Structural Contradictions and Political Tensions in Iranian Higher Education: The case of English for Academic Purposes Programmes

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Abstract

Globalisation and the rise of neoliberalism have produced a fundamental shift in the way universities define and justify their institutional existence. The English language, as the international language of science and technology, plays an enormous role in assisting countries to develop their higher education institutions. The unprecedented spread of English as the *lingua franca* of international communication has generated considerable impact on the language policies of many non-English speaking countries worldwide. Given the political tension between Iran and English speaking countries, in particular the United States, the English language has had a problematic and ambivalent place in Iran. Taking a sociological approach, the thesis examines a country stuck in deep and irreconcilable contradictions which shape not only all state activity, but intrude deeply into the lives of individuals. It examines the deeper socio-political forces that contribute to the ways in which English for Academic Purposes (EAP) is taught by lecturers and experienced by students in one Iranian university in 2011. The thesis found that individuals tend to lead double lives; conforming to the societal norms meant they behaved in one way in the EAP classroom, but outside the classroom different attitudes and behaviours with respect to English, but also more generally, were practised. The deep seated contradictions are explained as the result of the conflict between the country's character as a theocratic fundamentalist state and its desire to move into the contemporary global capitalist economy framed by neoliberal regulation. Given the place of English at the intersection of these contradictions, the case study of EAP illustrates the tension existing in the Islamic Republic of Iran as a consequence of the country's structural contradictions.

Dedication

To the memory of my grandmother who has been the main reason that I came to this field.

To Professor Ehsan Yarshater, one of the greatest Iranian researchers, a great source of admiration and inspiration for me.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world"

Nelson Mandela

English is the *lingua franca* of science, research and academic publication. It stands at the very centre of the global knowledge system (Marginson, 2010). However, learning English in Iran is problematic and students often do not reach high levels of success (Eslami, 2010; Farhady & Hedayati, 2009; Hayati & Mashhadi, 2010). There is a strong desire from the Iranian people and civil society to belong to the global culture and community despite the Islamic government's hostility to the secular and democratic values of the West. This hostility has a long history. Islam was, from the late seventeenth century, "more often regarded with hostility and contempt as a primitive, grossly superstitious religion … adapted to promoting despotism" (Israel, 2001, p.702). The current Iranian Islamic Republic comes from a long tradition of regarding contact with the secular West as a threat to Islam itself. Nevertheless, English, the language of 'the enemies' (Borjian, 2009), is becoming increasingly important to Iran. It is included as an academic subject in Iranian universities. The paradox of this inclusion alongside the increasing political and diplomatic isolation of the Islamic Republic of Iran is the subject of this thesis.

The emergence of neoliberalism as a global political force (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Wacquant, 2012) and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Iran were congruent in time but represent two directly opposing forces. The nationalist ideology of the Islamic Republic claims to fight oppression and support the poor. This ideology was promoted as a movement against elitism and for egalitarianism. At the beginning of the Islamist revolution in 1979, the political discourse was dominated by third-world-ism, anti-imperialism, and anti-Western sentiments (Borjian, 2009). The revolutionary slogan of "attaining national independence by relying on indigenised knowledge and domestic labour force" was widely promoted (Borjian, 2009, p. 7). This fundamentalist ideology

was in opposition to the neoliberal emphasis on market values, the reduction of state intervention in the economy, and the promotion of a globalised workforce.

Iran's theocratic fundamentalist character is compromised by its need for a place in the global economy in which the English language dominates as the *lingua franca* and as such is a requirement for participation in the global economy. Since the early 1980s, the idea that knowledge of English was a precondition to economic prosperity and development has gained support worldwide. Individuals who desire or need to participate in the international movement will be rendered incapable of doing so without learning English (Mahboudi & Javdani, 2012; Marginson, 2010). Hence, the source of the contradiction identified in my study lies in the necessity of English for the future success of Iran, and the pressure for learning the language in a country that, at the same time, rejects the 'West'.

As everywhere, knowledge of the English language in Iran has become a market commodity. The politics of the neoliberal economy have led to the Iranian Government's acceptance that, without entré into the global market for which English is required, the economy suffers. And without at least an adequately functioning economy, the state is in danger of losing its legitimacy. By identifying the political and ideological processes of Iranian governments over the past thirty four years since the 1979 Islamic revolution, my study identifies how the deep seated contradictions between an insular theocracy and participation in the global economy have become part of the government structure with subsequent ambivalent effects on all areas of Iranian society. This case study of the English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programme in one Iranian university provides a small but original empirical example of the concept of structural contradiction. This concept is used to explain the nature of the contradiction which permeates all areas of Iranian society. The term 'structural' refers specifically to the layers of contradiction within the state itself, from policy decision-making to its implementation. The fundamental structure contradiction is at the highest level of power distribution; between clerical authority on the one hand and the secular system, under the president, on the other. This basic structural division is replicated throughout the system. The concept, structural contradiction shows the overt and covert ways in

which power operates in Iran throughout all levels and reveals how students are caught up in the government's contradictory policies. These affect the students' attitude, motivation and behaviour towards learning English and compromise the English for Academic Purposes programmes in numerous ways.

In order to understand the place of the English language in Iran today it is necessary to understand the historical attitudes towards the English language. During the period of modernisation in the latter half of the 19th century until the 1979 revolution, learning foreign languages was seen to contribute to an individual's prestige and was a marker of social class. More recently, the rise of English as a global language and the significant influence of English language policies throughout the world in the neoliberal era have increased the need for English in Iran. To an extent the reasons for learning English have also changed from those which dominated during the modernisation period. Whereas once English may have been learnt for essentially academic reasons, it is now seen as a necessity for full participation in a global economy. (Chapter two provides a more detailed account of Iran's history and its connection with English language).

The founding of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979 put an end to a 2,500-year old monarchy and replaced it with the governance of the religious jurisprudent (*velayat-e faghih)*. This marked a significant break with the West, and in particular, the United States (US) as the post-revolutionary regime broke economic, military and industrial ties with the US (Borjian, 2009). By defining and differentiating what is Iranian from what is foreign, the regime eliminated many mechanisms for the spread of Western culture and language. Individuals who were fluent speakers of foreign languages were perceived as 'Westoxified', upper class, secular individuals who were alienated from the great Islamic heritage (Borjian, 2009). The Islamic government showed intense hostility towards individuals involved in promoting foreign languages, regarding them as "enemies", "atheists", and "agents of imperialism" (Borjian, 2009, p.127).

It was during this time — in the late 1970s — that the restructuring of the global market according to neoliberal principles began, particularly in the US and the United Kingdom (UK). The concept of neoliberalism as a specific economic discourse or philosophy

became dominant in world economic relations. Neoliberal reforms, such as decentralisation, marketisation and privatisation, were adopted in many countries, often under pressure from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (McDonough, 2008). Establishing a neoliberal institutional structure requires dismantling state regulatory structures and programmes. In this way, the state reduces its intervention in the economy and encourages the dominance by capital over labour (McDonough, 2008).

In Europe, through initiatives and documents, an agreement was reached between European states that they should focus on "competitiveness, growth and productivity, and on strengthening social cohesion" (European Commission, 2006, p.7). It was also considered important to put "strong emphasis on knowledge, innovation and the optimisation of human capital" (European Commission, 2006, p.7). Consequently, knowledge production, transmission and certification which had once been the exclusive affairs of nation states, have become "the issue of the common reform programme shaped by, through and within the EU" (Moutsios, 2010, p.121). The 'Bologna Process' is described by Robertson, Dale, Moutsios, Nielsen, Shore and Wright (2012) as the most extensive and successful example of policy reforms in higher education initiated in Europe. The Bologna Agreement began initially in 1999 with 29 European countries as a response to globalisation in higher education. It was designed to promote the international mobility of students and staff, autonomy of universities, student participation in governance, and the recognition of higher education as a public good. More than anything, the structural changes to education in Europe spear-headed by Bologna were the impetus for the internationalisation of education and the inclusion of higher education into the global market.

This global marketisation of knowledge and higher education institutions highlighted the fundamental tension for Iran that provides the backdrop to this thesis. Iran's dilemma is the considerable tension arising from the neoliberal emphasis on market values on the one hand and the Islamic conservative attachment to traditional/religious values on the other. While the former approach believes that state must be minimised, preferably by setting private enterprise loose, the latter perspective requires the state to

be strong in teaching and controlling the Islamic knowledge and values that frame the political system and the wider society. These positions are an inherent source of contradiction at many levels of Iranian society. In the context of this thesis, these contradictory positions are identified in the case study of the English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programme operating in one Iranian university.

The contradictions can be seen in the hostile attitude the Islamic regime holds towards the English language. It is an attitude which has to co-exist alongside the inclusion of English as a subject available in universities. According to Jordao (2009), language is an important element in information flows and financial markets in a world regulated by the neoliberal economy. Many governments consider proficiency in English to be an essential skill for citizens employed in foreign trade, tourism, scientific and technological contexts (Amirian & Tavakoli, 2009; Huang, 1999; Riazi, 2005; Warschauer, 2000). Nevertheless, at the beginning of the revolution, the Iranian Islamic government saw the teaching of foreign languages as "the main means of the colonial powers to practise cultural and linguistic imperialism upon third world nations" (Borjian, 2009, p.126). Of all foreign languages, English was the most hated due to its connection with the United States, or 'Great Satan'— the term used by Islamic authorities. It represents a very strong and powerful anti-West/anti-English sentiment. In Iran in particular, English was regarded as a threat to the Persian (Farsi) language and Islamic culture (Khubchandani, 2008, as cited in Farhady, Sajadi Hezaveh & Hedayati, 2010).

It was not until 1997, after President Khatami took office, that, for the first time, politicians accepted the role of the English language in contributing to the economic, social and scientific growth of the country (Borjian, 2009; Farhady et al., 2010). Khatami considered that mobilising domestic capital and attracting foreign investment were the keys to economic recovery. Hence, English was recognised as holding global significance. It would play a crucial role in the construction, legitimisation and distribution of knowledge which was in turn essential for economic growth and prosperity. This was a radically different role for English than that which prevailed during the earlier modernisation period. However, English remained suspect. During

the brutally repressed 2009 uprising by young Iranians, the Intelligence Minister linked those arrested to terrorism from outside Iran. English was implicated in those 'external forces'.

The re-establishment of the British Council in Iran in 2001 after an interval of 23 years demonstrates the increasing tolerance towards the teaching and learning of the English language. The Council is a non-political organisation, which promotes itself as an organisation that creates international opportunities for the people of the UK and other countries and builds trust between each other worldwide (British Council, 2013). The goal of cooperation between the British Council and the Islamic Republic, according to Borjian (2009), has been "the promotion of friendly interchange and understanding through academic, scientific, and cultural activity between Iran and the UK" (p. 197). The Council organised various workshops in Tehran to which Iranian teachers, professors and graduate students were invited. British experts were to transfer the latest English language teaching pedagogical practices, methodologies, resources and materials to Iranian English teachers. The promotion of professional networking was another of the Council's goals. To make connections between Iranian and British professionals, eligible candidates in specific academic fields were identified and sent to the United Kingdom on the Council's scholarships and award programmes.

The Iranian government's renewed interest in English was driven by the need to move into the global market. Reformist politicians in Iran were committed to improving the economic growth of the country and to building interaction with the international community. They looked for ways to position themselves as participants in the growing global economy and education knowledge production. This was a different view to that of Khomeini, the leader of Iran's Islamic Revolution, who famously replied to a question about how the Islamic Republic would manage Iran's economy by saying economics was "for donkeys" (also translated as "for fools"). In contrast, Khatami advocated 'dialogue among civilisation' in an effort to improve the image of the country in the international arena (Borjian, 2009). The expansion of English language teaching by the Iranian government occurred within the context of the global expansion of neoliberal ideology globally. Whilst in the Pahlavi era before the 1979 revolution,

language learning was associated with class and family status, with the government promoting learning English in order to push for modernisation and Westernisation, there are now new factors influencing the acceptance and development of the English language. The globalisation of information, communication and education means that knowledge of English has become a requisite for accessing global science, research and technology and for promoting modernisation and participation in a vast number of activities (Barber, 1993; Crystal, 1997; Hanson, 1997; McArthur, 1998 cited in Borjian, 2009). Similarly, scientists who want to contribute to the academic discussions which are currently taking place internationally must have a command of English.

The increasing significance of the English language is also associated with the shift in the way universities and other institutions in higher education have defined and justified their institutional existence. Economic globalisation has had a profound effect on the transformation of education systems and more specifically on universities worldwide. Investment in human resources has been mentioned by Moutsios (2010) as the main priority of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) since its creation. For that reason, in OECD countries, and in some parts of Asia and Oceania, the concept of 'university' is increasingly that of a transnational business corporation whose primary purposes are to generate revenue, develop research that is deemed relevant to the economic and political objectives of the state, and train students to become flexible workers whose skills meet the needs of employers in the global knowledge economy (Shore & Taitz, 2012). For example, trade in education services generates more revenue for New Zealand than its world famous wine industry. In Australia, Education and Training now generates more income than the tourism industry. In the United Kingdom, its value has been more than the automotive and financial services industry (Shore & Taitz, 2012). It is little wonder that universities are being put to work for the economy.

With the marketisation of higher education, the ability to study and write in English is necessary for students wishing to pursue their education at international universities (Eslami, 2010). English for Academic Purposes (EAP) has emerged from the larger field of English for Specific Purposes and is currently a major force in English language

teaching and research worldwide (Hyland & Lyons, 2002). EAP is a requirement for educational studies in countries where English is the native language or the medium of instruction (Riazi, 2005; Zhao & Campbell, 1995). According to Dudley-Evans and St John (1998), in English speaking countries EAP courses are set up to help students for whom English is not the first language to reach their full academic potential. In non-English speaking countries EAP courses provide the knowledge and skills that are crucial in order for students to be able to access academic materials.

Purpose of the study

Bearing in mind the contradictions with regard to learning English that exist in the Iranian context, the purpose of this thesis is to use a theory of structural contradiction as the conceptual methodology with which to analyse the teaching of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) in one Iranian university in order to explain the on-going problems with the programme. In Iran, regardless of their academic field, the general requirement for all undergraduate students is to pass one to three credits in EAP courses. Each credit is equal to one hour per week of class for one semester. As will be discussed later in this thesis, evidence from literature as well as individual interviews with students and lecturers demonstrates a consensus among students, lecturers and researchers that the present EAP courses are not successful; a finding well supported by the literature (Eslami, 2010; Farhady & Hedayati, 2009; Farhady et al., 2010). There has been a long-standing debate in Iran about how EAP can be made more effective (Atai, 2000; Eslami, Eslami-Rasekh., & Quiroz, 2007; Farhady & Hedayati, 2009). In the university where I undertook the case study, there are on average five thousand students who register for EAP courses each year (Eslami-Rasekh, Jafarzadeh, & Simin, 2011). Despite the huge budget allocated to English language instruction in Iranian universities every year, the outcomes have never been satisfactory in the sense that students face difficulties in getting acceptable results in proficiency tests set either by the Higher Education Ministry or by international testing programmes such as the International English Language Testing system (IELTS) and the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL).

While the broad aim of EAP internationally is to help students study and conduct research in English, the focus of EAP courses differs depending on the country in which they are taught. For example, in English speaking countries such as the United Kingdom or the United States, EAP courses aim to prepare immigrant students to learn English and related skills that will enable them to overcome some of the linguistic and cultural difficulties they may face in studying through the medium of English (Dudley-Evans & St John, 1998; Gillett & Wray, 2006). In Iran, however, the main objective of the EAP courses taught at universities is almost exclusively "to facilitate the academic English level of students so that they are able to read and understand texts and materials written in English in their own major, and/or translate the English texts into Persian" (Eslami, 2010, p. 4). This limited objective reveals the dichotomies of attitude of the revolutionary leaders towards English. They consider the socio-cultural dimension of the English language unacceptable and have replaced the teaching of English for communicative purposes with that of teaching English solely for translation and reading purposes. The consequences of this are discussed in the analysis of the EAP restricted pedagogy and low student motivational levels (See Chapter six).

The syllabus for the EAP courses, like other university papers, is regulated by the Supreme Council for Cultural Revolution (SCCR). With some exceptions all universities are required to include EAP as a mandatory paper for their undergraduate students. English for Academic Purposes is not the term necessarily used for the topic of these papers. In each subject area the programme may be referred to variously as: Reading Historical Texts in English; Philosophical Texts in Foreign Language; English for Specific Purposes; English for Specific Purposes of Power. The number of units that students are expected to pass across subject areas also varies. Students in engineering departments, through their four years of undergraduate study, are only required to pass three units of general English as well as two units for their EAP. These are usually taken in the students' first year. Students are only allowed to take two units in EAP once they have passed one hundred units for their other papers. In the Humanities, however, the number of units also varies depending on students' subject areas. Those in Philosophy are to pass four units of general English plus eight units in

EAP. In Persian Literature and History this changes to three units for general English and four units for EAP.

In spite of continuous efforts to design and redesign policy for the provision of EAP in Iran, critics argue that English teaching has not been successful and that problems still persist for both school and university learners (Farhady & Hedayati, 2009; Farhady, et al., 2010). Accordingly, two of the most important goals of EAP, reading and translation, receive a special focus. Students must be able to read for information, for their career, and for study purposes. However, with reference to English language teaching overseas, educators have called for a shift of focus in EAP courses in Iran from the grammatical to the more communicative properties of the language. Eslami (2010) notes from previous research that EAP in Iran is mainly *ad hoc*. It lacks course design, systematic needs analysis, teacher education, proper evaluation and systematic research on the effectiveness of these programmes. Therefore, researchers maintain that, if language programmes are to improve, research is needed about students' and teachers' views, needs, understandings, attitudes and motivations (Eslami, 2010; Farhady et al., 2010; Kim, 2006; Noora, 2008).

Researcher's background

I was born and raised in Iran. In 1999 at the age of 14, I left Iran and migrated to New Zealand to join my mother who had already been living in New Zealand for several years. I came to New Zealand with the intention of pursuing a Western education in a democratic society. I completed both my undergraduate and post graduate qualifications at The University of Auckland. Throughout my years of study in New Zealand both as a secondary school student and later as a teacher trainee, I would often compare the New Zealand education system with that in Iran where I received my primary and intermediate schooling. Increasingly aware of the differences in students' attitudes and achievement results, I began to seek an opportunity to embark on a research project where I could critically examine and evaluate the education system of Iran.

Critical sociological research is about recognising and challenging the norms, beliefs and assumptions which are taken at face value. The approach is about trying to find and explore different ways of understanding. Over the past three decades, and in fact throughout its history, the Iranian government has demonstrated distrust and violence towards those who criticise government policies. Consequently, my decision to embark on this research was problematic. Nevertheless, my passion and desire to explore and investigate the problems in an academic way have kept me strongly focused.

Research into English for Academic Purposes

It is noteworthy that in spite of the increased focus on EAP courses in the Iranian state-run university curriculum and the government's huge investment in these programmes, there is no qualitative research in the literature that investigates the attitudes and perspectives of both students and lecturers involved in these courses. Although there is some quantitative research, this tends to focus on identifying the problems of EAP courses. What is often overlooked by researchers is the role political and social forces play in the teaching and learning of EAP courses in Iran. According to Anyon (2009), "one needs to situate policies and procedures, institutional forms and processes in the larger social context in which they occur in which they operate and are operated upon" (p. 3). Previously, researchers have linked the ineffectiveness of EAP courses mainly to the planning, resources, and pedagogy without locating the students' disengagement and lack of success within the Iranian socio-political context (Atai, 2000; Eslami, 2010; Nikui Nezhad, 2007). In view of the issues raised earlier regarding the tension in Iran with regard to learning English, my purpose is to include this context by going beyond the country's education system and its subfield of English language in order to identify the social, political, and economic causes of the tension between the receptiveness to English on the one hand, and hostility towards English on the other. My theoretical explanation of this tension identifies an ambivalence which arises from the deeper structural contradiction that characterise from Iran's insular theocracy/global dichotomy.

Methodology

This thesis uses both theoretical analysis and empirical data to investigate and explain the ineffectiveness of the English for Academic Purposes programme in Iranian universities. It is a methodological approach that draws on the sociological tradition developed by Emile Durkheim (1922/1956) and used by educationalist Basil Bernstein (1996). In Bernstein's words, "both a conceptual and an empirical imagination are necessary... the empirical imagination allows the theory to validly describe its objects, the contingencies of their realisation and reveals the entailed processes" (1996, p. 11). In keeping with this methodology I analyse empirical data from the EAP case study using the structural contradiction theory.

Globalisation and higher education literature contribute to the theoretical tools with which I analyse the empirical material from the EAP case study in order to explain the findings in terms of a deep structural contradiction. The term 'globalisation' signifies the ever- increasing interconnectedness of markets, communication, and human migration. As such, the role of nation states as the central controlling element in social, political and economic change has reduced as a greater role is assumed for the global market (Cortina, 2011; Olssen, 2004). Within this global market context, the higher education literature conceptualises the modern university as becoming a transnational business corporation operating in a competitive global market, whose main objective is to generate income or deliver economic value (Shore & Taitz, 2012). This process is not uncontested however (See Robertson et al., 2012). The development of intellectual and social autonomy is still a major goal of the current educational reform movement (Yackel & Cobb, 1996). This study of the EAP programme is located within the globalisation context. It provides 'on the ground' empirical evidence of the collision that occurs when globalisation forces meet resistance from Iran's insular theocracy.

Historical analysis is also an important part of the sociological methodology employed in this thesis. Durkheim (1922/1956) argued that sociological inquiry must use history in order to "penetrate beneath the surface of a social phenomenon" (p. 20). In this case study the understanding of the place of the English language in Iran historically

provides the context within which we can gain a fuller knowledge of the causes of the change in attitudes towards English and the operation of EAP courses currently. That is "[u]sing history illuminates the discussions of the origins and development of science and other forms of knowledge and social action" (Fox, cited in Durkheim, 1956, p.19). This recognition of the importance of historical contexts in sociological inquiry justifies my discussion in Chapter two of the history of Iran's changing attitudes towards the West and the changing place of English in Iran. In light of its relevance as historical evidence, I have also included in Chapter eight the October 2013 speech on higher education given by new Iranian president, Hasan Rouhani. In his speech, Rouhani responds to the limitations that characterise Iranian higher education historically and sets out a new direction.

The case study documented in the thesis provides some empirical evidence of the contradictory nature of Iran's response to globalisation. The study investigated the experiences of a small number of Engineering and Humanities students who were in their final year of undergraduate education when they undertook their EAP courses as well as the experiences of lecturers teaching the EAP courses at one university. Both students' and lecturers' perceptions, views and experiences were investigated to find out: the extent to which both stakeholders were satisfied with the EAP courses and thought they were successful, the extent to which the course syllabus was responding to students' needs, and what both students and lecturers identified to be the shortcomings or strengths of the EAP courses. Researchers advocating study into students' perceptions of their foreign language learning classroom experiences believe that these foci are necessary because students' perceptions have not only important pedagogical and pragmatic implications, but also an immense impact on students' learning and linguistic outcomes (Shishavan, 2010; Tse, 2011).

Additionally, the emphasis of the study on exploring the university lecturers' views and perceptions emerges from the belief that faculty members are crucial to the process of teaching (Eslami & Fatahi, 2008; Shishavan, 2010). Theoretically at least, lecturers are the ones who integrate new ideas into their teaching practice, implement curriculum requirements, select materials and make decisions based on the degree of freedom they

are given. They are among the first groups of stakeholders who explore the benefits and / or the shortcomings of new programmes in educational systems and, by modifying them with conventional traditions, augment their effectiveness in their teaching and learning processes. Further, university lecturers make a significant contribution to the implementation, modification and re-conceptualisation of educational programmes.

In order to explain the ineffectiveness of EAP courses from empirical evidence, I have drawn on the literature into effective language learning that suggests that attitudes play a role in affecting students' motivation in learning a language (Dörnyei, 2001; Ellis, 1994; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 2007; Schumann, 1986; Stern, 1983). These researchers consider attitudes and motivation as two major concepts that lead to success or failure in second language acquisition. While negative attitudes can reduce learners' motivation, positive attitudes towards the language and the culture of the people speaking that language can increase students' motivation to learn a second language. In addition to perceptions and experiences, the empirical study sought to discover attitudes towards English, and more specifically EAP courses at the university. These were the attitudes of the government, policy makers, students and lecturers.

The focus on government attitudes was to identify how the global neoliberal policies have influenced the Iranian regime's attitude towards English as an important language for Iran's economy. Given that the post-revolutionary Islamic regime has expressed a profoundly negative attitude towards teaching and learning of English as well as towards English speaking countries during the early years of revolution, this study was designed to examine the policy for the inclusion of EAP in the tertiary curriculum. It is important to note that the fieldwork was undertaken in early 2011, less than two years after the youth uprising. The regime's negative attitude towards English had only been exacerbated by the uprising.

Case study findings

The ineffectiveness of the English for Academic Purposes programme found in the case study, a finding supported by the literature, is explained in this thesis by developing and applying a conceptual methodology of structural contradictions. After coming to power in 1979, Khomeini promised to establish on earth an Islamic utopia free of injustice, inequality, poverty, social conflict, unemployment, foreign dependence and imperial exploitation, etc. The Islamic revolution, he declared, will "liberate us from oppression and imperialism" (Abrahamian, 1993, p.49). Subsequently, Iran's rapidly modernising, capitalist economy was replaced by populist and Islamic economic and cultural policies. Much industry was nationalised (Kanovsky, 1997), law and schools Islamicised, and Western influences banned.

After Khomeini's death and the downturn in the economy, the Iranian regime realised that it needed to reform some of its policies in order to liberate the economy and assimilate into the world economy. Nevertheless it maintains a strong hold over all political, social, cultural and educational sectors of Iranian society. Meanwhile, neoliberal policies promoting marketisation have strengthened the private sector of the economy by dismantling the state's influence over the economy (Torres, 2009). In the same way, universities are given a lot more freedom from government intervention and have more autonomy to run their institutions in order to make a profit. The Islamic Republic, however, sets the context and principles upon which the universities must operate. The regime requires students to acquire Islamic knowledge and values. Thus, universities' operation and curriculum are under tight government control despite the marketisation imperatives.

Indeed, under such a regime the learning of English is problematic because students' views of the world may well be directly challenged by ideas introduced in their exposure to English. The government does not want this. Nevertheless, as Marginson (2010) rightly argues, economic globalisation and cultural globalisation are thoroughly enmeshed in each other and mutually dependent. The 2009 uprising confirmed the Conservative officials' fears that, through media and interaction with the West,

students' thinking would be influenced. The re-election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and allegations of electoral fraud became a lightning rod for discontent across society triggering mass protests in major cities across Iran and around the world. These were believed to be the largest street protests and rioting since the 1979 Iranian revolution. The Supreme Leader singled out youth and student movements as major forces behind the protests. Additionally, the Intelligence Minister linked those arrested to terrorist support from outside Iran. Those arrested were given charges such as "suspicion of assisting the US. in its efforts to provoke a velvet revolution in Iran" (Haeri, 2006, para. 1).

As countries become more and more interconnected through economic forces and the media, there is no doubt that success in English language would contribute to increasing Iran's opportunities to access the global free market where knowledge is treated as a commodity (Altbach, 2004). Strong communication ability in English by students and the work force can also contribute to Iran's participation in the world economy and boost Iran's currently dysfunctional economy and ineffective social system. Such contact, however, exposes the Iranian people, and in particular youth (70 percent of Iran's population is under 30 years of age) to democratic values and ideas about human rights. The Islamic Republic is caught between the need for English in its curriculum, so that students can be part of the globalised international economy, and the concurrent determination that its citizens should not be in touch with Western culture, values and beliefs.

In response to the 2009 uprising, demonstrators were shot and tortured, mass trials were held, lengthy jail sentences handed down and some were even executed for taking part as the government silenced the protests ("Iran", 2011). Despite the extent of government control shown by these events, the empirical findings in my research demonstrate that lecturers, students and Iran's youth in general continue to view English as an important tool for better participation and integration with the international community. The compulsory status of EAP courses in Iranian universities and the continued expansion of private English language institutions suggest greater openness to the outside world. Yet the ruling Conservative government's ideology, its brutal

repression of the student uprising of 2009 and its foreign policies over the past eight years have pushed the Iranian economy into isolation. This restricts the country from moving towards privatisation and opening its market thereby resolving the deep structural contradiction. Iran's resultant economic isolation is a perilous course in terms of Iranian social and economic aspirations. In the light of international sanctions, the leaders of the Islamic Republic fear another uprising, similar to that of 2009, by those dissatisfied with the economic situation and the isolation from the international community (Rashedan, 2012).

Since language and culture are two integral elements, teaching a foreign language cannot be done in a void. It necessarily involves teaching the culture, beliefs, values, behaviours, literature, history, ideas and so on in which the language has flourished (Mahboudi & Javdani, 2012). The biggest drawback to teaching English as a foreign language in Iran is that this cultural component is entirely ignored as though it does not exist. Dismissal of the relationship between language learning and cultural experience leads to learning failure; hence, the language that is taught is flat, lifeless and dead. Mahboudi and Javdani describe the teaching of EAP in Iran as "an attempt to have something and not have something at the same time" (2012, p.89). Thus it is unsurprising that teaching of EAP is unsuccessful.

Literature about the government's plans to introduce a national internet that would replace the global one, to ban satellite television and the ban of research theses about Iran by Iranian students outside of Iran, which I will discuss in more detail in Chapter four, illustrates the government's response to being trapped in the global-local contradiction. The regime's desire is to participate in the neoliberal world economy yet it cannot move beyond its fundamental theocratic principles. Since Iran is becoming ever more isolated from the rest of the world and from English speaking nations, the fact that Iranian universities need English language poses serious challenges for the educators and policy makers. The nature of this conflict is exposed to an extent in the ineffectiveness of the EAP programmes and is the reason for my focus on these programmes. Their moribund nature reveals the unresolved and probably unresolvable

tension between the two opposed world views and provides insights into how ordinary people experience their lives within such contradictions.

The empirical findings from the EAP case study demonstrate problems which have social, historical, cultural, and political roots. They also indicate problems at the different levels of students, lecturers, higher education institutions and the government. The data are organised into three separate chapters, each discussing one broad theme. The chapters are as follows: Chapter five, Enforced culture of conformity; Chapter six, The shaping of pedagogy and lack of trust, and Chapter seven, The state of crisis in Iranian Higher Education.

Conformity has become second nature for the Iranian people. This attitude has been expected from and instilled in people by the political regimes over the past eighty three years since Reza Shah came to power in 1925. In the context of higher education and EAP courses, this attitude of passive conformity to higher authorities is expressed by university academics and students alike. While individuals are rewarded for conformity and obedience, non-conformity carries sanctions and punishments which at times force individuals to partake in activities in which they do not deeply believe. In fact, "translating [into Persian] the concepts of individualism (*fardgaraee*) and autonomy (*khodmokhtari*) is problematic" (Eslami-Rasekh, 2004, p.191) since these concepts carry negative connotations. My findings showed the teacher centred and authoritarian nature of the EAP classes to be de-motivating. Part of the reason for this is the instrumental nature of student motivation to study English. As researchers in other non-English speaking countries have found (Du, 1998; Idress Ibrahim, 2010; Wette & Barkhizen, 2009; Zhao & Campbell, 1995), students in Iran take EAP courses mainly to fulfil the requirement for graduation and for promotion to higher levels. Students in Iran are motivated solely by a desire to meet the course requirements.

Amirian and Tavakoli (2009) claim that in order to provide EAP programmes which are engaging, responsive to learners' needs and motivating, a thorough and large scale needs analysis must be carried out by the programme designers. However, one of the biggest problems with EAP courses in Iran is that the course syllabus is not designed to

meet the needs of students. There is agreement amongst educationalists about the necessity for in-depth needs assessment before planning and implementation of EAP courses due to their diverse and complex objectives (Amirian & Tavakoli, 2009; Nikui Nezhad, 2007). However, like Eslami (2010), I found the absence of any systematic needs analysis that incorporated both the students' and the teachers' perspectives in the development of EAP courses in Iran. But the foundamental problem lies in the opposing needs themselves, something which a needs analysis would reveal but which cannot be addressed given its basis in the ambivalence towards English.

Despite some students taking private English classes to make up for the limitations of the EAP programme, the socio-political context of conformity and authoritarianism was such that any individual agency was either very limited as with the private lessons or non existent — certainly within the classroom there were no real opportunities for pedagogical interaction. The authoritarian pedagogy could meet neither the learners' nor the teachers' needs. Unlike the country's politicians, Iranian youth display an enormous desire to engage with the outside world. Students want to use EAP classes as a way to be able to communicate in English rather than being limited to a restricted form of English for academic and employment purposes only. Likewise, all the lecturers I interviewed acknowledged the limitations and problems with EAP programmes. However they saw no possibility for systemic changes, referring to the increasing use of private English lessons. The lecturers recognised that under the current circumstances the university courses were not sufficient for students to learn English the way they needed to. Their only option was to encourage their students to attend private English institutions to improve their language skills.

The second findings chapter (Chapter six) discusses the absence of trust in the context of higher education as well as in the EAP classrooms in Iran. As pervasive as the attitude of conformity, the feeling of distrust is socially, historically, and politically rooted in Iran and is a characteristic of the dispositional identity of students and lecturers alike. The lack of articulated policies for the teaching of English language contributes to the lack of trust between lecturers and students, one already deeply embedded in Iranian society. The disconnection between lecturers and students in EAP

classrooms that I found in the participants I interviewed are arranged in three categories. The first category is about the 'different beliefs about what students should be taught in the EAP classrooms'. Given the administrators' disregard for their needs, the students felt dissatisfied and lacked confidence in the EAP classes. The second category is about how 'lecturers can not be trusted to know how to teach'. This view, it can be argued, is held by both the government and the students. Lecturers are regarded as implementers of the government's prescribed syllabus, a disempowerment that leads to lecturers feeling disengaged with their teaching. Students complain that lecturer pedagogy is so narrow that it inhibits successful teaching. Their awareness of the lack of lecturer autonomy weakens student respect for the pedagogy causing them to question whether their lecturers view student learning as important. The third category identifies 'student disengagement' with the EAP courses. Some student interviewees highlighted the lack of accountability and professionalism in their lecturers' work as well as structural problems that lessened students' trust in their lecturers and their teaching.

Chapter seven discusses the systemic crisis facing Iranian higher education. The large demography of young educated people and the increasing amount of unemployment has led to many social problems. In the context of higher education, this frustration, even despair, can be seen in the high levels of cheating and plagiarism. Using survey questionnaire data and the participants' interviews, the chapter shows how the systematic confusion and contradictions in the EAP courses affect the lives of students within the larger context of the systematic crisis affecting the higher education sector.

In summary, this thesis consists of eight chapters. The first chapter has explained the research question, the purpose of the research, and briefly discussed the research methodology and findings. Chapter two provides contextual and historical information about the political and cultural context of Iran. Chapter three goes into detail about the research methodology and how the study was carried out, as well as how the empirical data were analysed using conceptual tools from the theoretical framework of structural contradictions characterising Iran. Chapter four includes information about the context of higher education in Iran over the past three decades. The findings are divided into three thematically organised chapters - five, six and seven. Finally Chapter eight

integrates the ideas developed in the thesis by addressing the effect of the presidential election in June 2013. The new president, Rouhani has identified knowledge as the vehicle for today's world progress. According to him, a modern government is one that is based on knowledge, and knowledge can be dominated when we have an open forum for people to criticise and freely express their ideas. Does this suggest a real change in Iranian politics? If this is the case then systematic problems such as those I have identified in the EAP programmes may be addressed. Or are the structural contradictions between a fundamental state and the pressures of globalisation irresolvable? If the latter, then the likelihood of the EAP programmes improving significantly is low.

Chapter 2: Structure of Islamic Republic

"The farther backward you can look, the farther forward you are likely to see"

Winston Churchill

The aim of this chapter is to identify the historical roots of the deep seated structural contradictions inherent in contemporary Iran. Examining the historical roots provides the context for understanding the contradictions that are apparent in the English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programme in one Iranian university – the case in question in this thesis. The contradictions between an insular theocracy and participation in the global economy are located in Iranian history where ambivalence towards the West, and towards the English language in particular, can be identified. During periods of modernisation there has been greater acceptance of the West. However, this has also included the move to secularisation, something that sits uneasily with the Iranian Islamic tradition. With the increasing secularisation of Western society, from the Reformation and the Enlightenment, Islam was, from the late seventeenth century, "more often regarded with hostility and contempt as a primitive, grossly superstitious religion … adapted to promoting despotism" (Israel, 2001, p.702). Seen from this perspective, the Islamic Republic has long identified contact with the secular West as a threat. However, in the contemporary period it has become apparent that, for economic survival, Iran's participation and assimilation into the world economy is crucial. The resultant ambivalence towards the West has led to contradictions within Iranian education policy.

The social and political dynamics of contemporary Iran can only be understood in the context of an historical analysis. Durkheim (1956) considers an examination of history necessary for gaining a fuller knowledge of the trends, their causes and operations. Thus, this chapter is an historical account of the development of the Iranian nation state and its political and ideological forms. Special attention is paid to the changing role of the English language in Iran and to the changing attitudes towards learning the language. The chapter also reveals how the conflicting' forces of secularisation and

Islamic fundamentalism have created structural contradictions which can be seen in shifts toward the importance of the English language and the problems with English for Academic Purposes (EAP) identified in this thesis.

Background

Once a major empire of superpower proportions, Iran, or Persia as it had long been called, has been overrun frequently and has had its territory altered throughout the centuries. Iran was invaded and occupied by Greeks, Arabs, Turks, Mongols and others—and was often caught up in the affairs of larger powers (Takeyh, 2006). As one of the world's oldest continuous, major civilisations, Iran had an important history and culture before the rise of Islam, with two major dynasties: the Achemenian, 559-330 B.C., and the Sasanian, A.D. 224-651, the latter lasting until Iran's conquest by the Muslim Arabs from A.D. 637 to 651(Keddie, 2006). Islamicisation in Iran, reforming society in accordance with what the Islamic leaders believe are suitable religious tenets, took place during the the 8th to 10th centuries and led to the eventual decline of the Zoroastrian religion in Persia.

Ghasemi (2001) acknowledges the Safavid dynasty (1502–1736) as founding the modern nation-state of Iran. Safavid established Shi'a Islam as the official state religion in the early sixteenth century and aggressively using military means to advanced Shi'ism. Iran's contemporary Shi'a character and significant segments of Iran's current borders take their origins from this era. According to Ghasemi (2001), by the mid-seventeenth century most people in Iran had become Shi'as, an affiliation that has continued into the twenty first century. While the Safavid dynasty used Islam as a political nation building project, one that, it must be noted, was destabilised by attempts at colonisation, the West's period of nation building was as a result of the overthrow of clerical authority (Turner, 2003). This is a profound difference between Western nations and Iran, one built into national structures from the beginning of modern nation building.

Britain's discovery of oil in Khuzestan in 1908 produced intense renewed interest in Persia (Zirinsky, 1992). Control of Persia remained contested between the United Kingdom and Russia which had invaded the country in 1825 (Zirinsky, 1992). Regardless of her national sovereignty, Iran was divided into spheres of influence. By 1921 the British recognised that to establish a protectorate in the region would be impossible. The British favoured a strong government that could suppress the jangalis (those who took part in the *jangali* movement - popularly named after the jangal, the Caspian coast's thick forest) and other threats from leftist or Russian-backed movements (Zirinsky, 1992). Accordingly, the commander of British military forces in Iran, General Ironside, backed Reza Khan's rise to power in the Cossack Brigade, encouraging him to undertake a coup. In 1925, after being Prime Minister for a couple of years, Reza Shah became the king of Iran and established the Pahlavi dynasty (Zirinsky, 1992).

Reza Shah

Western interference under Reza Shah became more indirect, with the government showing a new independence. Reza Shah's vision was to make Iran strong. He perceived religion as retrogressive and the *ulama* (Muslim scholars) as backward-looking obstacles to progress. Reza Shah identified national strength with modernisation and industrialisation, which in turn required increasing the level of trade and commerce (Martin, 2003). Between 1925 and 1930 the foundations were laid for a programme of 'modernisation from above'. Modernisation from above was seen by Reza Shah, and those around him, as the way to make Iran a strong, self-respecting nation that could hold its own in the modern world. Thus, a series of laws was enacted to enforce the wearing of Western dress. The first was the 1928 hat law, which required the abandonment of traditional headgear and also placed on the ulama the burden of proving that they were genuine clerics (Keddie, 2006). Shah's intention was to use dress to instil in Iranian solidarity a modern and uniform sense of identity, to accompany loyalty to the new-style state (Chehabi, 1993). The forced unveiling of Iranian women was, among all of Reza Shah's modernisation policies, the one that contributed most to his unpopularity among ordinary Iranians.

Additionally, in 1934, an endowment law extended state control over religious endowments in which the ulama had hitherto played an important part. The state took numerous measures to weaken the clergy, taking away most of their role in law and education, and, finally, instituting state control over *vaghf* (pious) land. Ethnic and religious differences were to be eradicated (Martin, 2003) with police "using physical force to enforce bans, thus violating the innermost private sphere of close to half the population" (Chehabi, 2003, p.203). Throughout this period however, the clergy kept their ties to large parts of the population and even began an internal reorganisation. Since World War I, after the majority of Shi'a ulama left Iraq and settled in Qom, there was an Iran-based clerical institution which, while in retreat, continued to have considerable internal organisation and influence over the popular and bazaar classes (Keddie, 2006; Zirinsky, 1992). According to Martin (2000), the government's somewhat dictatorial and simple-minded approach to identity-building, unaccompanied as it was by allowing time for attitudes to change through education and economic and social development, resulted in riots in Mashhad in 1935. These were harshly suppressed, leaving several hundred dead and many more wounded (Martin, 2003).

Reza Shah's efforts for rapid modernisation from above, along with his militantly-secularist cultural and educational programme, helped create the situation of 'two cultures' in Iran, which became more acute in later decades. The two cultures paradigm helps explain the deep seated nature of the contradiction in identity in contemporary Iran. While Reza Shah's uniform dress code for men and women, in line with Western fashions, was meant to unify the nation by eliminating visible class, status, and regional distinctions, in fact, it served to deepen another division in Iranian society, i.e., that between Westernisers and the rest of society, who resented the intrusion into their private lives (Chehabi, 1993). The upper and new middle classes became increasingly Westernised and scarcely understood the traditional or religious culture of most of their compatriots. The urban bazaar classes continued to follow the ulama, however politically cowed most of the ulama were in the Reza Shah Period (Keddie, 2006). These classes associated 'the way things should be' more with Islam than with the West

or with the new myth of pre-Islamic Iran, whose virtues were being promoted as essentially Western.

Reza Shah's economic reforms were mainly measures for centralisation and economic efficiency, but included suppressing tribal and autonomist movements while strengthening the army and bureaucracy (Keddie, 2006). The demands of the middle classes and of some nationalists were partly met through centralisation, the growth of trade and of the civil service, and the rejection of open British control (Marin, 2000). Indeed, Reza Shah's reign saw a number of major changes in Iran's economy and society. However, despite the formal retention of the 1906 constitution, which placed limits on royal power by requiring the Shah to act as a constitutional monarch and providing for a representative government, decision making was increasingly monopolised by the Shah (Ghasemi, 2001).

Political life under Reza Shah was extremely limited, owing to the Shah's despotic controls and suppression of political opposition. Reza Shah terrorised or jailed potential opponents, and there were no opportunities for organised union activity or oppositional politics (Ghasemi, 2001). An influential member of the clerical opposition, Modarres, was imprisoned in 1929 and killed nine years later. Mohammad Mosaddegh, a high-born Western-trained liberal nationalist intellectual, who began his official career as a teenager, continued briefly to attack Reza Shah's programmes in the *majles* (Parliament) (Keddie, 2006). He was soon put out of office and retired to his estate, re-emerging to prominence in World War II. Other high-level opposition groups either suppressed the regime or were, at least for a time, co-opted by the regime.

Foreign investment grew at a rapid rate, notably in the oil fields, but also in transport and communications. However, during World War II, Reza Shah was forced out of power for refusing to grant the British and Russians access to the Trans-Iranian railway. Having invaded and occupied large areas of Iran, in 1941, the two powers forced Reza Shah to abdicate, and in the absence of a viable alternative, installed his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi as the new Shah to the throne (Hasib, 2004).

Mohammad Reza Shah

Like his father, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, also well-known as the 'father of Modern Iran' (U.S. Department of State, 2010), was oriented towards Western societies and perceived Westernisation as a means for modernisation. Mohammad Reza Shah's definition of progress was to introduce and imitate Western culture, standards, and behaviour. He viewed his own cultural traditions as backward and, like his father, considered Islamic religious doctrine in particular to be an obstacle to rapid modernisation (Chehabi, 1993). In his enthusiasm to follow pro-Western policy, he not only ignored the sensitivities of the Iranian people, but also antagonised the increasingly powerful Shi'a ulama (Keddie, 2006).

In 1971 Mohammad Reza Shah held an extravagant celebration of 2,500 years of Persian monarchy. Then in 1976 he replaced the Islamic calendar with an 'imperial' calendar, which began with the foundation of the Persian Empire more than twenty five centuries earlier. These actions caused discontent amongst various levels of society. They were viewed as anti-Islamic and resulted in religious opposition (Ghasemi, 2001). Additionally, the increasing arbitrariness of the Shah's rule provoked religious leaders on the one hand, who feared losing their traditional authority, and students and intellectuals seeking democratic reforms on the other.

To accelerate the development of the country and solve the socio-economic problems of the time, the government decided to adopt a Western education system (Tollefson, 1991). This was to be based on the educational and material facilities of Western countries (Behrangi, 1957, cited in Jahani, 2007; Shavarini, 2003). It was directed toward increased secularisation and aimed to enhance and accelerate Iran's modernisation. The objective of this education system was to train Iranians for modern occupations in administration, management, science, and teaching (Metz, 1987).

The Shah and his supporters amongst the elite were committed to the West and to developing the Iranian economy along Western lines. The task of transforming the social, economic and military structure of the country required extensive assistance

from foreign countries, especially the United States. The US was prepared to give extensive financial aid and advice to a regime that they knew to be "strongly anti-communist; which was making the right noises about economic development, social progress, and reform" (Keddie, 2006, p.136). Education was included in the Iranian-US relationship. The government sent students to foreign countries for education (Riazi, 2005). Thousands of Iranian students went to universities in the United States to acquire higher education. According to Hakimzadeh and Dixon (2006), from the 1950s until 1979, college students from middle and upper-class families were sent abroad for higher education as a means of ensuring socio economic security and political access upon return. Iran had one of the highest numbers of international students in the United States prior to the fall of the Shah (Altbach, 2004). This led to the creation of sister relationships between the Iranian universities and American universities during this time and scholarships were allocated for students to complete their postgraduate degrees at American universities (Farhady et al., 2010).

Students wishing to pursue higher education in the US were expected to meet English language proficiency requirements set by their host universities (Farhady et al., 2010). Likewise, proficiency in English was an essential requirement for the new generation at home who sought knowledge expansion and better job opportunities. Consequently, English became an important language in the public life of Iranians (Tollefson, 1991). Learning English became a social need, and as a result, private language schools started functioning around the country and foreign English language experts were invited to teach in Iran (Tollefson, 1991).

The learning of foreign languages at this time was strongly connected to social class. Those with qualifications from abroad who were able to speak a foreign language were perceived as knowledgeable and sophisticated. In Iran the prestige accorded those fluent in a second language—especially French[1] or English—meant that conversations

[1] Subsequent to the establishment of the first modern school in 1839 by a French priest in Iran, the French language gained a social prestige in the society and influenced the choice of foreign language teaching later in the country.

held in public or on social occasions were rarely conducted in Persian. This attitude reflected the Iranian fascination with Western culture.

Revolution pathway

In 1951, Mohammad Mosaddegh, leader of Iran's nationalist front party and democratically elected prime minister, was angered by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's submission to the British. He led a movement to nationalise Iran's lucrative oil industry in 1951 after receiving the required vote from parliament (Takeyh, 2006). Despite British pressure, which included an economic blockade, Iranian nationalisation continued. For a brief time, Mosaddegh was removed from power in 1952 but was quickly re-appointed by the Shah, due to a popular uprising in support for the premier (Takeyh, 2006). In turn, Mosaddegh forced the Shah into a brief exile in August 1953 after a failed military coup by the Imperial Guard Colonel, Nematollah Nassiri (Martin, 2003).

Shortly thereafter, on August 1953 a successful coup was organised by the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) with the active support of the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) (known as Operation Ajax) and headed by retired army general Fazlollah Zahedi (Takeyh, 2006). With the Pahlavi's assistance the British and Americans successfully dissolved parliament, overthrow Mossadegh, and installed a pro-Pahlavi, pro-Western government (Takeyh, 2006). The US overthrew Mosaddegh in the name of communist containment. Mosaddegh was arrested and tried for treason. This event is remembered with anger by Iranians. To this day, many Iranians believe that "an opportunity to forge a new independent and non aligned foreign policy, employ natural resources for national development, and build a democracy were all lost due to the machination of a rapacious superpower" (Takeyh, 2006, p.84).

From the time of his restoration to power, the Shah was determined never to allow a Mosaddegh-type situation to recur. This meant emulating Reza Shah by ignoring the

main thrust of the 1906-07 constitution; that was to distribute governing power more democratically to a cabinet of freely elected majles (parliamentarians) and had reserved less power for the shah. The 1906 constitution also defended freedom of speech and the press, with minor exceptions (Kazemzadeh, 2001). Despite his vow to act as a constitutional monarch who would defer to the power of the parliamentary government, Mohammad Reza increasingly involved himself in governmental affairs and opposed or thwarted strong prime ministers. Iran, under Pahlavi, became an increasingly totalitarian, anti-democratic state. Elections to the eighteenth majles early in 1954 were firmly controlled and candidates were chosen by the regime so that, like subsequent majleses, it was subservient to the Shah. In 1955 the Shah dismissed Prime Minister Zahedi, whom the Americans had seen as Iran's real strongman, and the Shah became Iran's supreme ruler.

The Shah closed down all the newspapers and publishing houses and jailed journalists and political activists who opposed the government. According to Keddie (2006), the Shah established an effective Internal Security and Intelligence Organisation, SAVAK, in 1957, with American assistance in surveillance and intelligence gathering. This brutal secret police force destroyed most of the political organisations in Iran. By the mid-1970s Mohammad Reza Shah reigned "amidst widespread discontent caused by the continuing repressiveness of his regime, socioeconomic changes that benefited some classes at the expense of others, and the increasing gap between the ruling elite and the disaffected populace" (Ghasemi, 2001, para.16).

During his time in power, Shah had abolished Iran's tenuous multiparty system and placed himself at the head of a one-party state controlled by his secret police. In 1975, the Shah announced a single party for all Iranians. Dissent was violently suppressed. Those who did not wish to be part of the political order, he remarked, could take their passport and leave the country. Civil servants, academics and ordinary citizens were pressed to join the party. The Shah was able to restore his autocratic power by using his security forces to shoot demonstrators, arrest large numbers in the religious and nationalist opposition, and put forth a programme of reform that, for a time, appeared to have substance (Keddie, 2006). In the face of arrests and persecution, most opposition

groups went underground. There were many executions and a widespread purge of the armed forces as new legislation against oppositional organisations was passed by the majles.

The threat of jail, torture, or even death meant that even underground or exiled opposition groups were decimated. Not surprisingly, within Iran, people were increasingly hesitant to discuss politics at all. Although a forward-thinking ruler in many respects—he created a modern economy almost from scratch, and with it a growing middle class, and extended suffrage and other basic rights to women—the Shah was seen by many Iranians as a puppet of the West. However his authoritarianism and the brutal suppression of dissent meant that the vast majority of Iranians became more anti-Shah, and more open to oppositionists who stood against the Shah, the West, and Western ideas (Hasib, 2004).

Islamic leaders, like the exiled cleric Ayatollah Khomeini, were able to focus this discontent with a populist ideology tied to Islamic principles and calls for the overthrow of the Shah (Ghasemi, 2001). As early as 1944, Khomeini had written a work that was highly critical of the monarchy in which he attacked Reza Shah. Khomeini was arrested before dawn in March 1963, on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Imam Hossain, Third Shi'a Imam. When the news broke in Tehran the processions of mourning for Hossain turned into demonstrations. The *Madrasa* (School) was attacked by paratroopers and SAVAK and a number of students were killed. Khomeini was released after a short detention only to resume his denunciations of the government and its policies. He denounced United States control of Iran and labelled America an enemy of Islam, partly because of its support for Israel.

In his post-1970s writings, Khomeini described society as sharply divided into two warring classes - the *mostazafin* (oppressed) and the *mostakberin* (oppressors) (Abrahamian, 1993). Consequently, between 1978 and 1979, the followers of Ayatollah Khomeini launched a popular opposition movement against the Shah (Ahmad, 2004). The initiative behind the revolution was to break down the "class of Taghot" or those arrogant wealthy people who were in charge and to seize power and to help the

powerless and oppressed (Nomani & Behdad, 2006). The nationalist mythology of the Islamic Republic was that of fighting oppression and uplifting the poor. Popular slogans from the mass marches of 1978-79 were: 'Islam belongs to the oppressed, not the oppressors'; 'Islam is for equality and social justice' and 'Islam will free the hungry from the clutches of the rich' (Nasrabadi, 2011) portray such mythology.

Revolution aftermath

The Islamic revolution was undertaken by a coalition of Islamic, secular and liberal Islamic social forces. These combined forces, with the Ayatollah Khomeini as their leader, were able to mobilise the masses. However, following the fall of the Shah, Khomeini stood as the only source of power. By openly exploiting class conflict, Khomeini targeted the Shah on a host of highly sensitive socioeconomic issues. He accused the Shah of "widening the gap between rich and poor; favouring cronies, relatives, senior officials, and other *Kravatis* (tie wearers); wasting oil resources on the ever expanding army and bureaucracy; setting up assembly plants, not real manufacturing industries; ignoring the countryside in the distribution of essential services" (Abrahamian, 1993, p.13).

According to Takeyh (2006), Khomeini's ideology rejected the concepts of the nation state and internationalisation. He decried the notion of the nation state as "the creation of 'weak minds' who failed to appreciate the mandate from heaven" (Takeyh, 2006, p.18). He stated that the Islamic nation of Iran would act as arbiter and grantor of class balance to produce relative equality (Nomani & Behdad, 2006). Thus, the Islamic Republic's constitution of 1979 asserted that the foremost purpose of the state was to "create conditions under which may be nurtured the noble and universal values of Islam" (Takeyh, 2006, p.2). Consequently, Khomeini called for establishment of non-elected institutions such as Supreme Leader and the Guardian council. They were empowered with the ultimate authority over national affairs (Rakel, 2009; Ershaghi, 2006). Ultimately, the political system in Iran became a blend of semi-theocratic mode of rule based on the *velayat-e faghih* (guardianship) system in line with the constitution

of 1979, and drawing on the people based constitution of 1906. This combination added to the legitimacy of the new rulers.

The concept of '*velayat e faghih'* is derived from a verse of the Holy Quran (o ye who are believers! Obey the prophet and those charged with authority among you). The system of *velayat e faghigh,* according to its supporters, has religious legitimacy, and the Supreme Leader holds special religious authority that people have no right to question (Abrahamian, 1993; Mousavi-Shafaee, 2010). Accordingly, the Supreme Leader is only responsible to God, not to people. The Supreme Leader wields ultimate power which he entrusts to the various governing bodies. He has the authority to dismiss the president, appoint the top military commanders, and name senior clerics to the Guardian Council (Abrahamian, 1993; Mousavi-Shafaee, 2010). Additionally, the Supreme Leader, through the Guardian Council, is able to steer the overall direction of Iranian elections by indicating which political philosophies are acceptable and which are not. The Guardian Council then disqualifies candidates who do not meet these standards.

By maintaining ultimate power in the hands of the Supreme Leader and his appointees, Khomeini ensured that the decisions of the elected branches of government would not affect the essential demarcations of power (Ershaghi, 2006). In this way, the constitution of the Islamic Republic embodies contradictory tendencies in so far as it combines elements of a democratic system from the 1906 constitution with authoritarian rule. On the one hand, the electorates elect the parliament, the president, and the assembly of experts (clerics who oversee the authority which rests in the hands of the unelected Supreme Leader) and on the other, the Guardian council, composed mainly of clerics, has the power to veto all parliamentary legislation, ensuring their conformity with Islamic strictures and presidential determinations (Dorraj, 2001).

This understanding is important because it explains Iran's current stasis as those deep contradictory forces produce irreconcilable and fixed positions. Despite the promises, by two pragmatic and reformist presidents since 1989, to normalise Iran's relations with the West (Hooshiyar, 2006), and the overwhelming desire by Iran's large youth

population to move towards integration and participation in world affairs, Iran is still imposing conservative policies that create isolation from the international community and dissatisfaction among the young population. Youth make up the largest population bloc in Iran, with more than 70 percent of the population below the age of thirty. This youthful population represents one of the greatest threats to the theocratic regime. Given that the regime has failed to address the youth' demands, anger seethes deeply beneath the surface.

Although Khomeini had gradually eliminated the secular and liberal Islamic social forces that had been part of the revolutionary movement, there was still commitment among members of the political elite to protect civil rights such as freedom of speech, assembly, and association. In response, clerics were concerned that laws granting these rights might be used to undermine Islam, create disorder, and to spread undesirable doctrines. Khomeini believed that the mission of the Islamic Republic was to uphold religious norms and resist popular attempts to alter the regime along democratic lines. The Islamic government should protect Islam, including the unity of Islam, and its precepts (Takeyh, 2006).

Khomeini distinguished between democracy, which he saw as a secular Western system, committed to the rights and interests of the individual, and Islamic government, in which there was no division of religion and state, but instead commitment to the Islamic community and the development of righteous individuals within it (Martin, 2003). Unlike Christianity where faith is seen as a personal matter between the individual and God, Khomeini claimed that "Islam is a programme for life and for government... It is more than a few words on morality... It regulates life from before birth, family life and life in society. It does not just involve prayer and pilgrimage... Islam has a political agenda and provides for the administration of a country" (Martin, 2003, p.113). While the West has long recognised the ideological link between religion and politics, with Machevelli and later Spinoza identifying 'revealed religion as a political device' (Israel, 2001, p.701), this led, following centuries of conflict, to the separation of Church and State. The difference between the Islamic Republic and the

West permeates this history and makes any accommodation with the West an issue that touches the very political and cultural fabric of Iranian society.

Following the 1979 revolution, the regime took control and regulated all aspects of individual and social life in Iran in an attempt to create the faithful Muslim citizen (Mousavi-Shafaee, 2010). All social arenas such as the school system, universities, and public law were changed according to the Islamic ideology Khomeini had developed. Religious symbols and discourses began to dominate all spheres in Iranian society, and religious identity was emphasised at the expense of other forms of identity. Every aspect of public life had to conform to Islamic strictures with loyalty tests and ideological standards determining admission to universities, the civil services, and the armed forces (Alikhah, 2008). To be part of the ruling echelon one had to be committed to the Islamic Republic and its mission of salvation.

Foreign policy and Iran - US relations following the revolution

The Iranian Islamic Revolution marked the end of Western domination in Iran as the post-revolutionary regime broke economic, military and industrial ties with the United States (Borjian, 2009). The purpose of the economy, according to the 1979 Iranian constitution, became "not an end in itself but only a means of moving toward God" (Recknagel, 1999, para.9) To this end, all major industrial ventures, all financial sectors, and thousands of privately held businesses were nationalised and administered either directly by the state or by state-administered foundations (*bonyads).* Furthermore, Iran's rapidly modernising, capitalist economy was replaced by populist, Islamic economic and cultural policies. Much industry was nationalised, laws and schools Islamicised, and Western influences banned (Alikhah, 2008; Borjian, 2009; Rakel, 2009; Takeyh, 2006).

The regime transformed the country's foreign policy of maintaining good relations with the US, Israel, Europe, and US-friendly Middle Eastern regimes to one of confrontation with the West and Israel and of supporting Middle Eastern resistance movements aimed at overthrowing pro-Western and secular-oriented governments. Foreign policy was

ideologically driven. Khomeini identified the US as 'the Great Satan' and an 'enemy of Islam'. At this time, Iran's political discourse was dominated by third-worldism, anti-imperialism, and anti-Western sentiments (Borjian, 2009). The revolutionary slogan of "attaining national independence by relying on indigenised knowledge and domestic labour force" was widely heard (Borjian, 2009, p. 7). This political shift affected the previously positive attitudes held toward the English language and created a breach in the relations between Iran and America.

By defining and differentiating between what is Iranian and what is foreign, the regime eliminated many mechanisms for the spread of Western culture and language. Individuals who were fluent speakers of foreign languages were now perceived as Westoxified, upper class, secular individuals who were alienated from the great Islamic heritage (Borjian, 2009). The Islamic government showed intense hostility towards individuals involved in promoting foreign languages and regarded them as 'enemies', 'atheists', and 'agents of imperialism' (Borjian, 2009).

Shortly after the 1979 seizure of the American Embassy in Tehran the US imposed sanctions on Iran. There was a strong belief amongst Iranian Conservatives, however, that foreign sanctions were actually good for Iran, in that they would internalise Iranian demand and shift support to national businesses. As sanctions threatened foreign sources of imports, capital, and export markets, the *bonyads* and Iran's Revolutionary Guard's Corp (IRGC)-run enterprises benefited from both a lack of competition and monopolies on state projects. The latter trend was to intensify when Conservatives later regained control of government. Thus, large segments of Iranian domestic industry fell under the control of Conservative elements of the Islamic Republic which fuelled both their influence and ability to oppose any political liberalisation.

With much of the Iranian economy now in the hands of *bonyads*, foreign investment was nearly non-existent, taxes were high, defence spending was at record levels, and living-standards were poor. In addition, during the 1980s the economy was threatened by fluctuating oil prices, the Iran-Iraq War effect on oil exports, and economic isolation from its previous prime trading partner, the United States. Problems like inflation,

unemployment, deficit spending, overwhelming dependence on oil, and declining agricultural self-sufficiency intensified.

The continued economic decline and crisis caused widespread public discontent. After the war ended, and with the death of Ayatollah Khomeini in 1989, a new phase in the Iranian socioeconomic and political system emerged. Following Khomeini's death, a space was created for more open conflict among the political elite who harboured differing views on the economy, socio-cultural issues, and foreign policy (Rakel, 2009). Although the secular and liberal Islamic forces had been eliminated from power shortly after the Revolution, ideological divisions remained, even among the supporters of Khomeini. With Khomeini's death and his replacement by Khamenei, who did not possess the same moral or religious authority of Khomeini, factionalism increased (Ershaghi, 2006; Takeyh, 2006).

The political sphere of the Islamic Republic divided into two opposing groups: pragmatists and hardliners. The two groups had sharply distinct perceptions on the key issues of domestic and foreign policies (Hooshiyar, 2006). The pragmatists argued that in order to rebuild the war-ravaged country, stimulate its ailing economy, and train a qualified labour force to meet the needs of the country's economy, the Islamic Republic must abandon some of its early revolutionary promises and accept technocratic solutions to domestic problems (Takeyh, 2006). They advocated opening up to the international community and replacing Iran's antagonistic attitude towards the West with a moderate one. Hardliners on the other hand could not tolerate any deviation from the early revolutionary principles. They sharply opposed their pragmatist counterparts and rejected their technocratic solutions (Borjian, 2009). They believed that "their mandate from God empowered them to disregard popular aspirations" (Takeyh, 2006, p.29).

With Khamenei's elevation to Supreme Leader and Rafsanjani's election as President in 1989, a period of liberalisation began in Iran as Khamenei and Rafsanjani propelled Iran down the road to reform. These were based on economic reforms, governmental reforms, and improved foreign relations (Hooshiyar, 2006). Although Khamenei

believed that self-sufficiency was a goal of the Islamic Revolution, it was readily apparent that a government that cannot provide for its citizens' needs would not survive. The Islamic Republic came to recognise that it must balance pragmatism with its initial revolutionary promises in order to obtain stability (Borjian, 2009; Hooshiyar, 2006).

Subsequently, the mood and outlook of the Islamic Republic became more developmental and less ideological in nature. President Rafsanjani was determined to replace the antagonistic behaviour of the Islamic Republic towards the West with a moderate and more diplomatic one (Milani, 1993 in Borjian, 2009). Rafsanjani, with the support of Khamenei, embarked on an International Monetary Fund based restructuring of the economy. Willing to decentralise the economy to combat social problems such as shrinking living standards, in his two four-year terms in office, Rafsanjani focused his efforts on rebuilding Iran's economy and war-damaged infrastructure although low oil prices hampered this endeavour. The Islamic Republic's first five-year plan launched in 1990, promoted neoliberal policies of privatisation, deregulation, the modernisation of the Tehran Stock Exchange, and reintegration into the world economy (Rezai-Rashti, 2011). It was in this new era that free education, free health care, low-income and cooperative housing began to erode.

Reformist era

Following the death of Khomeini, opportunities became available for potential reformists within Iran to rise and attempt reforms of Iranian government systems. In his campaign for presidency in 1997, Khatami expressed his desire to reconcile Islam and liberal democracy (Takeyh, 2006). He promised that his Islamic government would follow and serve popular desires, including those for greater freedom. He also advocated greater rights for women. Khatami rejected the idea of 'natural human rights' and 'social contracts' as characteristics of the 'Western civil society' but he did not consider the veil to be essential and understood that Iranian youth needed greater freedom.

With Khatami's landslide election in May 1997 many believed Iran was entering a period of fundamental reform. Some hoped a democratic regime would emerge. The reformist president sought to expand the scope of social freedoms and was ready to abandon some of the early revolution principles (Dorraj, 2001). Khatami's platform, with its call for greater freedoms, the rule of law, strengthening of civil society, economic development with equity, and a moderate foreign policy was especially popular among the youth, students, women, minorities, including the neglected Sunni Muslims, and the new middle class. Nevertheless, shortly after Khatami's election, in reminder of the Supreme Leader's constitutional authority, Khamenei cautioned the new government to remain true to the Iranian Islamic Republic's revolutionary values and to avoid sudden changes.

Gradually more openness and freedom were given to cultural activities such as film production, the publication of books, access to satellite dishes and computers (Amuzegar, 2004). Internet cafes mushroomed, especially in the large cities (Basmenji, 2005). Web logs in the Persian language first appeared in 2001. Since then they have increased rapidly. Persian is currently the third most used language by 'bloggers' (web log writers) in the world behind English and Chinese (Basmenji, 2005). Like the youth, many clerics use the internet to share their views. Although the Conservatives distrust the internet, they use it to spread their own propaganda. However, the internet continues to be mainly used by critical intellectuals, dissidents, and the youth (Basmenji, 2005; Mousavi-Shafaee, 2010).

The Minister of Culture, Ataollah Mohajerani, eased restrictions on the press, allowing many reformist newspapers to open. These became the centre for extensive debates about civil society, tolerance, the rule of law, the position of women, and the variant, possible different interpretations of *velayat e faghih*. In the absence of political parties, the press became the centre of political debate (Arjomand, 2002). During Khatami's first year as president the number of newspapers rose to more than 850 and reached 930 by 1999 (Shahidi, 2006). However Khamenei warned that the increasing number of newspapers was a "cultural offensive by the West," with its "old technique of 'divide and rule'," sometimes using "negligent, careless elements" within the Islamic Republic.

He gave an ultimatum to officials to take action against any newspaper that "stepped beyond the limits of freedom" (Rasai, 2001, quoted in Shahidi, 2006, p.12).

In July 1999, the newspaper *Salam* was closed by the Special Court for the Clergy. It had printed an article about the Senior Intelligence Minister, Saied Eslami, who was considered the chief person responsible for the killings of a number of writers and political activists in 1999 (Kaviani, 1999). However, the Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance, Ata'ullah Mohajerani, criticised the closure of the newspaper (Shahidi, 2006). The closure led to the student demonstrations in Tehran in July 1999. In December 1999, Supreme Leader Khamenei iterated his dissatisfaction with Ata'ullah Mohajerani and his Ministry. Two days later, addressing the Friday Prayers in Tehran, he argued that part of the domestic media belonged "to the enemy" and were "lying" and "crying out all the time, complaining of oppression" (Rasai, 2001, quoted in Shahidi, 2006, p.15).

Khatami's most difficult objective was to enact reform in a system where his Office lacked the required power or influence to do so. To question the role of the clergy in Iran's governmental system was to challenge the legitimacy of the State and the Islamic characteristic of the Republic. The only option to effect change was to attempt to institute the desired change from within the governmental system. Careful not to anger Conservatives or be seen as a radical reformist, and in order to reassure Khamenei and his followers, Khatami 'vowed to work within the system' by reaffirming his personal belief in *velayat-e faghih* as the basis of Iran's political system.

Khatami's government continued Rafsanjani's liberalisation of Iran's economic system by privatising state-controlled sectors, lowering trade barriers, opening the way for foreign investment in the oil, auto and military industries, and cutting public subsidies (Hooshiyar, 2006; Mahdavi, 2008). Khatami clearly realised that Iran could only fully join the modern world and improve the Iranian economy by engaging with the West. Determined to improve relations with the West, and to replace antagonistic behaviour with moderation and diplomacy, the Khatami government began to re-build a co-operative and positive attitude toward foreign and international development

organisations (Behdad, 2001; Borjian, 2009; Mahdavi, 2008). Khatami strongly reinforced the non-ideological aspects of the country's foreign policy. His détente diplomacy based on the 'dialogue among civilisations' (Mehralizadeh, 2005) was an attempt at reaching an understanding with the West.

The post-1997 phase in Iran's foreign policy can justifiably be termed 'the drive for modernisation'. It was during this time that the English language and higher education were recognised as means to achieve economic growth and development. The government allocated considerable budgetary resources to that sector (Borjian, 2009). Khatami believed that the key to economic recovery was to mobilise domestic capital and to attract foreign investment. Politicians were willing to recognise English as holding global significance and accepted the role of the English language in contributing to the economic, social and scientific growth of the country (Borjian, 2009; Farhady et al., 2010). English was recognised as playing a crucial role in the construction, legitimisation, and distribution of knowledge which was in turn essential for economic growth and prosperity.

Committed to privatisation and decentralisation, Khatami's government provided increasing resources to private sectors of the economy. Thus, throughout Khatami's presidency (1997-2005), English education in Iran entered a new phase with the rise of private English language institutions on a national scale whose focus was on teaching learning English for communicative purposes. According to estimates by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, there were about 2200 private English institutes throughout the country in 2003 with some of these language schools having as many as 50 to100 branches (Borjian, 2009). These institutes were engaged in expanding English education in the country and importing materials from 1997 to 2005.

The private English language institutes are allowed to design their own curriculum and textbooks as long as they do not contradict the social norms dictated by the clergy and the rules and regulations set by the government (Borjian, 2009). The private sector looks abroad for useful textbooks, curriculum materials and teaching pedagogies. According to Borjian (2009), Iran's "nonconformity to the Universal Copyright

Convention (UCC)" leads to the pirating of foreign textbooks by language institutes. "Throughout the 1990s pirated foreign textbooks, dictionaries, audio-video products and other instructional tools overtly entered the education market" (p. 170-171). Updated curriculum, good textbooks accompanied by authentic audio-video products, and proper teaching methods all appeal to people enrolling in the private English institutes. However, the private sector is not completely free in its affairs and in the borrowing of English language teaching materials from abroad. The Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance is in charge of supervising the production of all pirated English books and audio-video products in order to 'purify' them of the so-called 'unwanted' and 'undesired' elements (Borjian, 2009).

In the Pahlavi era, and before the 1979 revolution, language learning was associated with class and family status, and the government promoted learning English in order to push for modernisation and Westernisation. Throughout the 1990s, however, there were new factors influencing the acceptance and development of the English language. The globalisation of information, communication, and education means that knowledge of English has become a requisite for accessing global science, research, and technology, and for promoting modernisation and participation in a vast number of activities (McArthur, 1998 as cited in Borjian, 2009).

Rafsanjani and Khatami's administrations took considerable steps towards integrating Iran into the global capitalist economy (Behdad, 2001; Hooshiyar, 2006). The theocratic, capitalist regime saw the normalising of Iran's relationship with the West as the best way forward. By the 1990s, the reformists were hoping to make Iran a more open and attractive place for private sector and foreign investment. They wished to shift away from the extreme economic and political centralisation of the war years and help Iran to more fully integrate into global capitalism (Behdad, 2001; Nasrabadi, 2011).

However, when it became obvious that President Khatami was straying from the reform path, and had several times given in to the wishes of the Supreme Leader's and other Conservative clerics, his voters, as well as members of the Reformist faction in

parliament, who gave him political backing, started to doubt the honesty of his will to reform. Although Khatami failed to create a sustainable basis for the advancement of his reform agenda at home or for his accomodationist strategy for foreign policy, his eight-year presidency showed that Iranians are responsive to international public opinion and that they have no desire to return to Iran's international isolation of the 1980s. It was as a result of reforms and policies during this period that the technological communication channels with the outside world increased and the younger generation became aware of its individual needs and longings for a future that included contact with the international community.

Nevertheless, the reformists were unwilling to confront economic-political corruption, and underestimated the impact of socio-economic injustice by which the rich continued to get richer. This fuelled people's mistrust and massively discredited their forces in the eyes of ordinary Iranians (Mahdavi, 2008). The deepening poverty suffered by the majority of the people during the Khatami's presidency led to the downfall of reformists and paled into insignificance reformists' efforts to promote democratic changes and civil society (Mather, 2010).

The current situation

Representing one of the most socially reactionary and economically conservative groupings within the regime, Tehran mayor Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, a former Revolutionary Guard and civil engineer, was one of the strongest opponents of the reformist faction. He was able to capitalise on the adverse and unpopular consequences of the Reformists' neo-liberal policies. Ahmadinejad adapted a platform directed at the urban and rural poor. His populist slogans and attacks against the reformists' economic plans and propaganda enabled him to pose as the people's champion, promising social justice, to fight corruption and to challenge the super-rich (Mahdavi, 2008). Thus, in 2005, Ahmadinejad was able to win the election from Rafsanjani, an advocate of neoliberal 'free-market' economic policies and resumption of diplomatic relations with the US.

Ahmadinejad's election marked a return to the early revolutionary period. He promised to fight unjust imperialism, and wipe out liberal and secular influences from the country's higher education system (Borjian, 2009; Takeyh, 2006). The Conservatives' fear that Western influences could lead to cultural and moral corruption, particularly of the youth, resulted in a return to the pre-revolutionary culture of the Iranian society under Mohammad Reza Shah, whom they accused of having been corrupted by the West and, above all, by the United States. To curb the influence of Western culture, according to this faction, Iranians must seek refuge in the sanctity of the political regime of the Islamic Republic. Therefore, the political discourse of the country moved from a reformist position to a conservative one. The new president dismissed all prior efforts of the two former presidents to attract foreign investors and to engage with education and research in the global economy in order to improve the image of the country in the international arena (Borjian, 2009).

The liberal values and principles such as freedom of expression, tolerance, respect for diversity and dialogue that were promoted in the preceding decade were replaced by Ahmadinejad with conservative religious aspirations. Like the beliefs of the revolutionary leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, Ahmadinejad's conservative government is committed to indigenisation and self reliance. To minimise foreign influence upon the country, the post-2005 government employed several isolation strategies. In late 2006 the government accused the British Council of performing unauthorised activities in Iran and banned it from organising public events such as workshops and conferences (Borjian, 2009). The Ministry of Intelligence prohibited all state-run organisations, ministries, and universities from collaborating with the British Council. Private language schools were prohibited from collaborating with foreign institutions. There were systematic efforts to monitor the operation of private language institutes and to reduce their close collaboration with foreign educational centres. Changes also occurred to the structure of the annual Tehran Book Fair in May 2007. The site of the exhibition was changed and the registration fee was increased. This had a negative impact on foreigners' attendance (Borjian, 2009).

Relations between Iran and the West have been volatile since the 1979 Islamic revolution. However, from the time when the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) reported Iran's noncompliance to the UN Security Council in 2006, that volatility has increased as international concerns have grown over Iran's nuclear programme, with the US accusing Iran of pursuing an atomic weapons programme. Iran denies all the allegations and believes that its enemies are waging a psychological war against its peaceful nuclear activities ("Enemies seeking", 2011).

After Ahmadinejad's election, international contacts by Iranians began to be viewed with suspicion by the Iranian. According to Rosenberg (2011), "to the government, giving a paper at a conference began to look like sharing Iran's internal information with other governments" (para.11). In 2009, at the third convention for Iranian University Students Studying Overseas, in response to a student's question about Iranian research conducted at foreign universities, the former Science Minister Mr Zahedi stated, "we have told students who study overseas and do research on topics related to Iran and give information to foreigners, that we do not accept them" ("Sarnakhe Enghelab e Makhmali", 2009 [author's translation]). Furthermore, Borjian (2009), another Iranian-American scholar who carried out her research in Iran, states that Iranian officials "hold the notion that Western scholars… are on secret missions in charge of gathering data to be used eventually against their country" (p.85).

In 2009, the Iranian presidential election became a lightning rod for discontent across society. It sparked massive protests in major cities across the country, and around the world. All three opposition candidates claimed votes were manipulated and that the election was rigged. Rioting broke out as hundreds of thousands of demonstrators protested against the election outcome and the victory of Ahmadinejad, calling it fraudulent. These were believed to be the largest street protests since the 1979 Iranian revolution. In response, demonstrators were shot, mass trials held, people were tortured, lengthy jail sentences passed down and some were even executed for taking part as the government silenced the protests ("Iran", 2011).

Since the 2009 uprising, Iran has grown increasingly sensitive to how the world views the heightened tension and authorities have restricted reporting by foreign media journalists. It is important to note that the Iranian regime's attitude of suspicion is not necessarily shared by Iranian academics. At the beginning of 2011, the news media reported a new law which forbade Iranian students studying abroad from doing research dissertations related to Iran ("Students Abroad Can't", 2011; "Entekhabe resale", 2011). This rule applied to all students, both those on Iranian government scholarships and those students paying for their own education. The news immediately caused uproar with several students pointing out that the 'Iranian government cannot tell foreign universities how to handle dissertation research' ("Students Abroad Can't", 2011). Indeed, my own research was almost affected by legislation banning overseas students from carrying out research studies in Iran. Fortunately the legislation came into effect just as I completed my fieldwork.

Majles Ara, the Director General for Student Affairs in the Ministry of Science, Research and Technology, who oversees higher education, explained the rationale for the new edict by saying that "some of the topics chosen by the student might be repetitive" and that the "information in such a dissertation is related to domestic issues" ("Students Abroad Can't", 2011). Similarly, Mr Molla Bashi, Assistant Director of Student Affairs in the Ministry of Science, Research and Technology, said that dissertations relating to topics within a particular country or context should only be written and investigated by citizens of that particular country or context ("Entekhabe resale", 2011). Such a response may reflect the concerns of Iranian officials about critical external researchers' perspectives on Iran. How this growing suspicion towards research affected my own fieldwork is discussed in chapter three.

Since the Islamic revolution, the *velayat e faghih* is one of the major obstacles to fundamental economic reform and democratisation. Despite the expanded powers of the presidency post-Khomeini, the office of Supreme Leader still holds considerable legal and moral authority (Abrahamian, 1993; Ershaghi, 2006; Mahdavi, 2008). The Supreme Leader is central to the political administration of Iran with the President contending with what the Iran's Revolutionary Guard's Corp (IRGC) and the other parts

of Iran's national security forces might do, as the President does not have direct control of the military or the IRGC (Ershaghi, 2006). As Rafsanjani moved to open Iran to the West, especially in economic matters, Khamenei and other Conservatives sought to temper any liberalising moves. Iranian Conservatives view Iran's foreign policy as inextricably linked with Iran's domestic policy. Any threat to the status quo in international affairs is seen as threatening the domestic political balance in favour of the reformist.

Takeyh argues that both reformists and pragmatists have been unwilling to challenge the fundamental power of hard liners (2006). Every time they met resistance they quickly retreated shielding themselves in a barrage of religious rhetoric (Takeyh, 2006) to prove their Islamic credentials. Accordingly, "once Khatami's reforms threatened to undermine the edifice of the Islamic Republic, he quickly retreated opting for conformity instead of confrontation" (Takeyh, 2006, p.45). Mahdavi believes that Khatami's goal to reform the system without destabilising it has put him in an extremely difficult and paradoxical position (2008). Similarly, the two green movement leaders, who were clear victims of the 2009 disputed presidential election, have not shown to be supporters of democracy or mass movements as they are well aware, according to Mather (2010), that "the survival of the Islamic order is in their interests" (p.510).

This chapter has illustrated the changing influence of the economy on the ideology of the Iranian regime. Although the Islamic revolutionary regime was committed to Islamic principles and held that the purpose of the state was to serve God, when faced with economic decline the government has modified its ideological beliefs based on the realising that conflict with the West hurts the Iranian economy. Without a sound economy the country cannot function. By 1997, after the election of Khatami, English was seen as a necessary tool for enhancing international relations and improving the economy. This chapter has described a history which reveals that the ambivalence towards the English language is grounded in deep historical and political differences between Iran and the West. In the next chapter I will discuss the theoretical concepts I

use to interpret the contradictions revealed in my case study of the EAP programme in one Iranian University.

Chapter 3: Methodology

"There is no medicine like hope, no incentive so great and no tonic so powerful as expectation of something better tomorrow"

Orison Swett Marden

Chapter one introduced the theory of structural contradiction as the conceptual methodology used to analyse the teaching of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) in an Iranian university, the case study in this thesis. The purpose of this methodology is to explain the on-going problems with the EAP programme; to do so requires understanding the deeper issues that inform the context within which the programme operates. This chapter consists of five major sections beginning with a discussion of the research methodology and then the ethical considerations. Next, the description of the procedures used for data collection is followed by an introduction of the research participants. Finally, a discussion on data analysis is presented.

Concepts about the layers of structural contradictions and their effects on government policy and practice enable a multi-layered examination of the political, economic, ideological, cultural and religious factors affecting the implementation of the EAP programmes. These concepts framed the analysis of the data by providing the theoretical structure. While the focus is on the case of EAP, the research explores more broadly the structural contradictions in the Islamic Republic to show that the problems with EAP courses are symptomatic of deeper forces of irreconcilable contradictions. The case study documented in this thesis provides some empirical evidence of the theorised contradictory nature of Iran's response to globalisation.

Using critical policy methodology (Rata, 2014), the study connects the global and the local in order to integrate the theoretical analysis with the empirically obtained data. The analysis of empirical studies that are informed by a conceptual methodology draws on the sociological tradition used by Emile Durkheim (1922/1956) and Karl Popper (1975). The approach was developed further as critical realism by Roy Bhaskar (1975). Realists argue that the concept itself is a product with its own content that can be used as means to explain

empirically observed phenomena. According to Bhaskar (1975), "[S]cience, then, is the systematic attempt to express in thought the structures and ways of acting things that exist and act independently of thought" (p.250). Although the explanation is always provisional, such theorising enables the researcher to hypothesise the cause and effects of phenomena that can only be observed in its empirical state. Realism uses the idea of 'best fit', that is, 'idealised models remain open to comparison with experience' (Nola, 2001, cited in Rata, 2012, p.59). In the EAP case study the concepts of 'fundamentalism', 'traditionalism', 'neoliberalism' and'globalisation' are used in the thesis to explain the contradictions that are observable throughout Iranian society, and for my purposes, in the EAP programmes.

According to Rata (2012), "locating policy and practice in its historical context is essential to the sociological imagination" (p.20). Durkheim argued that sociological concepts must be located historically in order to "penetrate beneath the surface of a social phenomenon" (1956, p.20). Likewise, Wright Mills understood that "a man is a social and historical actor who must be understood, if at all, in close and intricate interplay with social and historical structures" (1959, p.158). For this reason, the historical analysis used in this thesis as a methodological tool includes a discussion of 19th century political and ideological processes as well as those in more recent times that have affected Iran's response to the English language. The focus is however on the period since the 1979 Islamic Revolution because this has a direct effect on the EAP courses as well as students' and lecturers' views about and experiences of these courses. Control over the syllabus and what is considered appropriate knowledge, as well as limitations over access to higher education, have all been affected by the post-revolution Islamicisation of Iran. C. Wright Mills (1959) argued that, by understanding "social structures and structural changes as they bear upon more intimate scenes and experiences, we are able to understand the causes of individual conduct and feelings of which men in specific milieux are themselves unaware" (p.162). For this reason, the sociological study includes a comprehensive account – delivered in the previous chapter — of the history of English language in Iran.

Of the concepts used in the methodology, 'globalisation' is central to the theorising of the EAP courses. The globalisation and higher education literature is used to explain

the findings in terms of a deep structural contradiction between global forces that drive higher education and the indigenisation shift that has occurred in Iran since 1979. The growing role of international organisations such as the World Bank and the OECD in influencing and shaping the decisions of national higher education policies worldwide (Olssen, 2004; Rizvi & Lingard, 2006; Spring, 2008), has doubtlessly also affected the role of and shape of higher education in Iran despite the opposing force of Islamicisation.

The term 'globalisation' signifies the ever-increasing interconnectedness of markets, communication, and human migration. As such, the role of the nation-state as the central controlling force in social, political and economic change has shrunk and a greater role is assumed by the global market (Cortina, 2011; Olssen, 2004). Within this global market context, the perception of higher education has shifted from that of public good with social and cultural objectives (despite initial EU objectives) (Jones, Galvin., & Woodhouse, 2000; Levidow, 2002) to that of industry for enhancing national competitiveness and as a lucrative service that can be sold in the global market place (Naidoo, 2003). Neoliberal interests have stimulated a push for global privatisation of educational services, in particular higher education. Higher education literature conceptualises the modern university as becoming a transnational business corporation operating in a competitive global market whose main objective is to generate income or deliver economic value (Shore & Taitz, 2012).

However, this process is not uncontested. Researchers view neoliberalism as a major obstacle to democracy (Olssen, 2004; Olssen & Peters, 2005). They argue that the ascendancy of neoliberalism has "produced a fundamental shift in the way universities have defined and justified their institutional existence" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p.313). Due to the emergence of an emphasis on measured outputs and stress on performativity, universities have changed in such a way that they act less as critics of society, and more as servants responding to the economic needs of society (Mok, 2010). In other words the contemporary university is becoming a transnational bureaucratic corporation (Robertson et al., 2012).

My study of the EAP programme is located within this globalisation context, providing 'on the ground' empirical evidence of the collision that occurs in one specific policy area when higher education's globalising forces meet resistance from Iran's insular theocracy. This is quite different from the resistance to the globalisation of higher education described by Western researchers and referred to by Olssen (2004); Rizvi and Lingard (2006); Spring (1998); and Stromquist (2002). The Islamic Republic is resistant to globalisation not because, as in the case of Western universities, globalisation is threatening the role of the university as a public institution in a democracy, but because of its belief that the secularisation and democratic values of the West are threatening the regime's legitimacy. This will be elaborated on in Chapter four.

Globalisation theories are also useful in explaining how the Iranian government justifies the promotion of EAP in the university curriculum. In chapter two I discussed the Iranian government's realisation that integration into the global capitalist economy is necessary for the country's economic survival. To mobilise domestic capital and to attract foreign investment, politicians have recognised the global significance English language holds because it contributes to the economic, social, and scientific growth of the country. Significantly, the findings of the EAP study show the influence of global forces on students' views regarding the importance of learning English. Whether and how students' views are influenced, and to what extent students consider the learning of English as necessary for their future employment or further study, or indeed as the means to connect globally by social media, can only be understood within the wider context of the globalisation of higher education.

Language learning literature has also been used as explanatory tool to account for the ineffectiveness of EAP programmes. This explanation however, is different from the critical conceptual tools that examine the political reasons. The relationship between motivation and attitudes is considered a major concern in language learning research. As such, attitude and motivation are two major forces that contribute to success or failure in second language acquisition (Gardner, 2007; Schumann, 1986; Stern, 1983). While negative attitudes can reduce learner motivation, positive attitudes towards the

language and the culture of the people speaking that language can increase student motivation in learning a second language. While my analysis of the problems with EAP focuses on the political context, there is no doubt that pedagogical issues are also implicated. According to Schumann (1986), social factors, such as political, cultural, technical or economic, between language learners and contact with the speakers of the target language can affect the degree to which learners acquire that language.

Furthermore, policies are systems of thought and action used to regulate and organise behaviour. Easton (1953) describes policy as a web of decisions that allocates values, and that through policy certain things are denied to some people (cited in Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Following Rizvi and Lingard's explanation of policy as involving the authoritative allocation of values, that "policies are designed to steer actions and behaviour, to guide institutions and professionals in a certain direction" (2010, p.8), this thesis explores the influence of policy on lecturers' pedagogy as well as the effect of teaching practice on student behaviour, attitude and motivation towards English language. According to Robertson et al. (2012), peoples' behaviours are seen as continually constructed and reconstructed on the basis of their interpretations of the situations they find themselves in. This approach gives access to the meanings that guide behaviour. As such, it explores not only how lecturers' pedagogy is shaped by politics in education, but also how lecturers themselves understand the bureaucratic hierarchies and systems of power and respond to them.

Any analysis of policy requires an examination of the contexts in which the policies are embedded. The anthropology of policy approach (Shore & Wright, 1997; Shore & Wright, 1999; Shore, Wright, & Pero, 2011) explores how policies work in practice, the conditions that create and sustain them and the kinds of relations they produce. Using this approach, this thesis explores how people's lives are shaped by, as well as how they shape, bureaucratic hierarchies and systems of power. In the same way, it recognises the actors and agency at work in all settings. It constructs a history of the present by tracing the events and intersections that resulted in the current state of affairs; a process that highlights the arbitrary and contingent nature of the present. I follow anthropology

here in aiming for a holistic approach to understanding the construction of subjects and spaces.

I focus on government politics in this thesis with the aim of identifying whether global neoliberal policies have influenced the Iranian regime's attitude towards the importance of English learning in Iran and how this attitude has affected all aspects of EAP programmes. Given that the post-revolutionary Islamic regime has expressed profoundly negative attitudes towards learning and teaching of English language, as well as towards English speaking countries during the early years of revolution, this study was designed to examine the policy for the inclusion of EAP in the tertiary curriculum. At first glance it appears inexplicable that a regime so hostile to the West would include compulsory English language courses in its universities. The research study describes, explains and interprets what is happening in EAP courses in one university with the intention of understanding this contradiction. It examines the influence of the wider social and political issues on students' and lecturers' attitudes, views and experiences and considers the impact of the contradictions present in the broader and social policy environment on students' motivation, and how the ambivalence is expressed in their conflicting identities as students. The Islamic government's hostility towards the West makes the promotion of English language problematic in such an environment. How this ambivalence operates in practice is revealed in the EAP case study findings in the analysis of students' attitudes towards leaning English.

The concept of ideology refers to a system of widely shared beliefs, guiding norms, values, and ideals accepted as truth by a group of people. Green (2003) regards ideology as "a set of common-sense assumptions which contribute towards making our social relations seem natural and justifiable" (p.4). The dominant account of globalisation contains an unmistakable ideological dimension filled with a range of norms, values, claims, beliefs and narratives. The neoliberal discourse regards the economy as so fundamental and important that it profoundly influences everything else, including people's ideas, values, and assumptions. Subsequently, people's thoughts and actions are laid out for them by economic factors. What is interesting, but nevertheless

problematic and creating the structural contradictions in Iran, is the very existence of the Islamic Republic's theocratic ideology with its commitment to social justice, equity and indigenisation alongside its responsiveness to global economic pressures.

The realist understanding of an interdependent relationship between theoretical concepts and empirical study as the research methodology leads to a comprehensive portrayal of the social phenomenon being investigated. The combination of theoretical analysis and empirical research overcomes the limitations of research that emphasises theory at the expense of empirical inquiry (Rata, 2012). Rata argues that the approach "maintains both the importance of theory that is central to the critical approach including critical theorists' commitment to equality ideals, along with enabling researchers to directly address educational practice" (2014, p.4). By integrating theory, policy analysis, and empirical studies, the thesis takes a comprehensive critical engagement with the operation and outcome of EAP programmes.

Research Study

The data for the case study were collected from one of the top ten state-run universities in Iran. It is the largest state-run university in a major city in central Iran and the only one that offers both humanities and engineering subjects. According to the institution's website, the university is one of the most prominent science and engineering schools in Iran and offers undergraduate and graduate degrees in a large number of fields and areas. (The website reference has been omitted to preserve the anonymity of the university – see ethics discussion below.) Students come from all over the world to study, part time or full time, a wide variety of courses at bachelors, masters and doctoral levels. Undergraduate admission to this university is limited to the top ten percent of students who pass the national entrance examination administered annually by the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education.

The thesis used this research question to problematise the prescribed EAP courses: What are the factors influencing the effectiveness of EAP courses in Iranian universities? Further research questions were used as exploratory tools to dig down into the policy context of EAP. According to Ball, Maguire, and Braun (2012), policy is the

enactment of a government's power at the institutional level. As such, I was interested in the extent to which the Iranian government's ambivalence towards the English language, as part of the more general hostility towards the West, was reflected in how EAP was enacted in policy and practice, that is, in how the lecturers and students responded to the policy in their daily classroom experience.

The research study investigates the government policy concerning the EAP requirement in all state-run Iranian university courses. A set of sub research questions were also investigated. I wanted to learn what the prevailing attitudes were towards English language teaching and learning. These are the attitudes of government, policy makers, lecturers and students. My next two questions were: 'How is EAP taught in State-run Iranian universities,' and 'what factors affect the implementation of the successful EAP programme.'

In order to address the research questions a mixed methods approach (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003) was applied in which both qualitative and quantitative data were collected in relation to all questions. Data were collected from the government funded university, with 131 individuals surveyed (123 questionnaire and 18 interviews. The 10 student interviewees also filled the questionnaire) and using a range of procedures. Such variety is acknowledged as a factor contributing to the validity of research having a qualitative orientation (Maxwell, 1996). A major advantage of mixing research methods is that "it enables the researcher to simultaneously answer confirmatory and exploratory questions, and therefore verify and generate theory in the same study" (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003, p.15). Further, mixed methods allow researchers to both thoroughly understand educational activities in context and provide generalisable recommendations (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In my research study both quantitative and qualitative approaches were used to collect the empirical data but they remained relatively independent until the interpretation stage (Niglas, 2004). The qualitative data included interviews with group coordinators, lecturers, and students, documents, observation and fieldwork notes. The quantitative data included a questionnaire with 123 students enrolled in EAP courses in four different classrooms across the humanities and engineering disciplines.

According to Creswell (2007), the qualitative paradigm affords the most appropriate approach for exploring and deriving meaning from data which are likely to contain complex issues. Qualitative research is useful because it directly addresses educational dilemmas and educators' real world needs. On one hand it empowers educational analysts by providing them with necessary information and knowledge to evaluate the educational programmes and curricula on the basis of stakeholders' real world experiences, and on the other hand, it "helps the administrators and decision makers to investigate the feasibility and effectiveness of educational policies" (Creswell, 2007, p.39). However, in the case of my research it is doubtful whether the study will have an influence on the existing programmes given that my analysis of the problems with EAP focuses on the political context and its inhibiting effect on pedagogy. The study regards structural contradictions in Iran as ultimately responsible for the ineffectiveness of the courses– something that is unlikely to be resolved easily. Given the relatively static nature of Iranian government policies it is difficult to make changes. The deep contradictions between Islamic theocracy and democratic-type pedagogies make it unlikely that change will occur. This study had a broader sociological imperative than simply to analyse the EAP programmes in terms of attitudes, motivations, and pedagogy. My intention was to understand these prescribed English language programmes in a political context that is hostile to English and to the West. In other words, the research follows a sociological path throughout, which is to make the familiar unfamiliar and reveal deeper causal forces acting upon observable phenomena (Wright Mills, 1959).

Macnamara (1973) found that too many educators and researchers view second language acquisition as a single phenomenon without recognising the importance of the context in which acquisition takes place. This was the case with researchers of EAP courses in Iranian universities. According to Gardner (1985), "second language learning is a social psychological phenomenon and it is important to consider carefully the conditions under which it takes place" (p.2). It is due to this importance that the current research uses a sociological approach, including use of historical context, as an important tool in analysing EAP courses in Iranian universities. By studying history,

the research examines the events that have led to the present situation, how attitudes are created and developed over time, and the conditions under which teaching and learning take place.

Ethical considerations

Bronfenbrenner (1952) perceptively noted that "the only safe way to avoid violating principles of professional ethics is to refrain from doing social research altogether" (p.267). Undertaking the research meant encountering difficult ethical considerations which were not easily dealt with. In the absence of any ethical prescriptions from the university in Iran, I was bound only to abide by the detailed ethical principles and processes prescribed by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee. Once I started my fieldwork, I learned that some of these requirements were based on principles that were impossible to abide by in the Iranian context. For example, for religious, cultural, and practical reasons both the students and lecturers were interviewed at the university. Regardless of my initial talk with students and giving them the Participant Information Sheet (PIS) in which it explained clearly the research objectives and procedures, I found on one occasion a male student came together with a friend who was also a participant. I endeavoured to persuade them, without success, that the interview is private and that they may wish to be alone when expressing their views. However, the interviewees said that they did not mind their friend being present. At such times I felt helpless since I did not think I had the right to ask the student's friend to leave, as I myself was an outsider in the university. Although allowing them to stay and listen to the interview was a breach of the interviewee's privacy, both morally and ethically, I could not ask the accompanying friend to leave. The ethics committee expects researchers to "ensure that their actions and intentions are appropriately sensitive to participants' cultural and social framework" (University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, 2010, p. 4). Consequently, I found that neither privacy nor confidentiality of the views expressed by a few of the interviewees could be maintained; occasionally privacy had to be sacrificed for the sake of social, religious and cultural appropriateness.

I am not alone in this of course. The frustration I experienced was similar to the experiences of other researchers (Baarts, 2009; Hamid, 2010; Tilley & Gormley, 2007). For example, Hamid (2010) carried out his fieldwork in Bangladesh where he was involved in interviews with students and their parents. He states in his article how "the interview was a special event for the family and their next-door neighbours" (Hamid, 2010, p.). Despite his arrangements to meet the family inside the home, once their conversation started, he found that they were being observed by other family members and neighbours. The following discussion highlights the dilemmas that arose for me in relation to undertaking research in Iran. It explains how, as a qualitative researcher in the process of obtaining data which provide rich descriptive accounts, I was required to make ethical decisions on the ground, which were problematic and not always in line with Western approaches to ethics.

In order to gain access to an Iranian university to collect my data, I first approached the selected university via an official email letter from my supervisor at The University of Auckland. The email provided information about the purpose of the research and details about the methodology to be used. I also included the set of participant information sheets (Appendices A, B, C) and participant consent forms (Appendix D, E, F) required by the University of Auckland Human Ethics Committee. Once permission was granted and the approval letter was sent by the Head of English Language in the Foreign Languages department (whom I will call Hamish throughout this study), I travelled to Iran.

Whether private or state-run, each university in Iran has a *herasat* or 'protection department'. According to the Kermanshah University of Medical Science (2012), "*herasat* is a name given to a department that is responsible for the very delicate and important duties of safety and sustainability" (own translation). The main concern of *herasat* is to ensure that government policies are obeyed. Therefore, the people who work for this department, the 'Protection Officers', are carefully chosen and are assigned considerable power by higher authorities. There are no criteria for the selection and appointment of the employees at this department. Rather, a Protection Officer is someone who is loyal to the *Velayat e faghih* (guardianship system) and has

fundamental Islamic beliefs. He or she must be a Shi'a, the country's dominant religion, and practise all Islam's customs. A male officer has to have a beard and female officer has to wear the 'chadoor', a long veil.

The responsibilities of the *herasat* are divided into four categories: Physical protection, evidential protection, personnel protection, and IT protection. I will focus on the categories of personnel and physical protection as they proved relevant to my research experience. As specified under the personnel's protection category, it is the *herasat*'s responsibility to predict and prevent illegal activities within the university grounds and to report mechanisms which underpin these activities to the proper higher authorities. They are also required to collect and analyse news and information from inside and outside the university in order to report to the management and superior authorities (Kermanshah University of Medical Science, 2012).

The Protection Officers are in charge of surveillance and are required to control the movement of students, lecturers and other people on campus. They stand at the entrance of each university gate and keep an eye on people entering the university and, in case of suspicion, ask for an identification card. Hence, my first dilemma emerged in gaining access to the university. Despite adhering to the Islamic university dress code and looking like other female students, I was stopped by one Protection Officer at the front gate and was required to show my student identification card.

To satisfy the ethics committee in New Zealand for gaining access to the setting I provided the letter of permission from the university administrator in Iran. However, I knew that once in the setting, in order to access the site and get past the Protection Officers, I could not use that letter since, in Iran, hardliners, those who retain rigid fundamentalist position, have a different view of research from that of university personnel. Thus, it was likely that if I introduced myself as a researcher from overseas I would be prohibited from conducting my research despite having written permission from the university administrator. I decided to introduce myself as a guest. Consequently, the officer asked me to show my student identification card from another university and when I said that I was not a student in Iran, he became even more

suspicious and questioned me further on my purpose for being there. Knowing that any mention of being from overseas or talk about research would make him perceive me suspiciously, I simply said that I was there to meet a particular administrator. I could tell that he was still not convinced, but I insisted that I had a meeting at 10 am with Hamish and that he could call and check for himself if he did not believe me. Being somewhat reassured, he asked me to leave my national identification card and in place of it, give me a visitor pass.

Following LeCompe, Preissle, and Renata (1993), I went to the field with documents about myself, my project, various sets of information sheets and consent forms for research participants and their rights. Initially I planned to survey a random selection of students and lecturers by displaying a call for volunteers on the notice board. However, once at the university I realised that such an approach was not possible. Hamish advised me to find my participants by going directly to each department and meeting individually the lecturers in charge of teaching EAP. Subsequently, I went straight to both departments and spoke with different group coordinators within each department. This was to help me find out which groups were offering EAP courses in that particular semester and to also talk to them about my intentions in carrying out the research.

Five lecturers agreed to take part in my research and their attitude was generally positive. They were clearly willing and happy to share their experiences and talk about their classes and teaching although they were curious about whether I was a private researcher or a student on government scholarship. Even though the lecturers were welcoming and recognised the importance of research being undertaken in order to improve the EAP courses, I found that they were pessimistic about the possibility of improvements taking place through such research. Almost all of them linked the lack of success in EAP classes to students' earlier English language competency and learning at secondary school. While one lecturer said[2]:

[2] I have transcribed all interviewee statements which were made in Persian and then translated these into English. Both the Persian and English version are provided.

Shoma nemitonid zafe zabane daneshjo ra dar daneshgah dorost konid. Dar daneshgah ma vaghean vaghte in ra nadarim ke az engelisie paye shoro konim.

You cannot solve students' lack of English in a university. In university we don't really have the time to go through the basics of English language teaching. (Mark)

Another stated:

kors haye ma tamarkozeshon bishtar roye zaban takhasosi va vazhegan dar engelisi hast. Age daneshjo angize nadashte bashe va ya zabanesh dar hade khobi nabashe vaghti be daneshgah miad ma nemitonim entezare natijeye khobi ra dashte bashim.

Our courses focus on academic and specialised teaching of words in English. If students are not motivated or their English is not good, when they get to university we cannot expect good results. (Michael)

After an initial meeting with the group coordinators and lecturers, I was able to meet with students and ask for their participation. Despite my assumption that, for many, the invitation to participate in the research was an opportunity for them to talk about their perceptions, experiences, and maybe about problems and issues they had in regards to the EAP courses, I found that many students were unwilling to participate. This experience was similarly mentioned by Homan (1991) about how social researchers often find that projects which seem to be obviously in the subjects' interest are not more cooperatively received by the intended subjects. He believed that this is partly because the researchers "assume that their own rationalisations of research will find credence with their subjects" (Homan, 1991, p.4). However, in regard to my research I have assumed that some of this reluctance can be traced to the social and political situation and circumstance of Iran. I also experienced the constraints and dilemmas that arise from the multi-layered contradictions throughout Iranian society. The uncertain place of the researcher meant that I faced the dilemma of what to include in the thesis and what to leave out; aware that the line between scholarship and politics remains unclear and contradictory in Iran.

Data Collection

According to Seidman (2006), interviewing leads researchers to a deeper understanding of research issues and allows them to enter into informants' personal perspectives in relation to research questions. Semi-structured one-to-one interviews were conducted as one of the primary methods of data collection in this study. Firstly, this type of interview generates sufficient information and thick descriptions of participants' understanding (Fontana & Fert, 1994). It also provides an ideal means of exploring participants' attitudes towards English, as well as their experiences and perceptions about the EAP courses. A semi-structured interview gives participants the flexibility to develop and follow their own train of thought within the constraints offered by the researcher. This type of interview provides the opportunity to gather rich data from the participants' perspectives. The interview schedule and set of questions were developed to tap into students' as well as lecturers' experiences and perceptions about the EAP programme. Asking questions about the importance of teaching and learning English as well as the lecturers' teaching approaches brought out detailed information about the participants' personal experiences and beliefs of language learning details that might not have been possible to access simply through questionnaires and observations.

Interviews were conducted over a time span of three months (from February to May 2011) with the date, time and place of interview all chosen by the participants. All of the group coordinators and lecturer participants (except for one whom I interviewed in an empty classroom) asked to be interviewed in their respective offices and in the time slots allocated for face to face meetings with students. Interviews with the student participants were carried out either in empty classrooms, outside the cafeteria, or on the grass grounds. All interviews were conducted in Persian and recorded by digital voice recorder. I translated excerpts of each interview into English. In the translation of the Persian texts, to convey the precise messages of the original texts to the English readers, as far as possible, instead of deploying a "word-for-word" or "literal" method of translation, I put more emphases on the semantic structure. This means that I followed a 'thought-for-thought' methodology by trying to render the exact contextual meaning of the Persian messages as closely as possible in English.

The first set of interviews were carried out with the group coordinators. This was my introduction to the setting of the case studies. I devised an interviewee schedule (Appendix G) to guide the discussion, although the interviews were semi-structured in that the schedule was a guide to ensure consistent coverage but not necessarily a prescription for the interview. Additional questions were asked to elaborate, probe and expand the discussions as they developed. A digital recording was made of the interviews and then transferred onto the computer for transcription. Some of the questions asked of this group of participants were related to their understanding of the impact of global neoliberal discourses and globalisation of higher education on government policies and attitudes. For example I asked: "What is the government's intention for including EAP in the undergraduate students' university curriculum? Why does government invest in these courses?" and "Does your university have relations with other international universities?"

Two sets of interviews were carried out with lecturers. The initial interview was followed by arranged lesson observation. In all cases, the observation consisted of two lessons with each class. Following the lesson observations, student interviews were undertaken with one or two students. After transcription and analysis of the lecturer interview, observation data and student interviews, I carried out follow-up interviews with the lecturers. The follow up interviews provided the opportunity to clarify issues and ask further questions. The inclusion of student' perspectives and a follow up interview with the lecturer added elements of triangulation to the core data provided by the first lecturer interview and the observations.

The reason for investigating both students' and lecturers' perceptions, views and experiences was to find out whether they were satisfied with the EAP courses and if the course syllabus was responding to students' needs. It also aimed to investigate what both students and lecturers identified to be the shortcomings or strengths of the EAP courses. Researchers advocating study into students' perceptions of their foreign-language learning classroom experiences believe that these foci are necessary because not only do students' perceptions have important pedagogical and pragmatic

implications, they also have an immense impact on students' learning and linguistic outcomes (Shishavan, 2010; Tse, 2011). Moreover, the study had two further aims: to identify the impact of global, neoliberal discourse on student attitudes and motivation for studying at tertiary level, and to understand whether, and how, globalisation has affected the attitudes and motivation of students to learn (or study) English.

It was also important to explore the university lecturers' views and perceptions given that faculty members are crucial to the process of teaching (Eslami & Fatahi, 2008; Shishavan, 2010). Theoretically at least, lecturers are the ones who integrate new ideas into their teaching practice, implement curriculum requirements, choose materials, and make decisions based on the degree of freedom they are given. Lecturers are among the first groups of stakeholders who explore the benefits and / or the shortcomings of new programmes in educational systems and, by modifying them with conventional traditions, augment their effectiveness in their teaching and learning processes. Further, university lecturers make a significant contribution to the implementation, modification and re-conceptualisation of educational programmes. They are key players in implementing macro policy decisions in practice at the micro level.

Once undertaking the interviews, one of the anticipated challenges I encountered was how to avoid getting into discussions outside of my topic. I had been unsure about how to portray this possibility in a way that would be understood by a New Zealand research ethics committee. Indeed I could not have predicted that it would become such a difficult problem. In interviews with student participants I felt that some of them saw me as someone who was there to help them, to listen to their problems or even talk to higher authorities and make changes. At different times I felt that I had to step outside my role as a researcher and become more of a confidant. I let them speak and at some instances turned off the recorder and listened to their concerns. In doing so, I 'abandoned my researcher identity and assumed the role of confidant and activist for educational reform' (Hamid, 2010, p.269).

In addition, I did not know the extent to which I was going to be recognised as an insider researcher by my research participants in Iran, since I had lived and was trained

in Western academia and Western ethical norms. However, I was pleased that many of my participants did understand and appreciate the nature and purpose of my research. Some students regarded me as an insider through their conversations by saying 'as you know, in "our" time' by referring to me as one of them. Others however would consider me as an outsider by saying 'I don't know what happens in the place where you study but here,..' or 'in Iran it's different, people are….'. I thought it likely that their perception of me as an outsider affected what they were willing to tell me. Both researcher and participants were caught to an extent in the conformity and mistrust that I describe in chapters 5 and 6. A limitation of the study is that these unspoken constraints remain 'silent'.

In an effort to enrich the data pool and make the research findings more robust and reliable, together with the semi-structured interview as the primary tool for collecting data and the questionnaires, the study utilised documents as another source of information extensively emphasised in the literature (Creswell, 2007; Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). Documents are recognised as rich and essential sources of information for social research (Punch, 2005). Merriam (1988) defines documents as any form of data not gathered through interviews or observations. Document based data inform research by enhancing the credibility of the research findings and interpretations. Such data can be used to describe, understand and explain how things function at the sample sites.

It was intended that this research include and examine government policy documents regarding English language learning in Iranian state-run universities. According to Shore and Wright (1997) policies are increasingly the "central concept in the organisation of contemporary societies" (p.4). From an instrumentalist paradigm, policies are systems of thought and action used to regulate and organise behaviour. As such, "policies are seen as mandates set forth by a governing body that are carried out by a separate entity, the identified policy implementers or beneficiaries" (Stein, 2004, p.5). Examination of government policy regarding EAP was to be helpful in understanding the government's intention for including EAP courses as a compulsory component of curriculum, and to enable the researcher to identify how the policies and

requirements of curriculum influence teaching pedagogy. Nevertheless, once I arrived at the setting, and through conversations with group coordinators and lecturers, I realised that there were no documents as such, and that English was just another curriculum subject for students at the university. The only place where I was able to read about the government's intention and goal for the teaching EAP was at the preface of EAP textbooks for the engineering students: "Students, after passing this level are to be able to read specialised texts alone, understand them and use English resources and references successfully" (Azmi, 2009). The book was published by the government based Organisation for Researching and Composing University Textbooks, known by its acronyms SAMT.

Review of documents is an unobtrusive research method, rich in portraying the values and beliefs of participants in the setting. As such, reading documents is useful in developing an understanding of the setting or group studied. However, it must be remembered that all documents are socially produced by individuals and groups in the course of their everyday practice, and are geared exclusively for their own immediate practical need (Delamont, 2002). Documents tell us indirectly about the social world of the people who created them (Payne & Payne, 2004) since they have been written with a purpose and are based on particular assumptions and presented in a certain way or style. To this extent, the researcher has to be mindful of the origins, purpose, context, and the intended audience (s) of the documents (Grix, 2001). In the case of this research study, the following were examined: public records (i.e, End of term exam exemplars, course syllabi), participants' personal documents (i.e., textbooks, reading materials), and the researcher's observation field notes, and memos, written immediately after each interview.

The first set was the course syllabi and examination exemplars. In Iran, each paper taught at university has a course syllabus or (*Sar Fasl*). The one page course syllabus includes the topics that lecturers are expected to cover during the term, as well as the learning outcomes for students (In Persian see Appendices H & I). It even proposes references. In addition, the study looked at some exam exemplars which are designed by the course lecturers. In his study tracing ideological lines of power or patterns of

meaning from organisational context to educational theory and practice in Iran, Namaghi (2006) asserted, “the pressure on teachers to produce good examination results is pandemic to the education system as a whole” (p.100). Consequently, the system encourages lecturers to improve the product and sacrifice the process of teaching and learning to assessment. This set of documents was to help the researcher learn about the construction of the course and the link between teaching and assessment.

The second set was the EAP course textbooks and reading materials. These were examined to see how teaching of EAP was practised in the university, what teaching sources were used, and where they came from. The English textbooks used for the Engineering students in both civil engineering and electronics subject disciplines were published by SAMT. I bought two locally produced textbooks to learn about their content. The main purpose of the engineering textbooks appeared to be that of explaining and defining technical concepts and language. For the humanities disciplines however, none of the lecturers used the textbook published for their subject discipline by SAMT. Instead, they would select texts from several different books and after photocopying, compiled the sheets together into a course booklet format for teaching. Interestingly, I found that despite lecturers’ freedom to choose the readings for their classrooms, the texts they chose did not deal with secular and modern Western culture. For instance, in the Persian Literature class, the text chosen for study was a translation into English of Persian Mysticsim (Hafiz). In the same way, the history lecturer noted, “we choose text from books that are *orf* (have common law)”.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire, with its various types, is one of the most common methods used to collect data in research. It has been widely applied in the second language field and has become one of the most popular research instruments applied across the Social Sciences (Dörnyei, 2003). Although Dörnyei refers to ease of construction as the main strength of questionnaires, questionnaires gain their great popularity for a number of reasons — the most important being their unparalleled efficiency in terms of a researcher's time, effort and cost. According to Dörnyei, (2003), one can gather a huge amount of information in less than an hour, and if the questionnaire is well-constructed, processing

data can be straightforward, especially in an age of computers and word processing software.

The questionnaire (Appendix J), based on Gardner's attitude/motivation test battery, or AMTB, was designed to investigate 123 EAP students' attitudes towards English and, in particular, their EAP courses. The focus of the questions was restricted to student attitudes, motivation and perceptions of language proficiency. The questionnaire consisted of three sections each containing questions that covered a specific 'area'. These were: to probe students' attitudes and perceptions about the role of English in the development of the country; to investigate the impact and the role of the society's attitude towards English on the student; and to identify students' attitudes toward learning English as well as evaluating their motivation orientation; and lastly, to evaluate the quality of EAP courses from the students' perspectives to see whether courses accommodate students' needs wants and interests, and as well as to gauge overall course satisfaction.

Observation

According to Merriam (1998), observation can provide a mechanism for "a first-hand encounter with the phenomenon of interest", but it is not entirely unproblematic. Two subject fields, engineering and humanities, were used for the observation component of the case study. In negotiation with the lecturers, observation involved five EAP classes for the students of history, electronics, civil engineering, philosophy and Persian literature. The purpose of observation in the context of the present study was not to evaluate the teaching. Rather, observation provided the means for validation of data through triangulation (Stake, 1995). The key observations conducted were discussed with the lecturers in follow up discussions as a further means to validate the observations. Observations were focused mainly on three aspects: the type of linguistic input provided by the teacher; type of materials, the source and purpose of materials; and student' participation and how interaction occurs in classrooms.

Participant demographics

In total, three group coordinators, five lecturers and ten student participants were selected using non-probability sampling. Such purposive sample is used to select participants who are able to assist the researcher to discover, gain insight, and understand particular phenomena (Burns, 2000). Three group coordinators, two from Humanities and one from Engineering, were interviewed for a maximum of forty five minutes. Table 3.1 provides additional demographic information about these coordinators. The purpose of the interviews with the group coordinators was to obtain information about the government's policy concerning the EAP requirement in all state-run Iranian university courses. Interview questions probed the coordinators' beliefs and views about the government's attitude towards English language teaching and learning and the purpose for including EAP courses in the university curriculum. Likewise, interviews with lecturers and students were used to gain insight into how a particular group of Iranian EAP lecturers and students, in their final year of undergraduate studies majoring in either engineering or humanities and studying EAP, perceive these programmes. Pseudonyms are used in order to hide participants' identy.

Table 3.1 Course Coordinators' demography

Course Coordinator	Gender	Degree	Subject field
Nick	Male	PhD	Humanities
Mike	Male	PhD	Engineering
John	Male	PhD	Humanities

Nick: Is a group coordinator for Persian Literature. He dislikes the government's policy around EAP and believes it has no useful outcome for students in humanities. Nick has received complaints from students regarding the ineffectiveness of EAP courses and has made suggestions to the higher authorities while asking for change. Nick holds the government responsible for the ineffective English education programme

in secondary schools and believes that English is not necessary for their discipline. "In my opinion we used to think if instead of this [EAP] students studied Arabic it was much better. Students could use it much more, because most of our Persian Literature texts relate to Arabic".

Mike: Is a group coordinator for Mechanics. He does not think EAP should be compulsory and believes students should choose this paper because they feel the need. "I personally was not interested in this paper being compulsory. But because there was an opinion poll and majority of people voted in favour, eventually they said that the whole of university desired for this to be a compulsory paper... I feel those who are not interested or motivated will pass one or two units by chance.

John: Is a group coordinator for History. Like Nick, John criticises the government's approach to the way English is taught in secondary schools and the university. He believes the system has failed to give students a proper English language education in secondary schools. "What government emphasises on in universities, should be from secondary school".

Five male lecturers from varied academic disciplines: civil engineering, history, electronics engineering, philosophy, and Persian literature, all of whom taught EAP courses as part of their teaching duties, also participated in the research. They were all subject lecturers but were familiar with English language, either due to the experience of living in English speaking countries and or from their personal interest in the English language. Their experience in teaching English at the university level ranged from one to twenty years. All but one of these lecturers had a history of studying abroad in an English speaking country (i.e., at least one degree from a non-Iranian university). Four held doctoral degrees and the fifth had a master's degree.

Table 3.2 Lecturers' demography

Lecturer	Gender	Degree	Subject Field	Years of experience	Qualification gained

Mark	Male	PhD	Engineering	1	Yes
Paul	Male	M.A	Engineering	10	Yes
Steven	Male	PhD	Humanities	10	Yes
Michael	Male	PhD	Humanities	4	Yes
Peter	Male	PhD	Humanities	20	No

Mark: Is in his early 40s and teaches EAP to civil engineering students. Mark received his PhD after five years from Imperial College, London University. He began teaching EAP in 2010 and is currently in his second semester of teaching this paper.

Paul: Is a middle aged man teaching EAP to students studying Electronics. After the revolution, he returned to Iran from America, where he had obtained his bachelor's and masters' degrees in engineering. Paul has studied French and German, each for four years, while working. He believes that he has a special gift for teaching foreign languages. In addition, Paul has worked in the local power company and has taugh electronics in both government funded and private universities.

Steven: Is also a middle aged man teaching EAP in history for students of both bachelor's and masters' degrees. Steven received his PhD from Manchester University in England and has been teaching for the past ten years. He expressed his belief that teaching methods for EAP need to be updated by stating, "we have not been able to use and practise new methods and texts... methods need to improve and we need to think about putting in place and using new methods".

Michael: Is in his late 50s teaching EAP in Philosophy. Michale received his PhD in Western Philosophy. He has lived in France for twenty one years but has not had formal teaching experience while overseas. "I spent some time working with Farsi language department of that university [where he gained his PhD] as a book keeper but taught privately". Michael was initially not interested in teaching EAP at his current

university because he felt there would be little outcome from teaching the course. However, he eventually decided to teach the course.

Peter: Is in his early 50s teaching EAP in Persian Literature. Peter received his PhD in Persian Language and literature in Iran and has been teaching for twenty years. He has only been overseas for short term holidays. Peter admits that his teaching may not be interesting for students and believes that professional development workshops are necessary. "I might not be keen on using many teaching materials, and teach in different [boring] way, but the need is and can be felt. Teacher needs to be taught how to use materials and how to teach".

The final group of participants, the students, are divided into two categories. For the qualitative part of the research, semi-structured interviews were conducted with ten students, both male and female. Five of the students were from humanities and five from engineering. All were studying EAP. In addition, a total of 123 EAP registered students from four different classes (civil engineering, electronics, philosophy, and Persian literature) participated in the quantitative component of the study. This group responded to survey questionnaires. Most of the student interview participants were found via a 'snowball' method. Those students who showed interest and participated introduced their friends who were either from their class or were also studying EAP but were from another class.

All student participants had studied English formally for five years in intermediate and secondary school. They ranged in age from nineteen to twenty-nine. They were second and third year students from the Humanities and Engineering departments taking the EAP course. Table 3.3 provides additional demographic information about these students.

Table 1.3 Students' demography

Students	Gender	Term	Subject Field	EAP units required to Pass

Cyrus	Male	6	Engineering	2
Christine	Female	4	Humanities	2+2
Gloria	Female	6	Engineering	2
David	Male	4	Engineering	2
Megan	Female	4	Humanities	2+2
Darius	Male	4	Engineering	2
Sarah	Female	6	Humanities	2+2
Mary	Female	6	Humanities	2+2
Daniel	Male	6	Engineering	2
Lisa	Female	6	Humanities	4+4

Cyrus: is twenty years old and studies civil engineering. He has been attending English classes outside the university for the past two years. Currently Cyrus gets together with a group of his friends outside of university hours, at a specific place, to work on his conversational skills. Before attending university, Cyrus hated English, but now, due to the need for English in his subject discipline, Cyrus's interest has increased and his viewpoint has changed. "It was the need that I had that increased my interest or changed my view on English. Back then I viewed English as a compulsory subject, but now after entering university there were a variety of books with different topics in English language". Cyrus wants to enrol for a master's degree after completing his bachelor's. He also wishes for an opportunity to go overseas and to learn about the Western people and culture.

Christine: is twenty years old and majoring in Persian literature. Christine does not attend English classes outside the university. Despite being very interested in English, Christine says that she has not had time to attend private English institutes. Christine believes EAP class is not as enjoyable as other papers in their discipline. But she likes learning it. "Compared to our other papers like Hafiz and Saadi (Persian Poets) that are

very sweet, English is not that sweet, but I like it. I am interested in learning it". Christine enjoys EAP classes more than general English classes at the university because, accordingly, the general English classes focus more on teaching grammar.

Gloria: is twenty years old and in her last term studying civil engineering. Gloria has been attending a private English institute from her last year of primary school until she entered university. Gloria's father owns a company, and she sees the need they have for knowing English language, particularly for installing and operating their machinery. She also understands the importance of English as an international language. Although Gloria does not enjoy EAP class, she believes that in comparison, it is one of their best classes. Gloria feels that her good understanding of the EAP lessons may be due to her personal interest in English.

David: is twenty years old and studying electronics. David attended a private English institute prior to entering university so that he could raise his English language skills for entrance exam of university. He got to the TOEFL level. "Teaching level when we were in secondary school was very low. In competing with other students (who had attended private classes) you became short if you just relied on what you learnt in secondary school". David wishes to go overseas for his career. He enjoys EAP class because of his interest in electronical engineering. David believes that the university administrators and those in charge of planning the paper do not value English language, and that there is no accountability from lecturers. "Last term if you looked, you would have had seen that majority of marks were full. But the university does not ask why we have so many full marks! Is our students' knowledge really to the level that they would get full marks?"

Megan: is twenty years old and studying Persian Literature. Megan attended English classes from the age of thirteen to seventeen. She has been interested in English from childhood. While Megan does not have any plans to go overseas, she believes English is important given its status as an international language. However, she thinks that there is no purpose for the EAP classes at their university. Similar to David, Megan thinks that the authoritiaries and administrators view this paper as merely another two units for

students to pass without really valuing it. "I wish they would take English more seriously. Look at it just like other specialised papers. Even the lecturers".

Darius: is twenty years old and studying electronics. Darius has had weak English language ability in secondary school. However, he started attending a private English language institution and has studied English up to an advanced level. Darius remarks that he had never believed in learning English and viewed English as a non-cognitive subject. "My reason was that papers such as English language are just a ... and do not help much in growing our thinking or strengthening the abilities that help a person to progress". Darius had previously believed that he could use the translated books instead of learning English. However, as he got older, he realised the importance of English. "I used to think that I can use the translated books but then you get older and realise that if you know English you can also progress in your field and it can help you". Darius believes people from all levels of society, within their own area, should be made aware of the need for English and its usefulness to their lives and for progression.

Sarah: is twenty-one years old and in her last semester studying rural geography. Sarah has not attended any other English classes outside of university and says that she is not interested in academic English. "I wish there was emphasis on conversation and dialogue so that we could actually speak English. That is what interests me". She would like to learn English just enough to work with a computer in a job. Sarah has passed two units of EAP the previous year and is doing another two units at present. Sarah does not have any plans for going overseas and says that she does not even think about it given that it is difficult to obtain a visa and travel abroad.

Mary: is twenty-one years old and in her last semester studying rural geography. Mary has passed two units of EAP last year and is doing another two units at present. She believes EAP courses are not useful or practical and that they are a waste of time. Mary used to attend Geography Information Systems (GIS) classes "mainly because people said it was useful and practical for future career". English was partly included in the GIS courses. Mary would like to go overseas, not to live permanently, but to study. Mary expressed her dissatisfaction with her entire educational experience at university

by saying, “I am in term six and finishing my degree. I’m upset that I haven’t learnt anything. Really, lecturers are not sympathetic... students instead of paying and attending classes outside of university, when they come for two hours to this class, then lecturers should give them their information. They are not willing for students to learn easily... In my opinion the person should teach EAP who is really interested in English and has whole heart interest in it— someone who is willing to share their knowledge with others”.

Daniel: is twenty two years old and in his last semester studying civil engineering. Daniel does not attend English classes outside of university. He has nevertheless passed 2 units of EAP last semester. When studying EAP, Daniel was only interested in passing the course. But in retrospect, he now feels that English is extremely important because “it is the world’s scientific language”. Daniel does not believe the EAP classes were useful. He believes that they did not teach him English as they should have. He admired his lecturer who had studied in America and says if it had not been for the lecturer’s character the classes would have had been so unbearable. “It was only the lecturer’s character that enlightened the class. We learnt life lessons from him, not English lesson. Class itself was routine and boring”. Daniel is about to enrol for a masters and would like to go overseas for his PhD.

Lisa: is twenty-one years old and in her last semester studying Philosophy. Lisa believes English is very necessary for employment and further studies. Lisa has passed four units of EAP and is currently studying another four units. She is more interested in learning communicative language for speaking with tourists. “Our generation was last. At least it’s good for children in younger age, that there are classes for them. They should teach that in our culture that parents send their children to English classes from young age because it is very useful, needy and practical”.

For lecturer participants, interview questions probed into their life history, educational background and teaching experience. Student participants were asked about their past experiences of attending English classes, whether or not they planned to travel abroad, and if they had plans to further their education overseas. This was done in order to

evaluate the level of students' commitment as well as their interest and attitude towards learning English. The literature shows that review of participants' life and education histories, including their previous experiences of learning and teaching English, not only creates an atmosphere of mutural respect and trust, but also enables the researcher to understand how participants understandings, motivations and attitudes are affected by their past experiences and inform their future plans (Merriam, 2001; Patton, 2003; Seidman, 2006). In my research, I also found this to be the case.

Validity and reliability

Several strategies are suggested by Creswell (2007) to increase the construct validity of the research design of a qualitative case study. One such strategy is "triangulation", or the inclusion of multiple sources of data collection techniques / instruments. Following Creswell, I included the triangulation strategy in the research design of the present case study. In doing so, the research employs various sources of data-collection techniques, including field notes, document analysis, literature review, questionnaires, interviews, and observation. The inclusion of various sources of evidence, each of which sheds light on the present research from a unique angle, allows me to increase the construct validity of the present research by minimising my own bias and subjectivity towards the interpretation of the collected data.

Data Analysis

Analysis of data involves working with the data, organising it into manageable units, synthesising, searching for patterns, discovering key elements and interpreting and making sense out of the collected material (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Data analysis in this thesis involved two sets of data. The first set of data consisted of newspapers, radio reports, journal articles, books and research study findings. The second set was the data collected from the research field. This empirical data consist of two types, qualitative and quantitative. I began by transcribing the interviews which were in Persian. Once they were transcribed, I translated them into English. In keeping with qualitative research data analysis methods, all interview transcripts and all other documents were read reiteratively in an effort to organise the data into meaningful categories. The first

stage of coding is termed open coding, which is a way to "generate an emergent set of categories and their properties" (Glaser, 1978, p.56). Through coding, interview transcripts were reviewed and brief notes were made. Component parts that were of significant value to the research questions were labeled.

While there are systematic approaches for analysing data, for the present project data analysis was informed by thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis aims to identify themes, concepts or patterns in the data. I added commentary (memos) and sorted data manually into thematic categories as themes emerged from the data. The findings chapters (5-7) are arranged according to three themes that emerged. These are: Enforced culture of conformity, the shaping of pedagogy and lack of trust, and the state of crisis in Iranian higher education. Further, the thematic headings that evolved from the data are organised in each themed chapter.

Quantitative analysis drew on data from students' questionnaires. In general data aims to examine the extent to which students' attitudes are positive towards English language and their EAP courses, and also the extent to which the EAP courses are in line with students' expectations, needs, wants and interests.

Chapter 4: Context of Higher Education

"I alone cannot change the world, but I can cast a stone across the waters to create many ripples" Mother Teresa

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate contradictions within the context of higher education in Iran; the context in which this research was carried out. It highlights some of the policies the Islamic Republic has introduced in higher education since the 1979 revolution (i.e., Cultural Revolution in universities) and their influence and impact on students' and lecturer' attitudes and motivation, and on the quality of Iran's higher education in general. In addition, this chapter discusses how the popular view of globalisation — widely referred to as "neoliberal" — has impacted on the field of higher education worldwide, and in light of this impact, how the Iranian regime has responded in its higher education policy to the ideology of globalisation. This chapter demonstrates the tension Iran finds itself in, its progress and participation in the world economy, and the fear of threat to its legitimacy from democratic ideas and secularism.

Higher education has an ancient past in the dynamic culture and civilisation of Iran (and Islam), reaching peaks of prosperity at the time of the Sassanids with the establishment of centralised higher education institutions in the cities of '*Riv Ardeshir*' and '*Jondi Shapour*' from AD241 onwards. At this time, education was an exclusive right of the nobility and the royal family. Owing to the importance of medicine and medical education in those days and much use of the experiences and scientific achievements of the Greeks, Indians, and Iranians, these cities turned into real centres of ancient higher education (Mehralizadeh, 2005). Jondi Shapour University was regarded as the greatest scientific centre for centuries. Much later, corresponding to the time of scientific and technological advance in the Western World, the Qajar (Dynasty) Prime Minister Amir Kabir founded the '*Daarul Fonoon*' (House of Techniques) as a modern institution in Iran in 1848 and sent students to study abroad. He also invited foreign lecturers to teach at various technical colleges in Tehran, Tabriz and Oroumieh (Ganimeh, 1993).

Given the undemocratic nature of Iranian politics and society throughout history, as discussed in chapter two, governments have always been afraid of uprising among the educated university students and scholars. Academics were under tight control. Consequently, through state control and lack of resources, universities in Iran have found it difficult to conduct open debate on important social, cultural and civil issues. Despite this, university students in Iran have kept themselves involved in active politics. During the 1979 revolution, Iranian universities were a hotbed of political activity. The revolutionary movement had turned the universities into centres of political activity where crowds gathered and rival political groups clashed (Behdad, 1995). Many left-wing organisations had taken rooms in university buildings and had set up kiosks on the campuses where they sold their books and ideological tracts. Perceiving these as a threat to the embryonic state, Khomeini condemned higher education institutions in Iran as being the seat of moral corruption, claiming that "our university students are Westoxicated. Many of our professors are at the service of the West. They brainwash our youth" (Behdad, 1995, p. 193). In another speech, Khomeini declared that, "all of [Iran's] backwardness has been due to the failure of most university-educated intellectuals to acquire correct knowledge of Iranian Islamic society" (Khomeini, 1981, p. 291).

In order to keep control of universities and eradicate those who had dissimilar views and beliefs to that of the Islamic Republic, the post-revolutionary Iranian regime considered the secular and Western education system of Pahlavi to be threatening to an Islamic society (Mossayeb & Shirazi, 2006). The regime was worried about undesirable non-Iranian and non-Islamic values and patterns of thought and behaviour offered by the Western and secular education system of the time (Jahani, 2007; Riazi, 2005). Consequently, after the 1979 revolution, the Islamic Republic brought social organisations, including the public education system, under strict Islamic control. The major drive of the revolution was to dismiss and eradicate Western norms in all aspects of the country's cultural life and to revitalise and strengthen Islamic and Iranian values (Borjian, 2009; Jahani, 2007; Riazi, 2005; Siah, 2009).

Determined to create an Islamic image of the country, religion was used as a means "to denounce the legitimacy of the previous regime and to resist external influence" (Borjian, 2009, p. 119). The content of the curricula was scrutinised, dissident faculty members purged, and primary and secondary schools gender segregated (Mojab 1991; Selhoun 1983; Sobhe 1982). The first important policy of the Islamic government was to implement the 'Cultural Revolution' in an effort to consolidate the State's power and focus on the younger generation as the main human capital in bringing a significant change in society. The Regime closed all institutions of higher education in April 1980, only to reopen them three years later, after being "purified" and "Islamicised" (Sobhe, 1982). In June 1980 a group of seven prominent Islamic theorists were selected by the late Ayattolah Khomeini as a Council for Cultural Revolution. Charged with the task of compiling all of the 'cultural' policies of the country, the Council has undergone two expansions: first, in 1984, to 17 members, then again, in 1999, to 36 members (Moradi, 2001).

A salient feature of the new regime's purifying process was the sweeping campaign to purge all perceived 'non-Islamic' entities and oppositions out from influential positions. Before the revolution there had been about 13,900 university professors in Iranian universities (Moaddel, 1992). Upon reopening in 1983, the number had dropped by nearly one third. Many were forced to retire or were dismissed. Some left the country voluntarily or escaped to avoid prosecution. They were blamed for spreading 'corrupt' Western culture in Iranian society.

Moreover, to implement the Islamic model of higher education, with particular emphasis on de-Westernisation, Ayattollah Khomeini changed the 'Cultural Revolution Headquarters' into the 'Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution' (SCCR) (Mehralizadeh, 2005). In December 1984, SCCR declared its power of oversight on all policy decisions on cultural, educational and research activities within the framework of the general policies of the system. Thus it became a legislative organisation which would ensure that the education and the culture of Iran remained totally Islamic. It also had the power to veto any of the so-called 'un-fit' or 'undesirable' legislation with regard to any cultural and educational matter in the country, and has served as the

primary policy-making body in terms of cultural, educational and research activities ever since.

The SCCR consists of a body of radical and conservative figures. It sits at the core of the revolutionary government's campaign against Westernisation, and all decisions are taken under the direct supervision of the Supreme Leader. For example, nearly half of the people working for the SCCR are directly appointed to their positions by the Supreme Leader. Both the Ministry of Education and Higher Education are out-ranked by the SCCR and are responsible for executing orders given from above.

Curricula

In order to make the Islamic ideology dominate higher education, some 2000 professors were engaged in the task of revision and translation of textbooks (Hossain, 1985). The process of rewriting textbooks at all levels, as Welch (1991) discussed, involved nothing less than legitimising a change in the knowledge-stock to reflect the change in the socio-political system and in values. One of the consequences of revising the university curriculum was the denial of particular disciplines to particular genders. The new university curricula were full of courses that emphasised the values and morals of Islamic ideology. According to Mehran (2002), ''textbook content has therefore been used to transmit the social, political and cultural values of the regime'' (p. 234). The main idea was that these students would act as 'Islamic professors' for the next generation of students. However, the SCCR did grant scholarships to some lecturers with technical backgrounds to pursue Doctorate degrees in Western countries. One of the main criteria approved by the Ministry for scholarships was that the recipient was married. This was designed to ensure their return after graduation even though they could take their wife with them.

Prior to the 1979 revolution, textbooks for university English courses were generated by the British Council who took the responsibility and initiative for providing English for Specific Purposes (ESP) materials for Iranian university students (Eslami, 2010). However, with the change of government the new Islamic Republic deemed the content

and illustrations of the foreign language textbooks un-Islamic and not culturally appropriate for Iranian students. In an effort to minimise the country's need for foreign produced materials and also to indigenise the English education system of the country, the Organisation for Researching and Composing University Textbooks, known by its acronyms, SAMT, was established in 1981. SAMT has since been in charge of curriculum development and course design for all academies in Iran (Najjari, 2008). By changing textbooks and introducing Islamic knowledge, the government has defined the aims and objectives of Islamic education for the creation of an Islamic university.

Scrutiny of mind-access

One of the most important additions to the revamped education system was the addition of an 'ideological test' to the university admissions process. Students and faculty staff had to pass an ideological test to determine whether they had the moral suitability for the Islamic Republic (Entessar, 1984; Menashri, 1992). Hunter (1992) argued that the principal reason for this reform was political, namely to educate the present and future generations in the ideology of the state. Habibi (1989), views the political screening as the use of administrative means to control access to higher education and public sector jobs, which are viewed among the eminent vehicles for social mobility in Iran. He suggests that the practice of screening applicants has punished those who have been labeled as incongruent with the State's ideology, and rewarded those who have supported it. The regime has used the admission process as a mechanism for integrating and assimilating many Iranians into becoming loyal citizens of the Islamic Republic.

The changes to higher education introduced by the Islamic Republic contained a number of serious problems. These include: expansion without sufficient funding; decline of quality, lack of trust between government and university, absence of link between higher education and work place, and the absence of any quality assurance mechanism.

Expansion without sufficient funding

Worried about the large population loss during the eight years of war with Iraq, the Islamic Republic of Iran encouraged families to reproduce. As a result, the country's

population of 35 million at the time of the 1979 revolution had nearly doubled by the 1990s and reached 75 million in 2010 (Semati, 2008). Consequently, in the pragmatic environment that followed the Iran-Iraq war, the necessity for national economic development forced the authorities to make education serve a large number of youth (Sedgwick, 2000). The government emphasised science and technology and supported the building of universities.

In 1985, Ali Akbar Rafsanjani initiated the construction of a 'private' university system called *Azad* (Free) University, a term that has been used heavily in post-revolutionary Iran to connote the freedom that the government has brought to the masses via education. The goal for the construction of these 'free' universities was to reconcile religious and scientific education and also to spread higher education into many towns and cities. Its branches covered many more areas than did the few state universities. 'Free' and 'distance' universities were opened in marginalised areas of the country in order to strengthen non-contact and semi-contact education. *Azad* Universities sprang up in remote corners of Iran – often located in nothing more than a decrepit building and with no professors to conduct classes (Hamdhaidari, Agahi, & Papzan, 2008; Shavarini, 2005). Today, *Azad* University has become the alternative route for Iranian youth who are unable to pass the national college examination. However the system carries a stigma of inferiority.

According to recent statistics by the Ministry of Science, Research and Technology (MSRT), Iran currently has 54 state universities and 42 state medical schools. There are 289 major private universities operating as well (MSRT, 2005). State-run universities are under the direct supervision of the MSRT for non-medical courses and the Ministry of Health and Medical Education (MHME) for medical schools. Distance education programmes originating from foreign universities have only recently become available in Iran. Symbolically, this initiative gives the impression that the Iranian government was committed to, and working towards, creating a more comprehensive system of higher education. According to Bazargan (2000), during the 65 years of university education in Iran, the growth rate of the student population remained low through the first four decades. After the Islamic revolution, enrolment increased rapidly. The

number of students per 100,000 people stood at 9.1 percent in 1989. This rapidly rose and was at 34.9 percent by 1997.

Decline of quality

While the expansion brought higher education to many families, satisfied a greater number of parents' desire to send their children to university, and prepared a great pool of talents, it was not matched by increase in funding. This has affected research production adversely and ushered in unacceptably low levels of investment in laboratories, equipment, and other facilities. Under so much pressure to grow quickly, universities have been permitted virtually unplanned growth. This meant that social sciences, humanities and law grew most rapidly because they are the least expensive fields to develop. Nonetheless, increasing enrolments in some areas of expertise in higher education has diminished the quality of education. Campuses are now overcrowded and there are fewer resources per student. Academic quality has not been improved along with the expansion. Researchers criticise the rapid growth of higher education in Iran claiming that to increase quantity, quality has been sacrificed (Rasian, 2009). Insistence merely on quantitative expansion without sufficient funding and resources has diminished the role of university to that of a vocational institute, what researchers in Iran call a 'big school' (Rasian, 2009).

In addition, researchers (Keddie, 2006; Hamdhaidari et al., 2008) argue that the Cultural Revolution greatly weakened Iran in the science and technology needed for development. They claim that the reason for the universities suffering from a large drop in quality and performance is a consequence of the pronounced ideological commitment of Iran's education system. The initial years after the revolution were catastrophic for the scientific community and, more generally, for all scholarly work in Iran. The Cultural Revolution that occurred at the beginning of the 1980s led to the expulsion of many scientists from the university, the exodus of many scientists to Western countries and the quashing of scientific inquiry in many fields dubbed as useless or elitist. Many scientists were forced to work in fields unrelated to their specialities — mainly teaching and consulting — even after the universities were reopened in the second half of the

1980s. In terms of university admission, war veterans and others tied to official religious politics were given priority. In addition there was the institutionalisation of quotas favouring supporters who are predominantly poor, religiously Conservative, and rural-dwelling. Sakurai (2004) maintains that while policies of admission have increasingly marginalised qualified urban and minority populations, while integrating and assimilating conservative and rural populations within the State's ideological construct, they have led to deteriorating educational quality.

Moreover, only students judged ideologically sound were sent abroad during the Cultural Revolution. As a result, a large number of unqualified but pro-regime students and professors had been admitted into higher institutions (Habibi, 1989). In the same way, excessive emphasis on rote learning, memorisation, and unconditional obedience to the Koranic doctrines and Islamic ideology left little room for creativity, independence and critical thinking (Ashraf, 1997; Mehran, 1997 in Borjian, 2009). As a result, by the late 1980s, the Iranian education system was producing neither a skilled labour force nor adequately trained graduates to meet the needs of the country's economy (Habibi, 1989).

Furthermore, the new Islamic government was opposed to borrowing and implementing the Westernised version of modernity and development (Borjian, 2009). Approaches that the country had previously borrowed from the West were no longer allowed to continue. The new government's goal was to craft a home grown model of development. However, the 1980s was a lost decade in terms of Iran's development due to the 8-year war with Iraq (1980 - 1988). During this period, the money that should have been invested in developing Iran's human and material infrastructure financed the war. Academically, Iran lost considerable scientific ground in the region during the 1982-1992 period following the revolution. The country's total scientific product collapsed to an average of 100 published articles a year in internationally recognised journals (Khosrokhavar, 2009). As in the Pahlavi period, higher education in the post-revolutionary era suffered from lack of a carefully designed and clearly articulated long-term agenda for development. The multitude of policy making centres and the deep divide between various factions within the ruling groups in terms of the

causes and objectives of higher education in an Islamic society, were among other factors that adversely affected the structure and quality of higher education in this era epoch (Siah, 2009).

Enrolment into university

Despite the high unemployment for many educated youth, education in Iran is still viewed as the most important social institution for the advancement of people's status (Shavarini, 2005). Iranians see their higher education system as the repository of a robust intellectual tradition that predates the arrival of Islam in Persia. Professors are held in high esteem, and many high-ranking government officials, including Ahmadinejad, are academics by training. There is a lot of pressure on young people to study and to have a university education (Sadeghi, 2008). Thus, due to the limited number of admissions to state-run universities and the high number of students, there is competition for entrance into these universities and to the subject area they wish to study.

According to Zahedi, the Science Minister, among Iran's total population of 70 million there are 3.5 million university students. About 1 million of these study with distance-learning universities, 1.2 million in 'free' (Azad) universities, 0.5 million in applied–scientific universities (under MSRT governance), and the rest in state-run universities (Rasian, 2009). Due to the limited number of admissions to state-run universities and the high number of students, there is competition for entrance into these universities and to the subject areas they wish to study. MSRT estimates that every year around two million take part in a national entrance exam (*Konkur*) for the 150,000 places at the state universities. This is a highly competitive exam and only a small percentage of students are accepted into public institutions. This is because facilities are limited. Meanwhile, private universities give further opportunities to potential students who can afford the tuition fees (Hamdhaidari et al., 2008).

Entrance and choice of discipline

The National Organisation of Educational Testing (NOET) was created by the Ministry of Science before the revolution in Iran and is responsible for administering the entrance examinations at both undergraduate and graduate level and for selecting the most qualified applicants (Farhady & Hedayati, 2009). Applicants are ranked on the basis of their total scores on both parts of the exam (one being general and the other more specific to their major discipline), and are admitted to the universities in the majors they had requested. Each student is provided with a guide booklet, to help them select their course of study. The guide booklet speculates entry requirements for each subject. Students are able to opt for up to one hundred choices, with the one in which they are most interested being ranked number one. Different subject areas have diverse significance and require particular grades. For instance electrical engineering has more importance than computer engineering. This may be due to the work demand in the market. It often happens that if an applicant's score is not adequate for admission to their requested discipline they are then admitted to study another discipline.

The ranking of universities by reputation has made it more important for students to want to study at a leading national university with an international reputation. As Brown, Lauder, and Ashton (2008) note, in Iran also, leading companies target students who attend elite universities, based on the assumption that the most talented students will go to these universities because they are most difficult to get into. As a consequence, this has led to some problematic issues in Iran. With a ranking of 1900[3], a student might not be able to get acceptance for the electrical engineering discipline in one university that is well recognised but is able to get into another less reputable university. Sometimes students think that as long as they get acceptance at a reputable university, the subject discipline that they study is not important. They might even choose a subject area they are not interested in only because it is easier to get into the desired university with that discipline.

[3] There is a particular ranking level for entry into each subject discipline. To be considered for acceptance at a university, students need to meet the required ranking. For instance, electrical engineering requires students to have a ranking of 2000.

There is also the issue of relocation. Given the religious nature of Iranian culture and extremely patriarchal society, some families are not comfortable sending their children to another city. Thus, students need to make sure they choose a subject discipline that is likely to get accepted in the universities in their city. Therefore, they may choose a subject discipline that is not necessarily of their interest but will make it possible for them to get acceptance at the chosen university. Farhady and Hedayati (2009) remark that although many applicants are not accepted in their majors of interest, they may still continue because in addition to the social desirability of a university education, male students are exempt from compulsory military service. Thus, they choose any major available at their entrance exam rank. For example, an urban student with no farming background may choose to major in agriculture.

Shavarini (2005) found that many females choose enrolment in higher education as a form of resistance to the power relations operating in society that discriminate against women. Researchers (Rezai-Rashti, 2011; Shavarini, 2005; Shavarini, 2006) reveal a number of factors and determinants that attract women to participate and continue with their higher education. Women participants in Sadeghi's (2008) study explained that the strong need to pursue education was transmitted to them through their family, friends, relatives and wider Iranian society.

University represents various advantages over employment that attract women to participate and continue with their higher education in Iran. It is a sphere of hope, a refuge and a place to experience limited freedom. Higher education is also seen as an asset that will inevitably increase their worth in the marriage market. It is often viewed in the following ways: as a tangible right that may enable women to gain financial independence; an escape from restrictive family environments; a vehicle that earns them respect and advance their social status; a way to delay marriage and gain temporary independence, or as a way to meet men whom they normally would not be allowed to communicate with outside of university (Shavarini, 2006).

Official statistics show unemployment rates for both men and women with degrees is increasing and that women make up a larger portion of the educated unemployed. Young people are not finding employment in their fields of study. Women who participated in Rezai-Rashti's (2011) study discussed several issues in terms of obtaining employment in their areas of specialisation. One of his participants talked about her sister's experience as an Agricultural Engineer who was now working in commerce and trade, a discipline that has nothing to do with her area of specialisation (Rezai-Rashti, 2011). An important issue raised by all participants of Rezai-Rashti's study was the significance of having personal connections to access the labour market (Rezai-Rashti, 2011). Nearly all his participants mentioned that one can find jobs in related areas of specialisation only if one has an important connection, especially in the governmental organisation (Rezai-Rashti, 2011).

There are a range of questions which arise from the above discussions. How many students are really going to be seeking a future job in their field? Are they interested in their subject of study, or do they just want to gain a degree? Hence, how many students would really be willing to learn and track references to books and specialised texts? The factors which affect students' reasons for entering university and choosing a subject discipline in university needs to be considered given that researchers recognise learners' motivation as a key factor which influences the rate and success of foreign language learning (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Mcdonough, 1986). If students are not looking ahead to the job prospects after university they will have no interest in studying subjects that are important in the job market, such as EAP. Students will simply study and memorise for the exam and for gaining the passing mark for the sake of a degree — a claim that some of the lecturers made. Similarly, it is very unlikely that students would be interested in continuing their education in the field that was not of their choice. Consequently, EAP, which is necessary for students' studying at post-graduate level, becomes less important.

Contradiction within the system

The situation for women shows all the contradictions of the revolution. Though the regulations to Islamicise universities after the revolution have discriminated against women, they have, nevertheless, increased women's involvement in schools and higher education (Mehran, 2003; Shavarini, 2006). Khomeini and his associates insisted on women's political mobilisation, encouraged girls' education, and also supported women's activities during the Iran-Iraq war. At the same time they enforced many laws and practices unfavourable to women, barred the judiciary to women, and dismissed many professional women from their government jobs. Post-revolutionary educational policy is characterised by the banning of co-education, the compulsory veiling of female students beginning at age 6, explicit gender stereotyping in school textbooks, and guiding female students toward 'feminine' specialisations deemed appropriate for women. The traditional view regards women as, first and foremost, home-makers whose mission is to serve their family as wives and mothers and to avoid any social responsibility that may interfere with their domestic tasks.

Persistence in the face of such imposed limitations has helped women to turn potential obstacles into opportunities. Since the establishment of the Islamic Republic in 1979, there has been a significant increase in female enrolment and completion rates at every educational level. Iran is one of the few developing countries with great success in girls' education. Iran has been successful in promoting the role of women in higher education and the wider society. According to statistics released by MSRT, in the year of 2004 to 2005, 53.9 percent of the total enrolled students were female (MSRT, 2005). In 2006, some 63 percent of university admissions were women (Rezai-Rashti & Moghadam, 2011). The coexistence of such contradictory elements: enforcing discriminatory laws on the one hand and promoting women's participation in education on the other, reflects the paradox of tradition and modernity in post-revolutionary Iran.

Interestingly, while women's equal or even greater educational attainment does not indicate that gender equality for women has been achieved, it does point to a growing pool of educated women who are likely to challenge their second-class citizenship in the

family and in Iranian society at large (Moghadam 2003; Rezai-Rashti & Moghaddam, 2011; Stromquist 1989). To resist traditional cultural discourses regarding female roles and education, and to struggle against forms of social domination (Foucault, 1982), women in Iran choose higher education. According to empowerment theories, education has the potential to transform the lives of individuals, including women, and to enable them to challenge the prevailing social order that has placed them in subordinate positions (Mehran, 2006). Education can directly or indirectly provide the consciousness as well as abilities needed by women to question the existing gender inequalities, understand the causes of injustice, and act to ameliorate the prevailing conditions. In fact, Hughes (1998) notes that, recently in Iran, there have been signs that women are increasingly fighting for equal rights and political power by rejecting the dominant cultural discourses and the subordinate lives forced upon them by the ruling Mullahs.

While over the past three decades Iranian women have emerged to a more prominent position in the labour force, these advances have been undercut by traditional trends that oppress women within the system that aids their advancement. Recently, the government has introduced policies to limit women's participation. As the state continues maintaining its Islamicisation of higher education, several discriminatory actions and policies have prevented women from pursuing higher education. For instance, in 2011, the Guardian Council ratified a bill for gender separation in their final statement at the tenth formal meeting, in order to "safeguard the sanctity and protect the vulnerability of the younger generation" (Asemi, 2011, own translation). This bill has had profound discriminatory affect on female students. While some university chancellors argued that the policy was not feasible, more than fifteen universities implemented the plan, including the University of Science and Technology in Tehran.

Asemi (2011) recorded two students' thoughts about the implementation of the above plan and its consequences for their university. A 22 year old female Architecture student from Tehran University, said, "This plan is totally ridiculous. It will badly damage our academic performance because they [university] simply don't have enough people to teach separate classes". In addition, a male student activist observed that "in

current year's university entrance exam, the top five hundred student candidates did not choose the University of Science and Technology for study... perhaps they have constructed a bad view on our university" (Asemi, 2011). Moreover, the plan has resulted in reducing the admission rate for female students at bachelors' level to only 23 percent in many engineering subjects. According to these students, the university has became solely male gendered at the masters' level, and many deserving female students with top marks are denied admission (Asemi, 2011).

Despite students and lecturers expressing concern over the new policies and their negative consequences and the heavy cost to academic freedom and progression, Ayatollah Safi Golpaigani, one of the top Shi'a sources of emulation, said in a decree: "Mingling of male and female [students] thwarts scientific achievements and causes great corruption. The costs of segregation [for the government] are affordable however heavy they may be" (Sinaiee, 2011, para.9). This demonstrates the fundamentalist view and the official interpretation that commitment to religion takes precedence over academic and scientific progression.

The discussion in this chapter has shown how higher education in Iran is obviously very different from that of the Western liberal-humanistic universities. It is also different from the new corporatised university that is increasingly a characteristic of the contemporary globalised world (Shore & Taitz, 2012). The coming section discusses the impact of globalisation on limiting the role of governments in managing their higher education sector. It demonstrates that while the neoliberal values orientation provided more freedom to universities to develop market worldwide, in Iran, the Islamic Republic has increased its control over universities for two reasons: sustaining religious persons, and keeping national security.

According to Turner (2003), capital's new project, "neoliberalism, is founded upon the substitution of the market for the nation-state as the hegemonic ideological and political-economic framework for political society" (p. 62). The World Trade Organisation regard education as a 'service' and therefore subject to market liberalism under the general agreement on trade and services (Robertson, 2003). As a

consequence, in the West, the role of government has changed fundamentally from a provider of welfare benefits to a builder of markets (Mok, 2010). In the same way, social values of equality and democracy have been rearticulated and subordinated to dominant economic concerns. Neoliberal globalisation intensifies global market competition, weakens national regulations, and privatises public good (Brown et al., 2008; Gomes, Robertson, & Dale, 2012; Levidow, 2002). It promotes and normalises a 'growth-first approach' to policy, regulating social welfare concerns as secondary. Neoliberal globalisation stresses global regimes of free trade, applying to both goods and services, including education which was traditionally marked by their highly national character (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). However, critics argue that the expectation for universities to adopt commercial models of knowledge, skills, curriculum, and finance,… threaten the scope for critical analysis — what people value in universities (Levidow, 2002).

Significantly, the emergence of neoliberalism as a political force and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism are congruent in time but represent two directly opposing forces. By talking about the tension between neoliberal values and Islamic fundamentalist ideology, the research examines and demonstrates the contradictions faced by higher education in Iran as it tries to respond to the internationalisation of higher education throughout the world. Following the revolution, the nationalist mythology of the Islamic Republic claimed to fight oppression and support the poor. It was promoted as a movement against elitist views and in favour of egalitarianism (Borjian, 2009). The revolutionary slogan of "attaining national independence by relying on indigenised knowledge and domestic labour force" was widely promoted (Borjian, 2009, p. 7). This fundamentalist ideology was in opposition to the neoliberal emphasis on market values, the reduction of state intervention in the economy, and the promotion of a globalised workforce.

Governments throughout the world not only now demand greater efficiency and value for money from their universities, they also require them to believe in ever-more competitive and entrepreneurial modes of operation. One of the major emphases of educational reform internationally has been to increase the ties between education and

paid work, i.e., between education and the market. Reform initiatives aim to tighten the connection between education and the wider project of "meeting the needs of the economy" (Apple, 2004). Guided by neoliberal theories of human capital, public choice and new public management, many governments have begun restructuring their national education systems and redesigning the interface between universities and businesses (Peters, 2001 cited in Shore & Taitz, 2012). There has been a conversion of a higher education field "into a field subordinated by economic interests" (Gomes et al., 2012, p.233). Seen as a key driver in the knowledge economy, higher education institutions have been encouraged to develop links with industry and business in a series of new venture partnerships. Rcognition of the economic importance of higher education and the necessity for economic viability has lead to initiatives to promote greater entrepreneurial skills as well as the development of new per formative measures to enhance outputs (Olssen & Peters, 2005).

While globalisation has weakened the capacity, or limited the role, of the nation state in managing the public domain (Mok, 2010), and governments are giving more freedom to universities to develop markets worldwide (Shore & Taitz, 2012), in Iran, the opposite is the case. The religious government has kept a tight hold over higher education due to its fear of youth uprising and threat to its legitimacy. According to Rasian (2009), Iran's old higher education system does not have the capacity to meet current needs. It faces numerous challenges and crises and needs reform and transformation (Rasian, 2009). Universities are producing a large community of educated (though mostly unemployed) Iranians in search of new ways to express themselves. High unemployment and the associated social and economic phenomena have impeded the economic development of Iran for decades. Higher education in Iranian institutes is increasingly ideologically driven. It pays little attention to the personal and occupational development of the students, and therein lays the problem. Religion holds sway over universities with the government unwilling, or afraid, to allow the introduction of Western knowledge and knowledge products even after thirty four years. Revitalisation of Islam and Islamic value is, for the followers of Ayatollah Khomeini, the only legitimate objective (Siah, 2009).

Unmet expectations, unrealised aspirations and the challenges of both unemployment and under-employment lead university students and graduates to join protest movements (Rezai-Rashti &Moghadam, 2011). In 2009, the controversial presidential election was the lightning rod for protests. Khamenei blamed the widespread protests on the millions of students enrolled in humanities departments across the country ("Iranian university drops", 2011). Consequently, the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution established a 'Special Council for the Development and Promotion of Humanities' and appointed seven humanities scholars to oversee the Islamicisation of the disciplines. A few months later, a newspaper reported that Allameh Tabatabai University had eliminated thirteen branches of the humanities as a result of the review ("Iranian university drops", 2011). Among the removed subjects were journalism, philosophy, psychologoy, accounting, and management. Lecturers at this university expressed regret over the decisions and in an interview, Mr Forghani, a journalism lecturer stated, "Unfortunately we are still unaware of the reasons for this elimination" ("Hazf e 13 reshte", 2011).

In contrast, neoliberal thinking views higher education as one of the key components of the knowledge economy and considers that a major challenge is in reconciling traditional functions of knowledge production and the training of scientists with its newer role of collaborating with industry in the transfer of knowledge and technology (Olssen & Peters, 2005). Joseph Stigliz, ex-chief economist of the World Bank, drew an interesting connection between knowledge and development. Accordingly, universities as traditional knowledge institutions have become the leading future service industries and need to be more fully integrated into the prevailing mode of production. Gomes et al. (2012) argue that, "the role of national government is a powerful tool and a prominent channel to facilitate, adjust to, signifu or resist the globalisation process or regionalism projects, either at discursive-ideological or at material levels" (p.234).

While China is busy restructuring its university systems to fit these ideas about the knowledge economy (Olsse & Peters, 2005), in Iran, "few faculty are familiar enough with industrial and service enterprises to offer courses relevant to the job vacancies that exist" (Rahman & Nazari, 2007, p.1 quoted in Rasian, 2009, p.13). In fact, more

recently, higher education in Iran has been a way of keeping the young out of unemployment. According to Iran's Deputy Minister of Work and Social Welfare, the growing rate of unemployment is linked to the incompatibility of academic programmes with the needs of the market (IRNA, 2008 cited in Siah, 2009). In his words, "quality of education is so low that products of the academic system cannot successfully address the needs of the market because all the courses are abstract and are translated and do not comply with social and professional characteristics of our country" (IRNA, 2008, para7 quoted in Siah, 2009).

Despite the government's efforts to improve its image in the global arena, Siah argues that accumulation of several factors has turned most of the institutions of higher education in Iran, like their predecessors in Pahlavi's era, into degree mills (Siah, 2009). These factors are: extensive and unjustifiable integration of Islamic studies into academic curricula, vast implementation of out-dated and traditional ways of teaching and learning, absence of dialogic interaction between teachers and students, lack of incentives and proper infrastructure for research, scarcity of technical assistance and access to up-to-date human and non-human resources, and the centralised, top-down system of administration in which neither the student nor the academic have a say in policy making.

In addition, Rasian (2009) recognises a lack of entrepreneurial culture, undeveloped private job-filling enterprises, relatively few job vacancies, and poor labour market planning to contribute to the dilemma of Iran's failed economy and its ineffective and unproductive education system. To support his claim, in 2013, the new Deputy Minister of Work and Social Welfare of Iran, Mr Rabiee argued, "society needs creativity and innovation… if the culture of a country is towards entrepreneurship then that society will progress… we are in need of a society in which creativity becomes institutionalised" ("Shomare bikarane", 2013, Own translation, para.6). He went on to say, "Creativity is the product of questioning, collecting data, having the ability for analyisis, and lastly thinking for change" ("Shomare bikarane", 2013, Own translation, para.7).

Academic freedom

The quality of education and its maintenance, which is the major challenge for Iran's universities, is closely connected with the availability of resources, academic freedom and the relationship between the state and the universities. According to neoliberal discourses, removing state 'distortion' of markets would create the conditions for economic growth, while rapid privatisation would yield a flood of new private capital investment (Ferguson, 2006, p.11 cited in Wacquant, 2012).

Over the past eight years, there has been a reorganisation of the structure of university governance in Iran. The more collegiate, less formalised-style of management has been replaced with a more centralised, hierarchical system of control. The lack of academic freedom and change of management have led to a high degree of involvement of the state and politico-religious parties in universities' affairs. In order to implement a set of reforms that are based on religious imperatives, the government has replaced vice chancellors with clerics and restricted academic freedom so that academics will not criticise the affairs of the state, especially in political, economic and socio-cultural aspects. One of Ahmadinejad's first actions was to replace the president of the University of Tehran. The new leader, a senior cleric, presided over the forced retirement of some 40 professors, prompting fears of religious and intellectual repression. Additionally, in 2006 the Ahmadinejad government systematically forced numerous Iranian scientists and university professors to resign or to retire (Esfandiari, 2006). Dozens of professors have retired or been fired because they did not support the new policy (Rezai-Rashti & Moghadam, 2011).

Following the dismissal of university scholars in 2006 and the replacement of pragmatic experts with former military commanders and inexperienced religious hard liners, a cleric was appointed as the new chancellor by the Science Minister for Allameh Tabatabai University. With a history of more than 50 years, Allameh Tabatabai University is one of the largest and most reputable of the higher education institutions of Iran in the fields of political and social science ("Hoshdar e Ostadan", 2012). However, under the new leadership, due to mismanagement and poor decision making,

one of the top higher educational and research centres in the country has faced costly outcomes which have affected many students and lecturers. Nevertheless, this action by government has strengthened the connection between the state and higher education and it assures the smooth implementation of the central decisions.

At a meeting with the chancellors of universities in March 2010, the Science Minister, Kamran Daneshju talked about the need for Iranian universities to employ only those who show loyalty to Islam and *velayat e faghih* or the Supreme Leader by stating, that "anyone who cannot act in line with the path of the revolution should leave universities" ("Professors with deviant", 2010, para.1). Following this speech, Kamran Daneshju was reported to have expelled six university chancellors from their positions ("Amadegi e vezarat", 2010).

While in Iran, the Islamic Republic has been pushing for Islamicisation in universities requiring academics to show total commitment and loyalty to Islam and the Supreme Leader, the neoliberal ideals require universities to increase their profit making. Neoliberalism promotes competition in every marketable area of human existence. In education policy discourses, the global shift towards neoliberal values has involved a reorientation of values from a focus on democracy and equality to the values of efficiency and accountability with a greater emphasis on human capital formation, allegedly demanded by the new knowledge industries and required by nation-states to participate and compete successfully in the global economy. Neoliberal discourse has shifted the traditional role of higher education from the foundation of social justice and social cohesion to the one of holding the key to international competitiveness (Brown et al., 2008). These policies are in support of free trade and small public sectors and against exercise of state intervention and tight regulation of markets. Ideologically and structurally, neoliberal reforms reduce the role of the state, the national government, leaving market mechanisms as sole regulators of goods and services.

Consequently, greater autonomy was introduced into the higher education sector in the West to give higher education institutions the necessary freedom to maximise their economic outcome (Wang, 2010). Shore and Wright (1999) discuss how, over the past

three decades, higher education in industrialised states has undergone a process of radical reform, or structural readjustment. Mechanisms have been introduced for measuring 'teaching performance', judging research quality and assessing institutional effectiveness. These mechanisms are intended to ensure accountability. In addition, the increased presence of business representatives on the university's governing councils of universities shows how universities have been colonised by commerce (Shore & Taitz, 2012). Neoliberal reforms have threatened and undermined the role of academics in the West. John Codd (1999) argues that through the appointment of non-academic managers to key positions, neoliberalism systematically exacerbates the erosion of trust, disempowers workers and fragments communities (cited in Olssen, 2012). The institutionalisation of line management is a threat to academic freedom which may lead to de-professionalisation of academics. When academics become responsible to managerial imperatives rather than to their professional ethos, they become to be disempowered and may be intimidated from speaking out on important issues. They are also removed from policy determination within the institutions they have historically been able to call their own.

According to the 1989 Education Act in New Zealand, the university is a repository of knowledge and expertise which develops intellectual independence and accepts a role as critic and conscience of society (Shore & Taitz, 2012). The source of aspiration for academic freedom in the New Zealand Act comes from the belief that universities have a responsibility towards society, a relationship which requires dialogue between university and society. In Iran however, the state is the single power, and it views any critic or opposition as a threat to its legitimacy. Significant conflict exists between academics and the Vice Chancellors. This is illustrated in one of Iran's oldest universities — the reputable state-run Allameh Tabatabai University. Over the past six years, both lecturers and students at this university have voiced their concerns regarding the situation at their university. They have also expressed their dissatisfaction by sending letters to higher authorities. No response was made to these complaints. At the end of 2011, a number of well-known university lecturers at the economic faculty of this university, as well as some lecturers who were fired by the new university chancellor, published and sent a criticising letter to the Supreme Council of the Cultural

Revolution warnings of the collapse of the economic faculty of the university as a scientific and reputable organisation ("Hoshdar e Ostadan", 2012; "Hoshdar e 11 Eghtesad dan", 2012).

Ironically, at a nationwide ceremony with more than forty university educators present, Mr Shariati, the Chancellor of the Allameh Tabatabai University was commended by the Science Minister for having ranked first in efforts for Islamicisation of universities (Asemi, 2012). He has been a strong proponent of the gender separation policy in universities and is responsible for expelling lecturers and students, tightening the scientific environment, and limiting social freedoms at the university; all of which have raised dissatisfaction amongst students and lecturers (Asemi, 2012). The Science Minister's actions as well as the aforementioned expulsion of university academics and Chancellors, has diminished Iranian academics' trust in the authorities and in the government's commitment to development of higher education.

Suspicion and repression of academics

As a result of globalisation and enhancement in communication technology, there is an ever-increasing level of cultural interactions across national and ethnic communities. According to researchers (Fornäs & Fredriksson, 2012), the two discourses of 'globalisation' and 'culturalisation' are deeply interrelated. In Iran, the desire by young people to watch Satellite programmes and communicate with the outside world has been problematic for the Iranian government which fears youth exposure to Western and secular ideas. Following the 2009 youth uprising, to mark a protest against a contested election, the Intelligence Minister Gholam Hossein Mohseni-Ejehei linked those arrested to terrorism support from outside Iran. Pro-democracy scholars and student activists were jailed. One of such arrests was that of university professor Ramin Jahanbaglou, who was charged with 'suspicion of assisting the US. in its efforts to provoke a velvet revolution in Iran' (Haeri, 2006). In response to these arrests and lack of academic freedom in Iran, a letter was written by Roger M.A. Allen on behalf of the Committee on Academic Freedom (CAF) of the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA) to the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic regarding

violations of academic rights and persecution of scholars and students in Iran. An abridged transcription of this letter follows:

> I write to you once again to express our profound outrage at the recent death sentences and executions, as well as continued harassment, imprisonment, and expulsions targeting university faculty and administrators, teachers, and non-violent student activists in the Islamic Republic of Iran… We are gravely alarmed and disturbed by the Iranian government's escalating and increasingly brutal violations of academic rights and the most basic rights of freedom of opinion and expression.
>
> There has also been a recent upsurge in the dismissal, or forced resignation and retirement, of university faculty and administrators as well as school teachers. These actions are indicative of an on-going campaign to remove from campuses and schools those educators and students considered ideologically insubordinate to the state and at odds with the policies of the current Iranian administration (Middle East Studies Association, 2010).

The repression and intimidation are occurring at the same time that the new global knowledge-economy has re-conceptualised education as a commodity, something to be sold, traded and consumed (Shore & Taitz, 2012). Countries compete for ideas, skills and knowledge that contribute to economic advantage by 'outstanding' economic rivals (Brown etal, 2008). As such, a university as higher education institution has become a global business worldwide. "Transnational institutions have been promoting worldwide, a set of education policies which bring education systems into the service of the global economy" (Moustios, 2010, p.122). These are aimed to serve economic competitiveness. Dale (2000) called these policies a 'globally structured educational agenda' which reflects the impact of globalised capitalism on education systems.

The emergence of the globally structured educational agenda results from a set of political-economic arrangements aiming at organising the global economy (Moutsios, 2010). This includes a "drive toward privatisation and decentralisation of public education" (Moutsios, 2010, p.16). Hence, power is moving away from the public

sphere and is no longer exercised exclusively by national policy-making institutions. The contrast with the current Iranian regime's approach to higher education is considerable. In recent years, and in response to the large student uprising of 2009, the regime has in fact tightened its control over universities' management and curriculum.

For example, universities in Iran have been affected by a 2011 statute passed by the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution regarding management of universities. Under the new statute, the legal right of faculty group members to elect their own group coordinator is over-turned (Zafarghandi, 2011) and the university chancellor now has the authority to select group coordinators directly. An ex-chancellor and university lecturer, criticised the new statue saying "what we are facing today is a significant moving backward in the independence of universities" (Zafarghandi, 2011 [own translation]). He linked progress and development to the level of autonomy universities are given in managing their own affairs. "In many prominent and excellent universities, not only group coordinators but also Chancellors of faculties and universities are elected by faculty members" (Zafarghandi, 2011, [own translation]). Accordingly, the new statute leads to less participation and diminishes academics' motivation for scientific activities and growth.

Until 2010, admission for students at PhD level was organised at departmental level. Admission was given via direct communication with students. Universities would proceed with the selection process based on knowledge of the candidates' suitability and academic record. However, the Science Ministry has now pressured universities to give this task to the central administrators. This, according to Mr Paivandi, an Iranian sociologist now based in France, is because the government wants students to go through an ideological and political filter, to directly exert its views, and to identify and eliminate from the system those who hold contradictory views which are not in line with the regime's ideologies and politics (Ravanshad, 2011).

Lead to Brain Drain

The heightening of tension between the government and the universities has resulted in a 'brain drain' as specialists leave Iran disenchanted with the State policies of screening and purging, as well as declining educational opportunity in Iran. Ravanshad (2011) has noted that in the first eighty days of the year 1390 (2011), more than one thousand Iranian youth left the country in the hope of pursuing higher education at post-graduate levels overseas. Twenty five percent of these are known to have received scholarships from overseas universities. Paivandi considers some of the reasons for this to be the educational discrimination from the government exerting its will as well as ideological pressures in educational environments (Ravanshad, 2011).

Prior to the 1979 revolution, a great number of Iranian professors received their doctorates from American universities to which they often retained strong ties. However, in the years following the revolution, due in part to the deteriorating quality, limited access, and restrictive policies related to higher education, emigration drastically increased (Hakimzadeh & Dixon, 2006). In fact, since the revolution an estimated two to four million entrepreneurs, professionals, technicians, and skilled craftspeople (and their capital) have emigrated to other countries (Kanovsky, 1997).

As with the early revolutionary period in the 1980s, due to an array of discriminatory and restrictive policies that, in theory, have served to Islamicise Iranian universities and secure the influence of Regime supporters, Iran has witnessed a steady decline in educational quality and a related increase in brain drain. Torbat (2002) contends that discriminatory policies, diminished quality, insufficient resources and capacity, and increased demand for higher education have led to an amplified rate of brain drain of both professionals and academics, and potential professionals and academics. The country is confronted with the emigration of intellectuals and highly qualified people. Every year 150,000–180,000 people try to emigrate from Iran. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), out of 61 developing countries, Iran ranks highest for the emigration of intellectuals (Rakel, 2009).

The brain drain remains a major problem for Iran. Khosrokhavar (2009) found that the ease with which the newest generation emigrates to the West is a disturbing fact for the older generations of scientists in Iran. Many young, bright scientists finish their studies in the elite universities of Sharif, Tehran, or Amir-Kabir and then find positions in Western universities, sometimes via Internet connections, and leave Iran (Khosrokhavar, 2009). Since education is widely regarded as a major determinant of long-term economic growth, Rizvi argues that "migration of people with high levels of human capital is highly detrimental for the countries from which they emigrate" (2006, p. 180).

To investigate the correlation between perceived educational opportunity and immigration, Mossayeb and Shirazi (2006) found that while lack of social, political, and religious freedoms in Iran are major contributing factors to emigration, educational opportunity is at least an equally important pull factor to the US. The authors found that pursuit of educational opportunity was the single most important reason for leaving Iran. While 82 percent believed there to be more educational opportunities in the US, 72.4 percent believed that the quality of higher education in the US to be higher than that of Iran (Mossayeb & Shirazi, 2006). According to research, the brain drain of Iranians to the US is comparable to America receiving 28.7 billion US dollars in foreign aid from Iran per year (Sham, 2012).

There is no doubt, that well educated young people are an important asset for governments anywhere in the world, and that Iranian brain drain creates a vast economic and social void in the country. However, the large unemployed youth population and Iran's isolation from the international community have frustrated many young people in the country. The educated leave the country to pursue better economic opportunities abroad. Indeed, similar to Japanese students (Gainey & Andressen, 2002), Iranian graduates nowadays know there are not the same employment opportunities at the end of domestic college training, and often view overseas study as a necessary educational extension rather than a 'romanticised adventure'.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to show that not only are Iranian universities not allowed to emulate the Western, liberal-humanistic universities, they are also as far away from the new type of neoliberal university as it is possible to be. It raises the question: How can Iran enter the global economy (this being one of its reasons for including EAP in university curricula) when its higher education is so far removed from higher education throughout the world? Iran needs to equip its system of higher education for preparing and familiarising the nation with living and working in a context of global interdependence in addition to teaching human values, ethical decision making, and a knowledge of cultural and social diversity. These understandings would help Iran's young people learn how to cope with change and how to respond to the rest of the world (Siah, 2009).

To many, Iran's success in gaining the trust and support of the international community for the development of its higher education is heavily dependent on its political stance in the regional disputes of the Middle East and the Islamic world (Siah, 2009). Given Iran's recent determination to improve its relations with the international community after the 2013 election and the arrival of a new president (Karimi, 2013), the opportunity for a direct collaboration in research and dialogic interaction with foreign countries is more likely. However, the lack of facility and the absence of expertise and motivation on the part of staff and students, combined with limited access to up-to-date and fast electronic technology, combined with major ideological barriers, remain the major obstacles to Iranian higher education integrating into the global knowledge economy (Siah, 2009).

Chapter 5: Enforced culture of conformity

"Conformity is the jailer of freedom and the enemy of growth"

John F. Kennedy

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the enforced culture of conformity in Iran and, more specifically, to show how this culture of conformity is expressed in the education system. The discussion about conformity is important because it helps us understand why, despite recognising that problems exist with EAP courses (as has been widely documented by previous research studies and the current research participants' claims regarding the ineffectiveness of the EAP courses), they still function without action being taken to improve them. It also shows the effects of enforced conformity on the attitudes and motivation of students and lecturers towards teaching and learning of EAP.

According to Cialdini and Goldstein (2003), conformity is the act of matching attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours to group norms. After the 1979 Islamic revolution, with the establishment of *velayat e faghih*, people were required only to recognise the functionality of a political system and to signal their willingness to accept it. In other words, it was stated that the legitimacy of a government ruled by the *fiqh* is bestowed by the status of God as the true sovereign and hence should not be questioned. The government acts according to His law. Thus, "disobedience to the religious judge was disobedience to God" (Abrahamian, 1993, p.10). Subsequently, extensive cultural and educational reforms were implemented based on Islamic principles. An understanding of the education philosophy of the Islamic Republic helps us recognise how conformity is institutionally enforced upon individuals. This chapter will discuss how the conformity that originated from the Islamic Republic's philosophy is illustrated at different levels, including within the English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programme. It discusses the policy for EAP in Iranian universities and explains how the contradictions in politics towards English language have led to a policy vacuum that operates at the level of pedagogical practice. By examining EAP practices, I show the

effects of governance in the education system and how this type of governance configures the relationship between the individual and society.

The idea of Conformity

As with many civilisations with long and rich historical roots, past events have shaped Iranian culture and identity (Limbert, 2009). Ancient Iran was composed of a multiethnic empire that rarely made religious or cultural conformity obligatory (Davaran, 2010; Limbert, 2009). In fact, "kings often tolerated religious minorities and unorthodox sects as long as all paid their taxes and accepted the divine right of kings: the aim was to obtain outward obedience, not inward conviction" (Abrahamian, 1973, p. 272-3). In recent history, until the 1979 Islamic Revolution, Iranian society was governed by the Pahlavi Dynasty. It was during this rule that the Shah attempted to re-define Iranian identity by instituting 'policies of renewal' (Kashani-Sabet, 2002). For example, in May 1936, Reza Shah decreed the mandatory unveiling of women in public. This was met with widespread resistance and alienated religious social sectors (Kashani-Sabet, 2002). At the time, "the state, rather than the individual decided what was modern and appropriate, even in something as personal as someone's daily attire" (Kashani-Sabet, 2002, p. 170). The nationalism promoted by the Pahlavis laid the groundwork for the 1979 Islamic Revolution of Iran led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who defined nationalism through religion, politics, and how Iran acted on the international stage.

Subsequent to the 1979 Islamic revolution, religious symbols and discourses began to dominate all spheres in Iranian society. According to Amir-Ebrahimi, "new patterns of behaviour and predetermined social roles based on Islamic and 'traditional' values were invented in terms of appearance, body language and speech" (2004, para.6). Religious identity was emphasised at the expense of other forms of identity. The regulation of all aspects of individual and social life came under Islamic government control in order to create the faithful Muslim person. This goal was to be accomplished by the interference of police and parliamentary forces such as *Basij* in the private lives and behaviour of people under the cover of an Islamic injunction to 'enjoin the good and refrain from

evil'. While the public sphere is closely monitored and regulated by traditional and state forces, this has resulted in the creation of Iranians who see themselves as having two distinct identities: *zaher* (public) and *batin* (private). When they are in public, they must conform to accepted modes of behaviour. It is only within their homes among their inner circle that they feel free to be themselves. "By negotiating the appropriate appearance and conduct in diverse public and private settings through the use of multiple behavioural strategies, individuals preserve and sustain their real selves in everyday life" (Amir-Ebrahimi, 2004, para.8).

The restrictive environment of Iran is not conducive to a cohesive integrated individuality. Since the 1979 revolution, more than ever before, 'multiple personalities' have become second nature to Iranian society (Amir-Ebrahimi, 2004). To maintain their security and right of presence in social spaces, individuals must obey assorted codes that are particular to each space. In schools, from the age of seven, children are taught, through both visible and invisible pedagogies, the importance of conformity. All students are expected to attend single sex schools and wear a common national school uniform. Students need to conform to the most basic rules or risk punishment. Inside the classroom, teachers are the authority whom students must respect and obey. Every teacher chooses a student representative (usually the top achiever) to act in his or her absence. The student representative is appointed to keep regulation in class and to report to the teacher any student who misbehaves. Those who are reported will be punished by the teacher and sometimes have a mark deducted from their 'behaviour' grade. There are also monitoring staff in every school responsible for checking students' physical appearance, managing misbehaviour, and supervising students during breaks times.

The control over students continues right through to university. At the universities, in order for students to enter the university ground, their physical appearance is checked by the Protection Officers. One responsibility of the Protection Officers (discussed in chapter four) is to ensure that people are observing Islamic morality. Morality "presents a set of constraining rules of a special sort, ones that judge actions and intentions by considering them in relation to transcendent values" (Deleuze, 1995, p.100). For

example, there is a dress code guideline that is circulated from the Islamic Cultural Revolutionary Committee to all universities (Appendix K). This guideline specifies what students are required to wear and what they are banned from wearing on campus. The responsibility of the protection officers is to make sure students are meeting the dress code and are not wearing nail polish or excessive makeup. If students do not meet the requirements, they are told to remove their makeup and nail polish and warned that next time, their names will be reported to the authorities and they will be in trouble.

According to the guidelines, women are expected to wear dark coloured loose overcoats that are below the knee with pants and either a black, grey, dark blue or brown head scarf. Men should wear loose, and preferably long sleeved, t-shirts and pants. They are not to wear hair gel or tight jeans. Women are not allowed to wear skirts (unless they are unwell or pregnant), tall boots, sandals, makeup or nail polish. The long veil (*chador*) is recommended and some students choose to wear it. It is worth mentioning that wearing the long veil increases the student's chances of being accepted into a government job once they graduate given that part of the application process involves investigation of the candidate's morality and ideological background.

The Iranian educational system is completely dominated by the ethical and moral beliefs of Shi'ism which disregard personal social development (Moaddel, 2004). The government draws upon Islam as an ideology and programme for action in legal, political, and other fields, and proclaims a duty to bring pure Islam to all Muslims. As with the monitoring of staff in the primary and secondary schools, the Protection Officers in universities walk or ride around the university grounds and check for any inappropriate behaviour. They are very rigid and possess quite a lot of power. If students talk back or disobey them, the officers can report students and at times are able to get them expelled. These Protection Officers adhere to fundamentalist views and are required to make sure students obey Islamic rules.

Education philosophy in the Islamic Republic

Public education has long been considered an institution with the power to mould citizens with a shared set of ideas and beliefs (Apple & Beane, 2007; Delattre, 2007; Marshner, 1978, p. 28; Nader 2007; Ravitch, 2003 & 2007; Richman, 1994, cited in Beaulier & Smith, 2012). According to Antonio Gramsci, the education system is not value-neutral. It serves the ideological functions of the existing social system. In this view, the education system, through its schools, is a tool used by the dominant class for the purpose of maintaining the dominant ideology. Gramsci suggests that "a critical element in enhancing the ideological dominance of certain classes is the control of the knowledge preserving and producing institutions of a particular society" (Apple, 1990, p. 26). Political education prior to the Islamic revolution included instilling loyalty to the ruling power and especially to the Shah himself along with the belief in the 'grandeur' of the Iranian-Aryan heritage as a basic part of schooling (Mehran, 2006). In the post-revolutionary period, the school is referred to as *Karkhaneh ye adam sazi* (human manufacturing factory) and as a 'centre for modelling human beings' (Bahonar, 1985). The underlying focus of education in the Islamic Republic particularly at the outset is its commitment and orientation to developing an 'Islamic' person whose values and beliefs would be in exact accordance with the ideology of the ruling power.

Dr Ali Shariati, who received his doctorate in Islam in France in 1964, was one of the strong critics of the Pahlavi regime's efforts for the modernisation of Iran's education system. Intellectually, his ideas have greatly affected Iranian Muslims, especially the young people who participated in the revolution of 1979. Shariati (2000) provides the comparison of two philosophies of education, one from the Western countries and the other from his interpretation of Islam. He concludes that:

> In the West the main subject is 'society' in Islam it is 'human', in the West education searches for 'power', in Islam for 'truth', the West is inclined toward 'technology' and 'benefit', the inclination of Islam is towards 'ideology' and 'values', the insight in West is 'realism', the insight in Islam is 'idealism', the West makes a 'powerful human', Islam makes 'good human', the West creates 'civilized society', Islam 'civilized human'. Finally the West supports and

> keeps ‘whatever is’ (science expresses), Islam ‘whatever must be’ (religion expresses) (p.114-117 quoted in Jahani, 2007, p.55).

These claims demonstrate the depth of the tension between the two education systems of the Islamic Republic and that of the West, and explain the Islamic regime’s complete rejection of the education system of Pahlavi.

In addition to the creation of an Islamic person, the Iranian political society attempts to foster a collective mentality, articulating similarity among young people through institutionalised knowledge production. Mehran (2002) analysed the content and visual representations in Iranian textbooks for Grades one to five. Her findings included that “patriotism and religion are combined to present an Iranian-Islamic identity” (Mehran, 2002, p.248). The theocratic system of education and the culture of regimentation and authoritarianism leads to a lack of critical thinking and innovation. Across the board, students learn by rote and memorisation. Students are taught, first and foremost, to conform, to be quiet, and not to challenge their teachers, their textbooks, or to entertain radical ideas (Robinson, 2011 cited in Beaulier & Smith, 2012). From the first year of the primary school, the basic foreign policy orientation of the Islamic Republic is discussed with a high degree of value-laden symbolism. The West is depicted as an oppressive force whose main objective has always been to exploit the Muslim world in general and Iran in particular. The West is also portrayed as practising cultural imperialism and hedonism. Haghayeghi (1993) argues that with the early introduction of politico-religious notions, the regime’s focus is on “safeguarding Islam and revolution against the unholy intentions of the foreign powers” (1993, p.43).

The philosophy of education in Iran endorses different kinds of oppression and suppression. Moayyeri (2005) refers to an official article from the secretariat of the High Council of Education in Iran which states that the ultimate aim of pedagogy in the Islamic Republic of Iran is “to instil in its people the preparation needed to guide humans in the straightway of worshiping God and human ascension to the perfect stage of humanity and to be closer to God” (p. 37). Thus, the final goal is the formation of human beings who submit themselves to the will of God. The Islamic rulers are the

representatives of God on earth; consequently, the final goal is to induce the populace to surrender themselves to the will of the rulers and their political system (Jahani, 2007). In other words, as Tolstoy (1967, p. 15) observed,

> The aim of the state school established from above, is, for the main part, not to educate the people, but to educate them according to our method…For this reason the schools which are established from above and by force are not a shepherd for the flock, but a flock for the shepherd (quoted in Beaulier & Smith, 2012).

Such education undermines students' agency and deprives students from the scientific knowledge and important contemporary real-world information. In my research to find factors affecting success in EAP courses, I found that both lecturers and group coordinators held the education system, in which students were studying English from the second year of intermediate, to be responsible for the students' weakness in English and subsequent lack of interest in EAP:

> *Zaban toye madarese rahnemai va dabirestan roye barname nist, zaif bodane payeye zabane daneshjohaye ma hamine. Chon inha dar dabirestan ham engelisi darand vali motoasefane antor ke bayad va shayad tadris nemishe va inha ba yek payeye zaif mian daneshgah va in edame peida mikone.*
>
> *English language is not planned properly in intermediate and secondary schools… our students' English base is weak. They have English in secondary school but it's not taught how it should be. That's why they come to university and it continues. (Michael)*
>
> *Nezame amozeshie ma ke az aval, az haman ebtedai ke omadan toye mamlekat zabane engelisi ra yad bedahand yek systemi ra piade kardan va man fekr mikonam ke moshkel in eke miran belafasele roye geramer motamarkez mishan- aslan lozomi nadare az on aval be bache geramer yad bedan- zehne bache ghofl mishe va in fekr mikone zaban nemitone yad begire… age az hamon dorehaye*

rahnamai be bache ha bian va yek seri ebarat ra yad bedan bad khod be khod bache gerameresh ra yad migire.

It is our education system, from the beginning that they came and brought the system and implemented, there was the problem I believe. We don't learn English the way we should. They want to teach English scientifically and grammatically. They concentrate on teaching grammar- there is no need for a child to learn grammar- the child's brain lock up- he will think he'll never learn English… but if they teach words, terminology, slangs and sentences… in my opinion, from intermediate age they should teach sentences and words. Students can learn grammar automatically. (Nick)

While these academics talked about the wrong systematic approach to the introduction and teaching of English language which makes the learning of English difficult and at times impossible, Peter talked about his efforts for trying to change students' negative perceptions of English as a foreign and alien language:

Tory beheshon engelisi ra ja miandazam ke bigane va hayoola nist. Dar chand jalase aval tori vazhegan ra tozih midam ke mishe varede in vadi shod, anghadr ham sakht nist.

I try to teach them English so that it's not a foreign or alien language. In the first few lessons I explain words in a way that student feels comfortable in this area, sees that it's not very difficult.

Moreover, given that a higher score is culturally equal to higher achievement, the process of teaching and learning is controlled by grade pressures from students, parents and school principals. Consequently, education in Iran has become less about knowledge and more about students' grades, compelling people to avert from 'the road less taken'. The system of education creates obstacles for teachers, which limits their ability rather than helping them teach effectively. National exams are deemed necessary in order to determine the standard of the students. In the face of these inevitable examinations, teachers rush to prepare students for the multitude of questions

to be tested. The Education Ministry judges the ability of teachers based on how much improvement students make in terms of grades and focuses less on students' holistic, all-rounded development. Rather, teachers become implementers of prescribed initiatives and schemes without recourse to their own professional knowledge and experience (Ghorbani, n.d.).

In Iran, English is taught as a foreign language and is practised within a context-restricted environment where language learning is shaped largely by regimented classroom practices, including the use of particular textbooks and the teacher's management of classroom work. The Ministry of Education compiles, develops and publishes textbooks and teaching materials for public and private secondary schools nationwide. These grammar oriented textbooks are not methodologically in line with current worldwide theories and practices of language learning (Williams, 1983; Sheldon, 1988; Jahangard, 2007), which are communicative in orientation and view language as a tool to be used for international purposes (Brown, 2007; Richards & Rodgers, 2001). According to Namaghi (2006), since teachers cannot choose a textbook which is in line with their students' needs, their input is controlled by the prescribed curriculum. In the same way, output is controlled by the mandated national testing scheme so that teachers cannot develop tests which are communicative and which have positive effects on teaching and learning. Thus teachers do not have much choice but to conform to the pedagogic culture of Iranian English language teaching. However, in my conversations with EAP lecturers, it was apparent that they all believed that the grammar based model of English teaching in schools has failed:

> *An zabanike tadris mishe dar iran, yeki az dalayeli ke movafagh nist be dalile ine ke in system tadrisesh ghalate va ya dorost nist. Hala nemidonam che eshkali dare. Ba tavajoh be hajme darshaye zabane engelisi ke dar dore rahnamai va dabirestan mikhonan ma in entezar ra darim ke faregh o tahsilamon zabane engelisi ra bedonan, dar halike intor nist. In yeki az mozalate nezame amozeshi bayad bashe.*
>
> *English teaching has not been successful in Iran because the teaching system and methodology are incorrect. Considering the content weight of English that*

> *students study in intermediate and secondary school, we expect our graduates to be competent in English. But that's not the case… this is one of the problems with education system. (Steven)*

All of the comments by Steven here and Michael and Nick earlier, demonstrate the lecturers' recognition of problems within the education system regarding English language practice. It shows that the lecturers are at odds with the government ideology.

Teacher' conformity

In my conversations with lecturers, even though they perceived the EAP courses to be problematic in terms of practical outcomes, they claimed to have little control over the mode of lecture delivery. They asserted that the teaching method was prescribed from above and they felt that they did not have autonomy in their teaching. Lecturers demonstrated an attitude of obedience and conformity to organisational values. They assumed that responsibility for decision and policy-making rested with those with greater authority. All lecturers acknowledged in their interviews the fact that the current EAP courses were not effective and that students were not getting reasonable outcomes from them. However, both lecturers and group coordinators did not believe that they were in a position to improve these courses. Both the content and methods of teaching in the education system of Iran serve the creation of an Islamic human being. Thus, the ideological education in Iran creates alienated students and administrators in the educational environment. The tragedy of the creation of an obedient teacher according to Jahani (2007) is that it separates the teacher from any decision over the curriculum and how it is to be taught, turning her or him into a labourer. The EAP courses are an excellent example through which we can see this attitude and the negative outcome of the education system.

The lecturers argued that they cannot succeed merely by striving to change their own individual practice. They believe that there are macro-structures which are totally beyond teachers' control that steer teachers' action and shape microstructures. To justify lecturers' low motivation for improving the EAP courses, Mowday and Nam

(1997) state, "people are more likely to engage in behaviours when they see a high probability that effort will lead to high performance" (p.117).

> *Bazdeh delkhah nist. Baraye hamin man ziad alaghe be gereftane in kelas ra nadashtam, vali bel akhare ghabol kardam. Vali midonam ke bazdehe morede delkhah ra nadare, nakhahad daht. Tabiatan ba khondane 7 ta 10 safhe zaban yad nemigiran. Natije kar taghriban mishe goft sefre. Chandan ghabele ghabol nist.*
>
> *Result is not desired. That's why I'm not keen on teaching this paper. I eventually accepted it but I know it does not have satisfactory outcomes, it will not. Obviously by reading seven to ten pages they won't learn English. Results of these classes are nearly zero. It's not that satisfactory. (Michael)*
>
> *Systeme amozeshe zaban alan be daneshjoha chizi nemide. Hade aghal dar reshtehaye olom ensani man in ra midonam hast… natijeye kheili kami dare, shayad hodode yeki do darsad, natijeye khobi nist.*
>
> *The English language teaching system at the moment does not offer students anything- at least in Humanities I'm aware that this is the situation…the outcome is very little- maybe about one or two percent… It just wastes both lecturers' and students' time. (Nick)*

Despite their recognition of significant weakness in the system, I found that lecturers were reluctant to use activities, such as listening or speaking for example, that led to students acquiring skills which were not specified in the syllabus. There is very limited instruction given in the syllabus concerning how to maximise student' motivation in language learning. Lecturers fail to use visual stimulus, pictures, and other visual sources (e.g. video) in order to stimulate interest in the topics and the lesson. Nick, recognising the importance of using diverse and variety of teaching methods, explained the limited power lecturers have:

> *Agar shivehaye digari ra pish begirim shayad daneshjo ha ba matn, navar, va ya chizhaye didari va shenidari ertebat dashte bashand. Shayad intori zaban ra*

behtar yad begiran. In eke rishe anja dare... hala an ra bayad motokhasesine amozesh nazar bedahand ke ensha allah che shivei bashad, chon in shivei ke felan hast hich karbordi nadare.

If we started to use different methods, maybe students would relate better with the text - by using tape, visual and listening materials it may be better. This would help them learn even better. Well, it's up to the education specialists to say which method should be employed because the present method does not have any practical use.

To support these educators' claim about the limited authority they have to design and use different methodology in their classroom teaching, I found in the preface to the book 'English for the Students of Civil Engineering', a text written by Saffarzadeh, the official designer, more than twenty years ago. In it she prohibits lecturers from using new and up to date teaching strategies. According to Saffarzadeh:

> Lecturers should avoid paying attention to the innovations of foreign linguists and their pen disputes, since that is usually regarded as their own domestic cultural affairs. Foreign Language specialists should circumvent from teaching unstable hypothesis that are promoted in affluent societies (1993 quoted in Azmi, 2009, own translation).

Developments in information and communication technologies have changed the format, density and nature of the exchange and flows of knowledge, research and scholarship (Besley & Peters, 2013). Also, delivery modes in education are being reshaped. More universities have started to address the modalities of pedagogy as presented by recent IT based systems in Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs). Meanwhile, the existence of the above warning in the EAP textbooks demonstrates that not only has the Iranian government's perspective on learning not evolved, but that its static attitude towards English language has not changed in twenty years.

When replying to my question about whether the textbooks used for EAP students in engineering were sufficient, Paul remarked how in some universities the books they use are about twenty years old and are not up dated:

> *Bazi vaghtha ehsas mikonam bazi az daneshgah ha an chenan ketabyeshan up to date nist. La be lash ye ketabe khob ham peida mishe ama vaghti negah mikonid mibinid in ketabe 20 sale pishe. In baraye yek daneshgah bade ke ketabhash male 20 sale pish ast. Hala ketab male 20 sale pish bashe eshkal nadare, vali na inke hameye ketab hash in modeli bashe. Ketabhaye 20 sal va ya hata 30 sale pish ham bayad bashe. Ketabhahi ke jadid dar bazaar omade ham bayad dashte bashe.*
>
> *Some times I feel that at some universities still their books are not up to date. In between you can find a good book but when you look, overall you can see that books belong to 20 years ago. This is bad for a university to have teaching books that are twenty years old. It is ok to have books that are 20years old. They must have books that are 20 or even 30 years old, but they must also have recent books.*

Conformity in policy

The Islamic revolution of 1979 brought fundamental changes to the composition of the political elite in Iran. Secular oriented members were replaced by mainly clergy and religious laypersons. The Iranian constitution adopted at the time established a thoroughly theocratically-led system, ignoring the political resistance of secular elements of Iranian politics. The clerical and political Conservatives were strengthened by their ability to purge Iran of revisionists, recidivists, and counter-revolutionaries. All policies had to be aligned with the wider government politics. In Persian, the words 'politics' and 'policy-making' are expressed with the same term, (*Siasat- Siasat gozari*). "Politics is commonly perceived as the actions of rulers; parliaments, ministers, politicians and political parties, as well as those who help them to take office" (Moutsois, 2010, p.123). Accordingly, politics is negotiating or lobbying with power

holders or the management of interest groups by politicians prior to the introduction of governmental decisions (Moutsois, 2010).

Policy making, on the other hand, is an activity based on specialisation and expertise. Policy-making sets an agenda, determines goals, uses statistical data, chooses courses of implementation, evaluates results and modifies initial goals (Moutsios, 2010). According to Western principles, there must be a clear distinction between specialised knowledge and political opinion. In other words, expertise must be distinguished from political opinion. Moutsios (2010) argues that "technical, specialised knowledge is needed when it comes to specific tasks and it is then that experts are summoned to give advice" (p.124). However, the ideology of Islamicisation of universities has given politics the right to overrule the experts. Policy making is now out of the hands of the academics and experts. The SCCR serves as the prime policy-making body in terms of cultural, educational and research activities. In this way, educational policies are decided primarily by the central government and university activities are coordinated by SCCR regulations (Mehralizadeh, Pakseresht, Baradaran, & Shahi, 2007). All decisions made by central government are passed down through provincial organisations for implementation at lower levels.

According to Bernstein (1971), "the way that a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and principles of social control" (cited in Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Bernstein (2004) viewed pedagogy as a 'cultural relay', suggesting it is a "uniquely human device for both the production and reproduction of culture" (p.196). This argument justifies my decision to examine lecturers' work to show how policies are used as an instrument of power for controlling individuals.

Tsui and Tollefson (2007) maintain that "globalisation is effected by two inseparable mediation tools, technology and English. To respond to the rapid changes brought about by globalisation, all countries have been trying to ensure that they are adequately equipped with these two skills" (p.1). As Kennedy (2011) remarks, most countries believe that English is necessary for their socio-economic development and thus have

adopted language policies accordingly. One example of the non-English speaking countries that have responded to the global impact and influence of English language is Turkey. Turkey has adopted English as a medium of instruction at both secondary and tertiary levels of education (Kirkgoz, 2009a). The demand for an English medium university education in Turkey has highlighted the issue of English medium education and constitutes an important part of planning of education policy in Turkey (Kirkgoz, 2009b). Accordingly, "each university that provides an English medium education was required to establish a foreign language centre, which would offer a one year EAP curriculum to students whose English proficiency was insufficient to enable them to pursue their English medium classes" (Kirkgoz, 2009b, p.81).

While Turkey's national policy at the macro level has been constructed "to serve the political and socio-economic ends, and the role of English as the most prominent foreign language in the school curriculum has been to function as a mediating tool for Turkey to achieve its globalisation goal" (Kirkgoz, 2009a, p.681), Iran has decided not to accept English as the key to the international world of commerce and continues to hold conservative attitudes towards English (Farhady et al., 2010). This is evident in the government's lack of commitment to creating an explicitly articulated policy of English language management. Riazi (2005) recognised "the major problem after the Islamic Revolution has been the lack of an official language-planning blueprint in the country; to determine the state of available languages, as well as, expectations from language teaching and learning curricula in the formal education system" (p.5).

Over the years, political ideologies have served as a barrier as well as contributor to language use and language teaching. As an effective creator and conveyor of identity, language has frequently been manipulated by ideologists and politicians, who find it an appealing area for intervention to reform society in ways that suit their ideals (Jamshidifard, 2011). In a search to find out the policy behind EAP programmes in Iranian universities, in doing my fieldwork, the very first question I asked the academic staff was around the policy and rationale for the implementation of the courses. I expected there to be a blueprint or an official statement, to which lecturers and courses coordinators could refer, that would clearly explain the government's policy for

implementation of the courses. I found no such blueprint; however, I did find that each lecturer had his own rationale and reasons for why EAP is compulsory:

> *Chon kheili dars haye dige ham ejbarie. Yani daneshjo barash tarif shode ke age mikhad toye in reshte faregh o tehsil beshe, hamontor ke maaref ejbarie zaban ra ham bayad begzarone. Dalilesh bala bordane sathe tavanaie daneshjo hast.*
>
> *Because many of our other papers are compulsory, the student understands that in order to graduate with a degree, he or she will have to pass EAP just like other papers. The reason is to increase students' ability. (John)*
>
> *Dar nezame amozeshie ma zabane engelisi zabane beynol melali hast va be nachar kasani ke varede hoze olom mishan bayad an zaban ra yad begiran.*
>
> *The international language in our education system is English and therefore, without exception, anyone who enters the scientific field must learn that language. (Mark)*

Both of these comments indicate awareness and a common belief among lecturers about the importance and necessity of English language for university students. However, when I asked lecturers about the government's policy for the EAP programme, they said that they were not the government's spokesperson and that they were only saying what they understood the purpose or government's stance to be for the implementation of the EAP programme. The fact that these lecturers insisted on distinguishing their personal views from those of the government shows not only the lack of transparent policy informing teachers' work but also their endeavour to avoid making any political comment . Moreover it demonstrates the lecturers' recognition that the government may have a different stance to that of academics on student's learning of English language. According to the lecturers and course coordinators, the international boom in ESP/EAP instruction in the 1970s promoted planning and implementation of these programmes in Iran. English for Academic Purposes in all Iranian universities is a

compulsory paper that the Ministry of Science, Research and Technology expects students majoring in any subject fields to pass.

The integral relationship between language and culture has led to numerous debates on the role and impact of English language programmes in Iran. Iranian Islamic scholars have regarded the globalisation of English as a new agenda of the West to recolonise the East (Paziresh, Shojaie & Shokrollahi, 2013). It is perceived as "a new approach of how the Western hegemony can be imposed on the political, economic, social, cultural and other aspects of the people in the East, particularly in the Muslim world" (Abdul Razak, 2011, p.59). One aspect of ideological influence in the educational environment of Iran is related to the silencing of knowledge in the institutions. Wotherspoon (1998) states that "[silencing] exists when particular issues are excluded from or discouraged in the classroom… silencing also occurs when the lives, interests, and experiences of particular educational participants are made irrelevant to the schooling process" (p.59). Silencing of knowledge serves as an ideological tool for those in power. Silencing prevents opposition and development of opposing ideas or values. In this way, political circles and those in positions of authority in the Islamic Republic have employed policies and practices to change those aspects of language and language use that they believe work against their ultimate goals and to protect those aspects that are congruent with their intentions. Following the 1979 revolution, the government removed the communicative part of English from the curriculum. English is viewed as a purely scientific and international language, the use of which has become an indispensable part of developing the educational system to address recurrent waves of globalisation and modernisation. To exclude the teaching of communicative English from EAP programmes is one of the most successful examples of silencing. Reading skills are taught in EAP but other skills are silenced.

Recognising that at one time the government held negative attitudes towards English, John explains the gradual change in the government's attitude:

> *Avayele enghelab migoftan aslan chera bayad bashe zaban. Be che dard mikhore. Bad az enghelab motovajeh shodand ke injori nist. Ma vaghty toye yek*

konfrans mirim ya jai mirim, zaban khodesh yek tavanai hast ke hatman bayad vojod dashte bashe… tasavoram ineke dolat tasavor mikone ke age bekhahad dar hoze tose-e gam bardare, bayad hatman khodesh ra ba goftemane rooz hamahang kone. Va emroz ham zabane elmie jahan zabane engelisi hast.

At the beginning of the revolution they [government] used to say, 'why should there be English language in the first place?' After a while they realised that this attitude is not right. When we go to a conference or somewhere, competency in English language is a necessity… I imagine that the government thinks if it wants to take a step towards development, then it surely needs to be in line with today's international dialogue. And today, the world's scientific language is English.

To support this, in the preface of the text book "English for the students of Civil Engineering", a quote from Khomeini reads:

> Earlier there was no need for foreign languages, but at present it is necessary for all students to equip themselves with at least one foreign language to be able to communicate with the international community. This means that language must be part of schools' curriculum, the world's living languages, those most popular around the world (Azmi, 2009, own translation).

Likewise, John acknowledged the importance of learning English for students, so that they can use it to share their knowledge and ideas with people worldwide:

Ma zaban bishtar baramon to reshtamon yek abzar hast. Yek vasile hast ke betonim harfe khodemon ra bezanim. Betonim didgahe khodemon ra matrah konim. Agar daneshjohamon betonan maghalateshon ra be zabane engelisi benevisan motmaenan mokhatabe bishtari dar jahan peida mikone.

In our subject field, English is more of a tool. A tool that would help us express what's on our mind and to discuss our opinion. If our students can write their articles in English, surely they'll have more audience around the world.

With this observation in mind, what is interesting, or perhaps contradictory, is that although John considers writing to be one of the aims of English learning, the EAP courses do not help students learn writing skills. It seems that by focusing on reading the courses solely teach students to read what is written in English but do not really help them express and share their views.

Through interviews with those coordinating and teaching the courses I aimed to find out more about the government's purpose in implementing its EAP programme. Interestingly, Nick believed that the government is merely continuing with the plan that was implemented previously, with no clear purpose:

> *Dolat ham az in jahat ke mibine belakhare daneshgah nemitone ba yek zabane mosalate beyn ol melali bi ertebat bashe in ra toye barname karish gharar mide. Dolat ham hadafe moshakhasi fekr mikonam dar in zamine nadashte bashe. Yek barnamei az sabegh bod va inha ham edamash dadan.*
>
> *Government sees that ultimately the university can't ignore and not use the international language it includes English in its curriculum. I don't think the government has a clear purpose for the EAP itself- for this field. There was a previous plan and they are just continuing it.*

All three group coordinators interviewed believed that it was important for government to include English in the university curriculum due to its high status as an international language. Although I found no policy stating specifically why EAP should function, a brief general prologue appears at the beginning of the textbook 'English for specific purposes for Students of Civil Engineering' published by the national organisation SAMT, in which Saffarzadeh (1993) states: "in relation to the purpose of teaching, 'students, after passing this level must be able to read alone and understand specialised texts, and be able to use English resources and references successfully'". In the same way, the purpose stated in the EAP syllabus for all different subject disciplines was the only formal written government account which directed lecturers' teaching pedagogy. Consequently, the course syllabus is seen as a form of policy given that it dictates and

controls teachers' pedagogy and is managed and passed on to universities from the science ministry:

> *An chizi ke dar dakhelesh hast ham bar resi mishe, ke chi bashe, che mafahimi gofte beshe, che etelaati be daneshjoo dade beshe, az daneshjo che chizi khaste beshe. Inha tamamesh tahte onvane syllabuse darsi toye an komite bar resi mishe va nahayatan finalise mishe.*
>
> *What topics to be included in the syllabus are decided by the policymaking committee. They examine and evaluate the content: what should be and what should not be included, what information to give to students and what is to be expected from students, all of these, under the subheading of syllabus, will be examined and finalised by that committee. (Mike)*

Whilst researchers (Gillet & Wray, 2006; Dudley Evans & St John, 1998) identify the need for teaching a variety of skills in English, the syllabus for EAP in Iran requires the improvement of students' reading and translation skills only. Classes concentrate on teaching students the use of specialised words and terms in that particular subject field. They teach students vocabulary and techniques in order to translate correctly and understand texts. This is so that students are able to understand an article related to their subject field and to open on line journals and be able to read and understand their content. Both lecturers and group coordinators believed that the Iranian regime's attitude and reason for including an English programme in university has been no different to that of any other non-English speaking nations. Accordingly, as English is not the first language in Iran, students need to learn the language in order to be successful in further studies and in their careers. Nevertheless, this English language ability is only limited to reading and translation:

> *An keshvarhai ke engelisi zaban nistand baraye inke daneshjo ha ham betonan dar toole tahsileshan az reference ha va manabeye khareji estefade konand va ham bad az faregho tahsilieshan vaghti varede bazare kari mishavan betonan age technical reporti vojod dare bekhonan… betonan dar jehate pishraft va kareshon ra be nahve dorosti anjam bedan.*

Those nations for which English is not the first language, government requires students to learn English so that they are able to use English references both during their study and also after graduation, when they enter the job market. It enables them to read technical reports if available and perform at their work more efficiently. (Mike)

Aksare aasare elmi dar in … be in zaban tanzim va montasher mishe, ghaedatan har dolati bayad ehtemalesh ra bede ke in zaban ra dar vaghe amozesh bede dar soothe mokhtalef.

The majority of scientific papers published are available in English. Therefore, it is natural for any government to think about including English in its curriculum and teaching it at different levels. (Nick)

While Nick's comment has some 'public' justification for the government's stance, all of the responses from the educators indicated a purely instrumental view about the government's purpose for including English in the university curriculum. Both coordinators and lecturers believe that, for them, English is to be used as a tool with only one purpose: to familiarise students with English - today's world language- but only in order to read books, do research and use English references.

The restricted nature of the Iranian approach to English is in direct contrast to the open approach described by Peters (2013): — "Today, with the advent of internet, new principles of openness have become the basis of innovative institutional forms that decentralise and democratise power, access to knowledge and encourage peer learning relationships" (p.241). The new approach to higher education focuses on promoting inter-cutural and cross disciplinary creation of meaning that extends beyond current community practice (Fassoi & Knight, 2007). In the same way, there is increasing pressure on universities to produce graduates with new attributes associated with collaboration, creativity and enterpreunality. As a result, communicative skills in English as the international language are the key. In contrast, the narrow focus of EAP courses in Iran demonstrates the higher education's inability to produce graduates that

are capable of performing in the 'open' environment of the global stage. For example, Nick commented on the Islamic Republic's indigenised approach to language learning by discussing the government's plan for the spread of Persian language:

> *Az jehate inke shayad angize khasi bashe baraye tadrise zabane engelisi dar daneshgah va ya jahaye dige fekr nemikonam joz in chize digari bashe. Albate khode dolat va nezam ta anjai ke man etela daram barnamehayi hast ke ensha-alah zabane farsi ra gostaresh bedan.*
>
> *Thinking that there might be other reasons for government wanting to teach this [English] language in university or other places … I don't think there is any special motive. In fact, the government and the regime, as far as I'm aware, has a plan to, God willing, spread the use of Farsi language.*

To demonstrate the Islamic leaders' increasing push for Islamicisation and the favouring of less contact with modern and Western values, in a meeting in 2013, Khamenei, the Supreme Leader, asked for university administrators in Iran to focus their university trips on those religious cities in Iran where they could gain Islamic learning. He called for administrators to organise trips to cities such as "Isfahan and Mashhad" instead of "Kish" (TheONTENTV, 2013 December). Kish is a resort Island in the Persian Gulf. It is the fourth most visited vacation destination in South East Asia. Kish looks like no place else in Iran. It is also the most democratic city in Iran where young women are allowed to ride bikes and smoke water pipes in public. Young men can wear arm-baring muscle shirts and sport the kinds of long hairstyles that in Tehran would draw rebukes from religious authorities (Allam, 2013).

Conformity in university

University education in Iran has sought to stamp out differences and to encourage conformity. The system is not meant to encourage creativity and curiosity. In many of his speeches, Khomeini emphasised that "the university should be a factory for shaping human beings" (Atri, 2007, p.1). Accordingly, the 'human being' is someone who unconditionally obeys the whims and vagaries of *velayat e faghih*. The unquestioned

style of teaching is focused on the delivery of knowledge to students who memorise this content. This method restricts and destroys the creative capacity of the people. The traditional cultural role defines the teacher as one who holds high authority and imparts knowledge while the inferior student must listen and obey without question. Students hesitate to ask questions and do not participate actively in class; they rely heavily on what the teacher has spoon-fed them. Students who enter tertiary education in Iran have grown accustomed to passive study, concentrate on gaining marks and the tradition of learning for exams. While I observed this passive attitude in students during my classroom visits, student participants themselves also admitted to having this attitude or attributed it to classmates:

> *Soali rad o badal nemishe, na az tarafe daneshjoo va na az tarafe ostad...faaliate daneshjo kheili kame. Faghat ostad sohbat mikone. Bazi mogheha malome ke hich alaghei nadarand.*
>
> *There is no questioning from either side (teacher or student). Student participation is very little; it's only the lecturer who speaks. Some times you can see that there is no student interest. (David)*
>
> *Mosharekat eftezahe. Hatta kasi ham ke migoyad alaghemand hast mosharekat nemikone*
>
> *Participation is awful. Even the person that says he is interested [in English] will not participate. (Darius)*
>
> *Ostad az radife aval shoro mikone va tamrinhaye shafahi ra har kas yekisho javab mide. Amma bachehaye ghavitar bahs ra edame midan.*
>
> *The lecturer begins from the first row and everybody has to answer one of the comprehension questions. But it's those students who are competent in English that continue the discussion. (Gloria)*

It is commonly agreed amongst educationalists that taking agency in one's own learning is extremely important (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987). The new approach to higher

education focuses on stimulating student ownership of learning (Fasso & Knight, 2007). Learner agency is the capability of individual human beings to make choices and act on these choices in a way that makes a difference in their lives. Murray defines active agency as "the satisfying power to take meaningful action and see the results of our decisions and choