للطالبات المشاركات

٥. لا يوجد لدي مانع من مشاركة ابنتي تطوعيا في مشروع البحث

اسم ولي الامر	
التوقيع	
التاريخ	

حسه محمد - طالبة دكتوراة
قسم اللغويات - جامعة لانكستر - انجلترا
Tel. (in Saudi Arabia): +966 (0)505972579
E-mail: hissah@ju.edu.sa

سبتمبر 2013

نبذة عن مشروع بحث اطروحة الدكتوراة
نسخة لولي أمر الطالبة

الغرض من هذا الخطاب اعطاء نبذه عن مشروع البحث و طلب موافقتكم لمشاركة ابنتكم فيه

عنوان مشروع البحث :استقلالية التعلم لدى الطالبات السعوديات :دراسة حالة التوجرافية لدارسات اللغة الانجليزية بوصفها لغة اجنبية

السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته

اعرفكم اولا بنفسي ،حسه بنت محمد الرويلي في مرحلة دراسة الدكتوراة في جامعة لانكستر و حاليا اعمل على مشروع بحثي يتعلق في المدارس الثانوية بمنطقة [redacted]

الغرض من هذا المشروع البحثي استكشاف الممارسات الاجتماعية لدارسات اللغة الانجليزية بوصفها لغة اجنبية في داخل الفصول الدراسية إلى جانب ممارسات اللغة خارج الفصل الدراسي كالمنزل و الأنترنت و غيره و التركيز هنا سيكون على كيفية ادارة الطالبات المشاركات للغة الانجليزية و استخدامها في مختلف المواقف و الحالات

الرجاء قراءه النقاط التالية الموجزة لمشروع البحث قبل اتخاذ قرار المشاركة و الرجاء ان لا تتردد في طلب مزيد من التفاصيل و الايضاحات

١. مشروع البحث سيتم تطبيقة بشكل اساسي داخل فصل اللغة الانجليزية طيلة العام الدراسي الحالي ٢٠١٣-٢٠١٤

٢. سأقوم بمرافقة الطالبات المشاركات مرة واحدة بالاسبوع خارج الفصول الدراسية في اماكن يتحدثن فيها باللغة الانجليزية

٣. سأقوم بملاحظة الطالبات المشاركات داخل و خارج الفصول الدراسية و تدوين معلومات عن كيفية ممارستهن للغة في الأماكن المختلفة

٤. سأقوم بعمل مقابلة مع كل طالبة مشاركة و تسجيلها صوتيا ثلاث مرات خلال مشروع البحث :اكتوبر، يناير و ابريل . مع العلم ان المقابلة لا تستغرق اكثر من ستين دقيقة و ستكون داخل المنشئة التعليمية (الجامعة أو المدرسة)

٥. سأقوم بجمع عينات و صور للمواد التعليمية الخاصة بتعلم اللغة الانجليزية و التي تصممها الطالبات المشاركات (دفاتر، لوحات، فصاصات ورقية)

٦. سأقوم بعمل تسجيل صوتي لمحادثات اسبوعية مع الطالبات المشاركات بحيث لا تتجاوز ١٥ دقيقة بعد انتهاء درس اللغة الانجليزية

٧. جميع البيانات التي سيتم الحصول عليها من الطالبات المشاركات سيتم التعامل معها بسرية كاملة و لن تستخدم الا لاغراض البحثية

٨. يمكن للطالبة المشاركة الانسحاب من المشروع وقت ما شاءت دون قيد او شرط

الرجاء عدم التردد سواء لاستفسار أو طلب الايضاح مني أو مخاطبة مشرفتي الدراسية

Hissah Alruwaili, PhD candidate
Department of Linguistics
Lancaster University, England
Tel. (in UK): 7405495604
Tel. (in Saudi Arabia): 505972579
E-mail: h.alruwaili@lancaster.ac.uk

Information Sheet (Guardian)

September 2013

This letter is to inform you about the research project and ask for your consent

Research Project: Learner Autonomy in the Lives of Young Saudi Women: An Ethnographic Case Study within Language Socialisation perspective of Saudi EFL female Learners.

My name is Hissah Alruwaili and I am PhD candidate at Lancaster University. I am working on my research study that will be conducted on participants from [redacted] The purpose of the study is to explore participants' social practices in English speaking classrooms and other spaces the participants usually use English such as home, cafés, gym, regional conferences, etc. The study focuses on how the participants manage their English language learning inside the class and how they extend their communication in English in different physical and digital spaces.

Please take your time to read the below contents before making your final decision. Please do not hesitate to ask for further information as I will be happy to provide you with more details.

1. The study will mainly take place in English classrooms during the academic year 2013-2014.
2. I would join participants once a week outside classroom to spaces where they use English.
3. In these spaces (including the classrooms), I will observe and take notes.
4. I will be conducting and audio-recording interviews with the participants three times during this year (September 2013, January, and April or May 2014). The interviews should not take more than 60 minutes and it would take place inside the approved settings.
5. I would take photos and collect samples of EFL materials created by participants.
6. I will be conducting and audio-recording conversations with participants. The conversations should not take more than 10-15 minutes and they will take place after observing participants in English classrooms and other spaces in which they use English.
7. Any data I collect during the study will be treated in strict confidence and will be kept anonymised. All data will be used for academic and educational purposes only. For example, it will be used in a PhD thesis, academic presentations and publications.
8. Only with your approval can your daughter/sister take part in this project.
9. Participants will be free to withdraw at any time without penalty.
10. If your daughter/sister decides to withdraw after participating for 4 months or more, her consent will be asked for any data collected up to the point of her decision to e retrained and used.

If you have any questions, please do ask me and I will be more than happy to respond. You can also contact my supervisor:
Dr Diane Potts (pottsdj@lancaster.ac.uk).
Telephone: 01524592434
Office C89
Lancaster University
County South College
Lancaster LA1 4YL
United Kingdom

I would be very grateful if you could help me with my research. If you are happy to take part in the project, please sign the attached consent form.
Many thanks!
Hissah

Consent Form

Research Project: Learner Autonomy in the Lives of Young Saudi Women: An Ethnographic Case Study within Language Socialisation perspective of Saudi EFL female Learners.

Dear participant's guardian,
Read the following points carefully and sign the form if you agree to take part in this project:
1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my daughter's/sister's participation is entirely voluntary and that she is free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I understand that if my daughter/sister decides to withdraw after participating for 4 months or more, her consent will be asked for any data collected up to the point of her decision to be retained and used.
4. I understand and agree that my daughter/sister will be audio recorded/interviewed. I understand and agree that my daughter/sister will be observed while inside EFL classrooms and other spaces in which she uses English.
5. I understand that my daughter/sister will be asked to share her EFL generated materials and digital records in which she uses English and included as data. I understand that she will be free to decide what, where and how much she wants to share.
6. I understand that the results may be published but that anonymity will be maintained throughout and my daughter will not be referred to by name or any identifiable information.
7. I confirm that I have received a copy of this Consent Form and of the accompanying Information Sheet in Arabic and English.
8. I agree for my daughter to take part in the above study.

Male guardian's Name:	
Male guardian's Signature:	
Date:	

Appendix F

A regional endorsement letter

A regional endorsement letter was obtained through the Saudi Culture Bureau, London.

ROYAL EMBASSY OF SAUDI ARABIA
CULTURAL BUREAU
LONDON

إلى من يهمه الأمر

تفيد الملحقية الثقافية بسفارة [redacted]
[redacted]
لدراسة الدكتوراه في تخصص اللغويات التطبيقية في جامعة Lancaster ولا تزال
الباحثة على رأس بعثتها التي تنتهي في [redacted] هـ وتطلب الموافقة على إمكانية
تطبيق بحثها في المدارس [redacted]
وعليه نأمل تكرمكم بتسهيل مهمتها والسماح لها بذلك.
ولقد مُنحت هذا الكتاب بناءً على طلبها لتقديمه إلى من يهمه الأمر.

والله ولي التوفيق،،،

الملحق الثقافي
بسفارة المملكة العربية السعودية في لندن
فيصل بن محمد المهنا آبا الخيل

630 Chiswick High Road, London W4 5RY Tel: +44 (0) 20 3249 7000 Fax: +44 (0) 20 3249 7001 E-mail: saebuk@uksacb.org
www.uksacb.org

Access approval letters from the administrations of two educational institutions for female students in Saudi Arabia.

المملكة العربية السعودية
وزارة التربية والتعليم

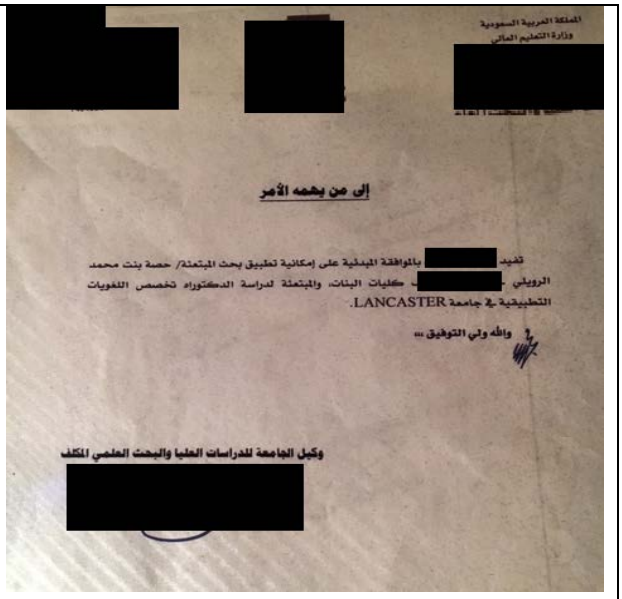
[redacted]

الى من يهمه الامر

إشارة لإفادة الملحق الثقافي بسفارة المملكة العربية السعودية في لندن بشأن تسهيل مهمة
الباحثة/حصة بنت محمد شوحان الرويلي والمبتعثة من قبل [redacted] لدراسة الدكتوراة في
تخصص اللغويات التطبيقية.
عليه فإنه لا مانع لدينا نحن الادارة العامة للتربية والتعليم [redacted] من تطبيق الباحثة
لبحثها في المدارس الثانوية للبنات بالمنطقة.
والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

مدير إدارة التخطيط والتطوير
[redacted]

وزارة التربية والتعليم



المملكة العربية السعودية
وزارة التعليم العالي

[redacted]

إلى من يهمه الأمر

تفيد [redacted] بالموافقة المبدئية على إمكانية تطبيق بحث المبتعثة/ حصة بنت محمد
الرويلي [redacted] كليات البنات، والمبتعثة لدراسة الدكتوراه تخصص اللغويات
التطبيقية في جامعة LANCASTER.

والله ولي التوفيق ،،،

وكيل الجامعة للدراسات العليا والبحث العلمي المكلف
[redacted]

Appendix G

Information Sheet for teacher participants

Hissah Alruwaili, PhD candidate
Department of Linguistics
Lancaster University, England
Tel. (in UK): 7405495604
Tel. (in Saudi Arabia): 505972579
E-mail: h.alruwaili@lancaster.ac.uk

Information Sheet (EFL teachers)

September 2013

This letter is to inform you about the research project and ask for your consent

Research Project: Learner Autonomy in the Lives of Young Saudi Women – An Ethnographic Case Study of Saudi EFL Female Learners.

My name is Hissah Alruwaili and I am a PhD candidate at Lancaster University. I am working on my research study that will be conducted with participants from [redacted]. The purpose of the study is to explore participants' social practices in English speaking classrooms and in other spaces the participants usually use English such as home, cafés, gym, regional conferences, etc. The study focuses on how the participants manage their English language learning inside the class and how they extend their communication in English in different physical and digital spaces.

Please take your time to read the below contents before making your final decision. Please do not hesitate to ask for further information as I will be happy to provide you with more details.

1. The study will take place primarily in your English classrooms during the academic year 2013-2014.

2. In your classroom, I will be observing and taking notes during EFL class time.

3. I will be conducting and audio-recording interviews with you twice this academic year (September 2013 and April or May 2014). The interviews should not take more than 60 minutes and would take place in your office during your office hours.

4. I would collect examples and take photos of EFL literacy materials in your classroom including examples of work completed by student participants.

5. Any data I collect during the study will be treated in strict confidence and will be anonymised. All data will be used for academic and educational purposes only. For example, it will be used in a PhD thesis, academic presentations and publications.

6. You are free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

7. If you decide to withdraw after participating for 4 months or more, your consent will be asked for any data collected up to the point of your decision to be retained and used.

If you have any questions, please do ask me and I will be more than happy to respond. You can also contact my supervisor:

Dr Diane Potts (pottsdj@lancaster.ac.uk).
Telephone: 01524592434
Office C89
Lancaster University
County South College
Lancaster LA1 4YL
United Kingdom

I would be very grateful if you could help me with my research. If you are

happy to take part in the project, please sign the attached consent form.

I am looking forward to working with you in this project. Many thanks!

Hissah Alruwaili

Appendix H

Consent Form for teacher participants

Consent Form (EFL teachers)

Research Project: Learner Autonomy in the Lives of Young Saudi Women – An Ethnographic Case Study of Saudi EFL Female Learners.

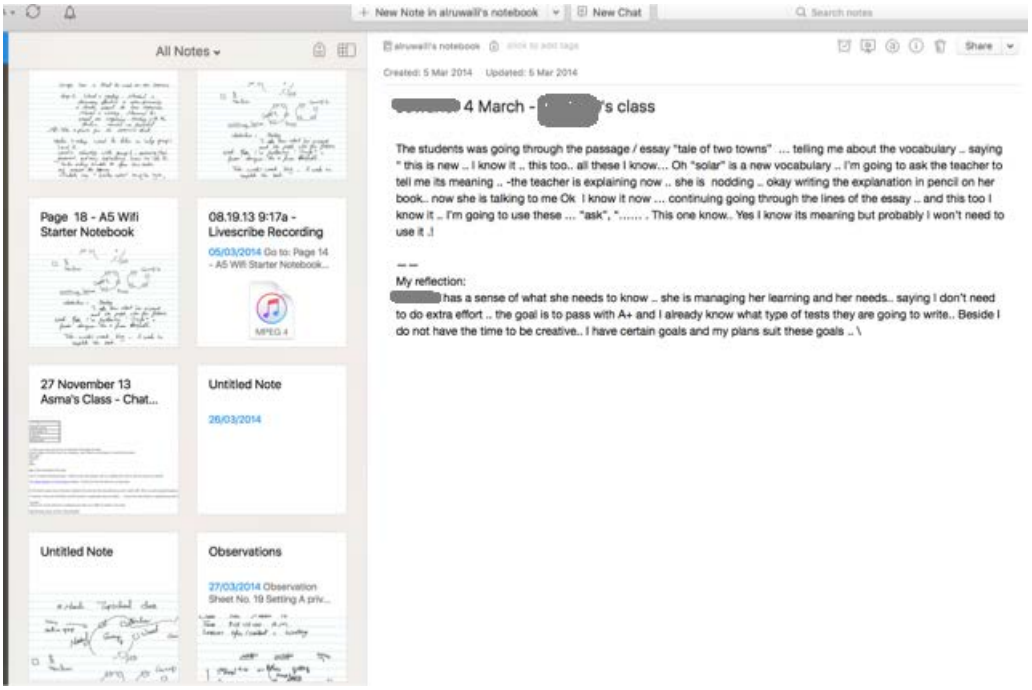
Read the following points carefully and sign the form if you agree to take part in this project:

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I understand that if I decide to withdraw after participating for 4 months or more, my consent will be asked for any data collected up to the point of my decision to be retained and used.
4. I understand that the results may be published but that anonymity will be maintained throughout and I will not be referred to by name or any identified information.
5. I confirm that I have received a copy of this Consent Form and of the accompanying Information Sheet in English and Arabic.
6. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name:	
Signature:	
Date:	

Appendix I

A screenshot of the Livescribe smart-pen application



Appendix J

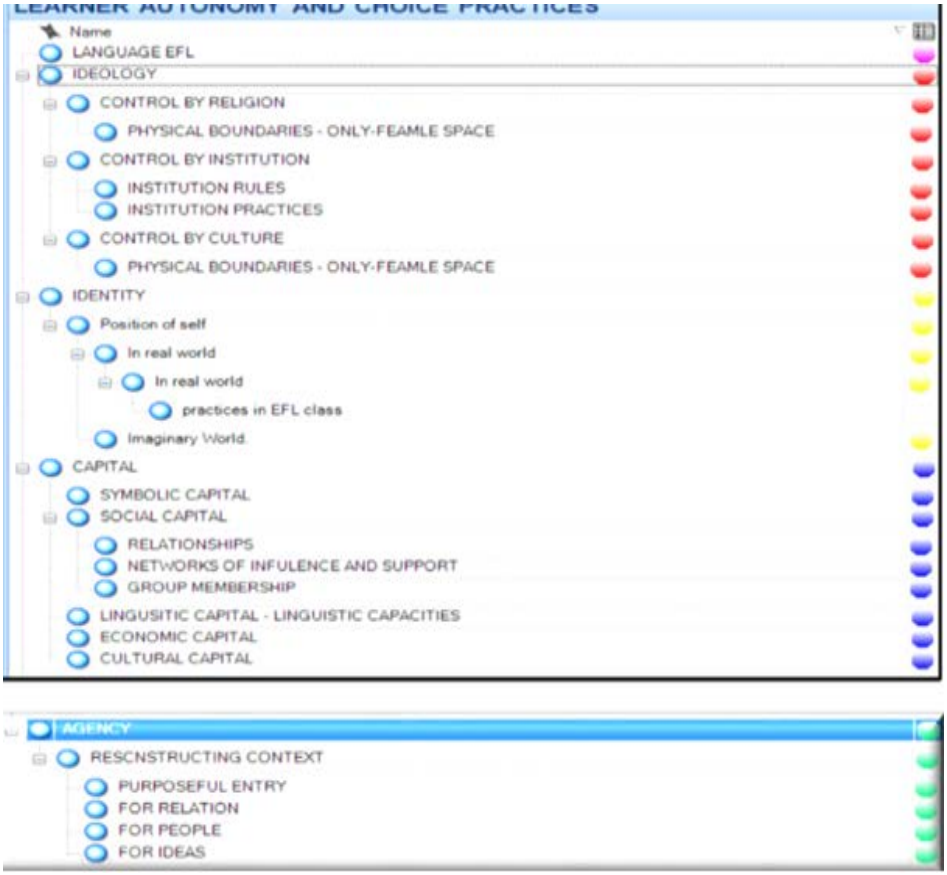
Summary of the data drawn on in this research

Methods	Collected data	Whom / where / what	Length /size	- How
Observations	Written observation notes	- The private secondary school & the PYP buildings (cases 1, 2, 3 & 4) - Ms Rawan and Sana's English classes (cases 1 & 2) - Laura's English class (cases 3 & 4) - The musalla/prayer room & the school canteen (cases 1 & 2) - Reema's house and bedroom (case 1) - Dave's car (case 1) - The city mall & cafés (cases 1,2, & 3) - The charity bazaar (case 1) - Zenah's house & farm (case 2) - The art gallery (case 2) - Sarah's house (case3) - Enas's bedroom & home (case 4)	3000-4000 words +22-25 hours	- I observed with whom and how my participants interacted, whether with the teachers, peers or others (e.g. car drivers, visitors to the art gallery). - I described the physical settings around my participants, where they were standing/ sitting, what they were wearing /using/ texting, and whether, in a particular situation, they responded or did not respond or whether their responses were formed in particular ways or for certain meanings, and so on.
Audio recordings	Audio recorded interactions			- I used my Livescribe smart-pen application to both record interactions during observations and write down in my field notes what I heard and saw. - In my field notes I recorded my personal reflections on what was happening in the field. - I took field notes while conducting interviews and observations to mark particular times in the audio recordings to use for reflection.
Field notes	Digital audio memo and			
Fieldwork journals	written journal entries		1200-1400 words	- I used field notes to start my entries in my fieldwork. - I regularly had two to three journal entries per month. - I regularly sat and looked through my field notes to generate ideas describing my impressions and thoughts.
Interviews	Audio-recorded interviews	- Ms Rawan and Sana (cases 1 & 2) - Laura (cases 3 & 4) - Reema (case 1) - Zenah (case 2) - Sarah (case3) - Enas (case 4)	Approximately 23 Hours	- I conducted 12 interviews with the participants (3 interviews per case conducted during September/October 2013, February/March 2014 & May 2014) - I conducted 6 interviews with English teachers (2 interviews per English teacher during September/October 2013 & May 2014) - I recorded approximately 23 conversations - I used a Sony digital audio recorder and a Livescribe smart-pen to record my interviews and conversations.
Conversations	Audio-recorded informal talks			
Materials & artefacts	Samples, photos and screen prints of:	- The private secondary school & the PYP buildings (cases 1 & 3) - Ms Rawan, Ms Sana & Ms Laura's English classes (cases 1,2, 3 & 4) - Reema's bedroom (case 1) - Reema's Instagram, Snapchat, blog, WhatsApp & Twitter accounts (case 1) - The musalla/prayer room located in the private secondary school (case 2) - Zenah's Skype, Instagram, WhatsApp & email accounts (case 2) - Audio recorded conversations with the family driver (case 1) - A video recorded clip (an aunt & nephew interaction, case 3) - Enas's language magazine (case 4) - Enas's videos of her Disney World trip (case 4) - Links from Fatwa.islamweb.net, Britishcouncil.sa/en/english/students & Wamy.co.uk - Pages from Sarah's English notebook (case 3) - English textbooks from Ms Rawan, Ms Sana & Ms Laura's English classes (cases 1, 2, 3 & 4)	91 items (246.4 MB[1])	- I took photographs of the research educational settings and the extended settings where I accompanied the participants, e.g. photos taken inside the school prayer room showing posters on the walls and furniture and photos taken while queuing for a coffee in Starbuck's, showing a 'women only' sign - I scanned some of the participants' textbooks and notes. The participants voluntarily shared their artefacts and screenshots from their mobile phones and computers showing text messages, Instagram likes, tweets and e-mails. - The participants voluntarily shared photographs and video and audio recordings.

[1] Megabyte

Appendix K

Using NVivo 10



Appendix L

Inside a classroom located in the private secondary school.

There are 17 students in the class sitting on blue chairs with attached desks). I took 11 photos for the class settings at different times during the 8-month field work period. However, the school administration only approved this one to be published. It was taken on the class's graduation day)

Appendix M

Signs directing customers where to queue at the public café

People stood in two queues: one for males and the other for females, indicated by signs

Appendix N

Reema's tweet

Reema took a photo of an advertisement, displayed on the mall, sponsored by the Ministry of interior and addressed to Saudi women encouraging them to obtain their personal identity cards. Later, she tweeted about the advertisement using two hashtags, i.e. #backwards and #WTF, to direct where this tweet would appear.

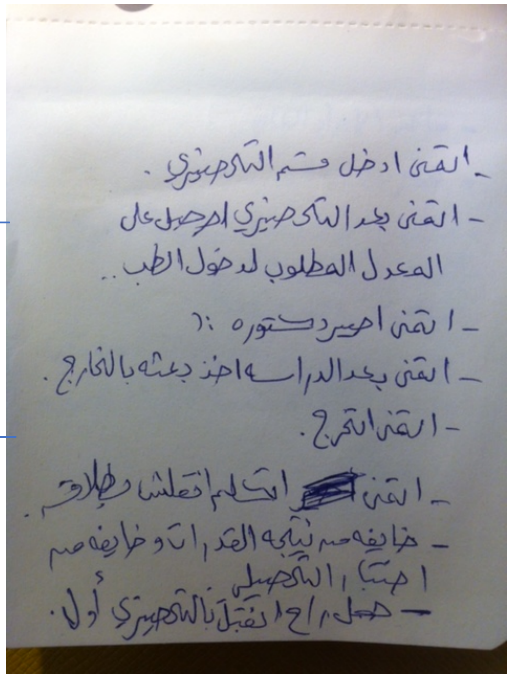
Appendix O

Zenah's thoughts and questions

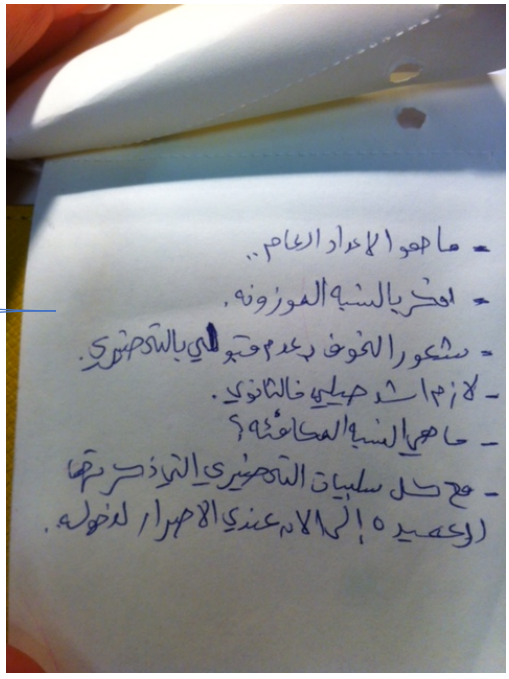
Zenah wrote down her thoughts and the questions she wanted to ask about the regional university

I want ask about PYP total sore

Is it possible to join KASP after PYP



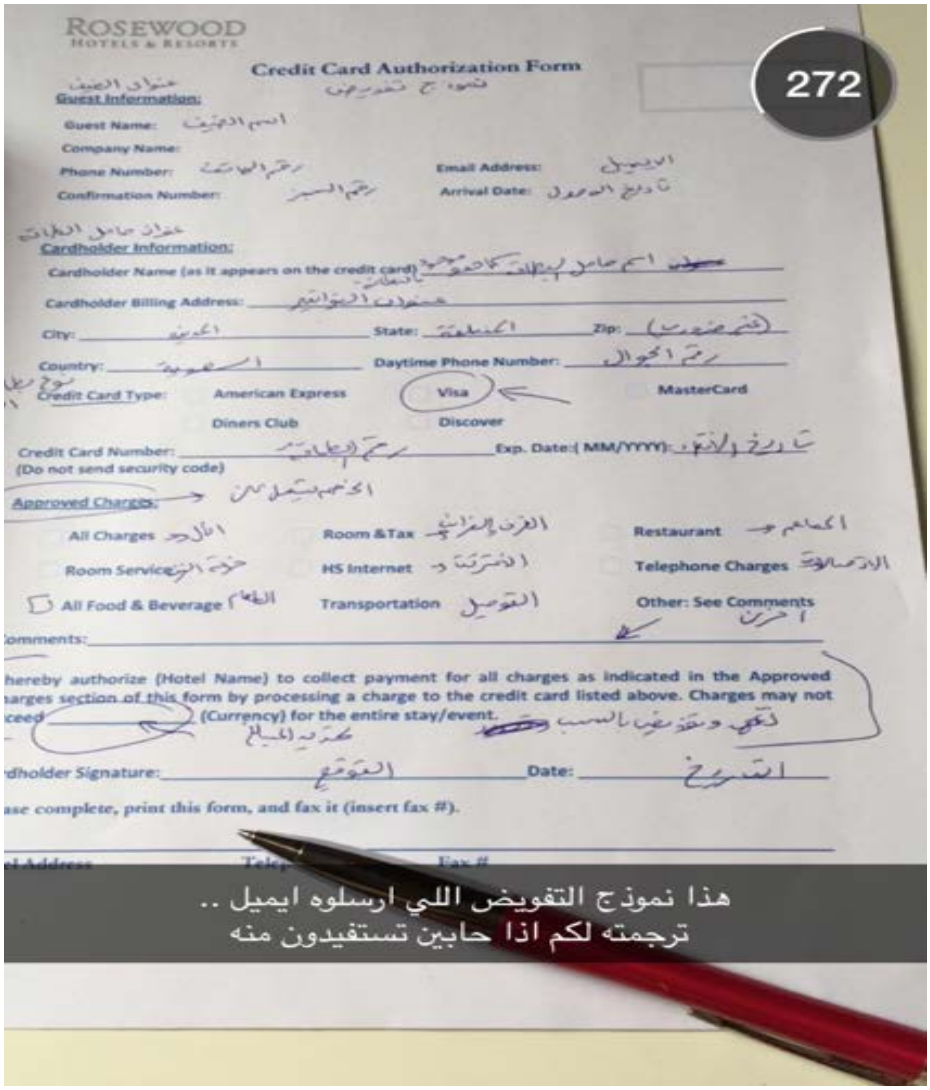
Despite all the negative stuff she (the dean) is listing I'm determined to join PYP



Appendix P

Sarah posting a photo of an authorisation form on her Snapchat

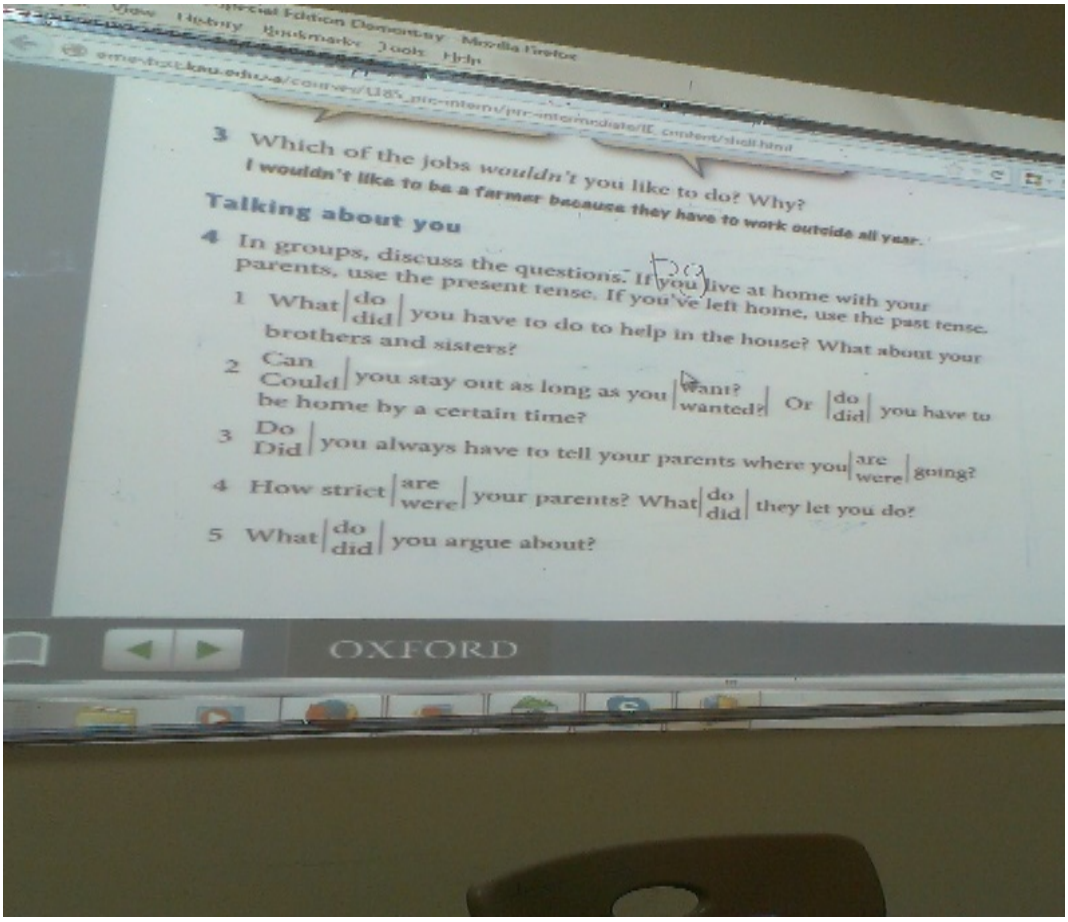
Sarah translated the form from English into Arabic and used to finish the booking a hotel



Appendix Q

Ms Laura's English class

Ms Laura connected her laptop on the podium and displayed a students' textbook page on the board in pdf format



Appendix R

A screenshot sent by Sarah via WhatsApp from an Islamic website

http://fatwa.islamweb.net

Shaykh Muhammad al-Saalih al-'Uthaymeen (may Allaah have mercy on him) said in this regard: A Muslim should not speak with the exception of Arabic unless there is a need for that, as the thing is known by a non-Arabic word, or the fact that the addressee understands little Arabic, If the person is an Arab and the thing he referring to has a reference in Arabic, he should not use other languages, because the best and most valued language is the Arabic language, and that is why the Quran, the best books that Allah revealed to His Messenger, is written in Arabi,. Also the mother tongue of the last prophet, Muhammad, peace be upon him, is Arabic. All these are clear evidence of the virtue of the Arabic .language. Therefore, learning English is permissible (halal) in the first place, but learning the Arabic language better.

Appendix S

Enas's drawing on Sarah's notebook

Enas drew a woman wearing an abaya and flying with a parachute on the corner of Sarah's notebook with her blue pen

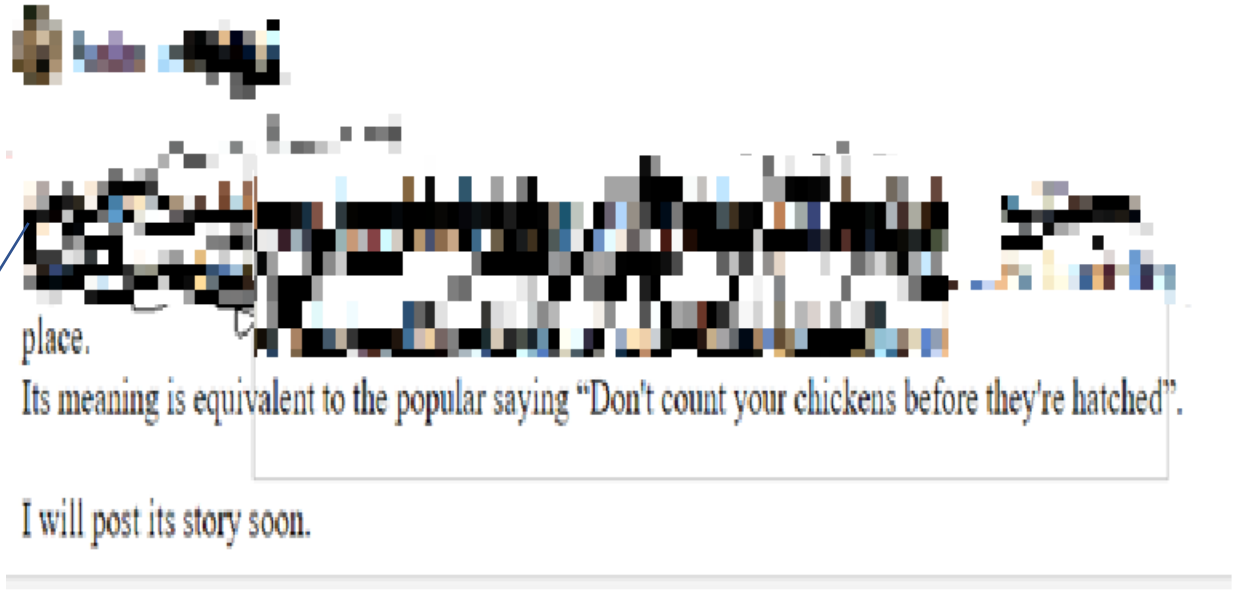
Appendix T

Queuing behind Sarah under the sign 'Family Section'

Appendix U

Enas's magazine

Enas created a section in the magazine where she translated tribal proverbs into English



place.

Its meaning is equivalent to the popular saying "Don't count your chickens before they're hatched".

I will post its story soon.

Enas wrote about a famous saying which is based on a story that happened to a known old man from her tribe with his animals.

Appendix V

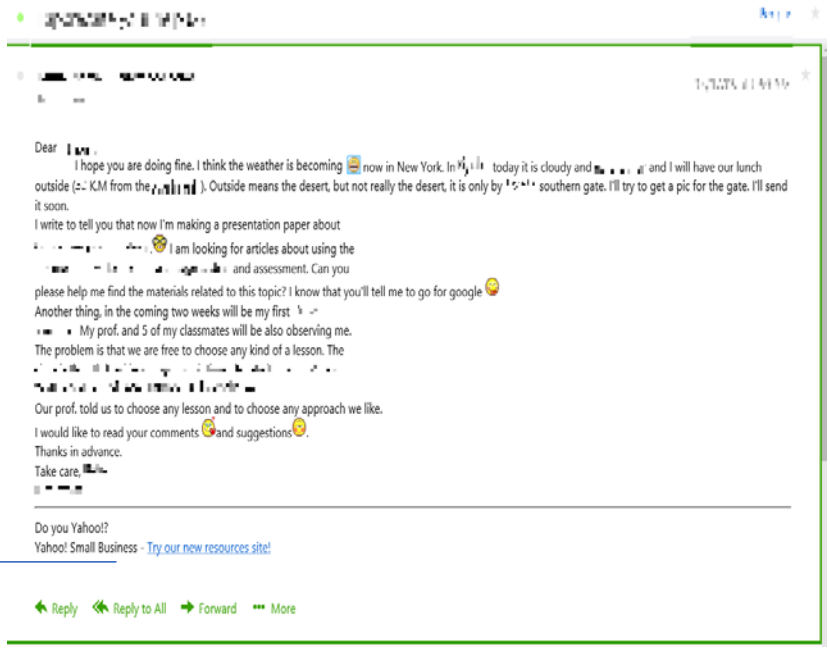
Enas's presentation

A table with plates of food 	**An American flag on the right side of the board** 
A basket full of colourful strips of paper 	**Black T-shirts with the caption 'Dare To Be Different'** 

Appendix W

Enas and Nathan exchanged emails

Enas described her relation with Nathan as a friendly relation that was helpful for her to use English and exchange interesting information (e.g., weather and culture, her assignments and research).



Dear [redacted]
I hope you are doing fine. I think the weather is becoming [redacted] now in New York. In [redacted] today it is cloudy and [redacted] and I will have our lunch outside (=- K.M from the [redacted]). Outside means the desert, but not really the desert, it is only by [redacted] southern gate. I'll try to get a pic for the gate. I'll send it soon.
I write to tell you that now I'm making a presentation paper about [redacted] I am looking for articles about using the [redacted] and assessment. Can you please help me find the materials related to this topic? I know that you'll tell me to go for google
Another thing, in the coming two weeks will be my first [redacted] My prof. and 5 of my classmates will be also observing me.
The problem is that we are free to choose any kind of a lesson. The [redacted]
Our prof. told us to choose any lesson and to choose any approach we like.
I would like to read your comments and suggestions.
Thanks in advance.
Take care, [redacted]

Do you Yahoo!?
Yahoo! Small Business - Try our new resources site!

Reply Reply to All Forward More

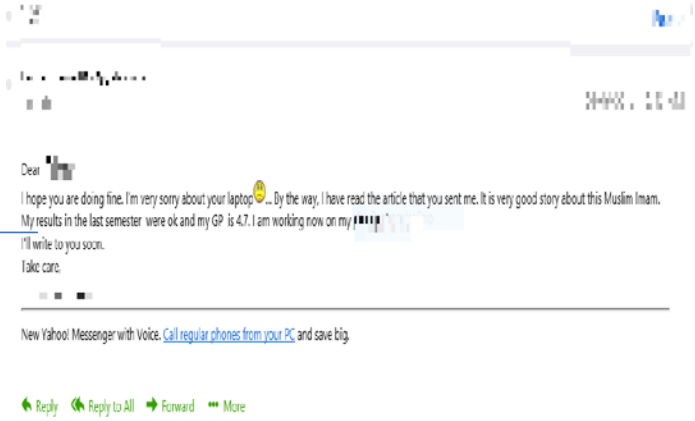
:

Greetings in Arabic, English & Hebrew

Salaam Alaikum/Sholom Aleichem (Hebrew cognate expression), [redacted]

Thank you for thinking of me today, and when you sent the e-mail to which I am replying.

Nathan sent a link to Enas about a Muslim Imam who helped a Russian Orthodox family. Enas liked the story and felt it was 'really human thing to help people regardless their faith.

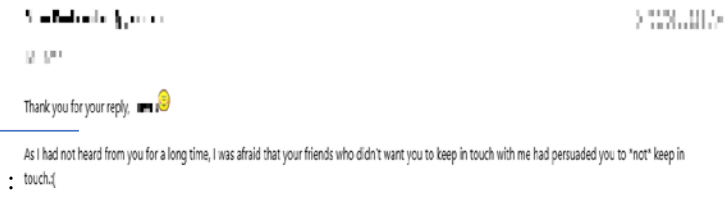


Dear [redacted]
I hope you are doing fine. I'm very sorry about your laptop... By the way, I have read the article that you sent me. It is very good story about this Muslim Imam.
My results in the last semester were ok and my GP is 4.7. I am working now on my [redacted]
I'll write to you soon.
Take care.

New Yahoo! Messenger with Voice. Call regular phones from your PC and save big.

Reply Reply to All Forward More

Nathan's email revealing the stress she was facing in keeping in touch with him.



Thank you for your reply. [redacted]

As I had not heard from you for a long time, I was afraid that your friends who didn't want you to keep in touch with me had persuaded you to "not" keep in touch.(

: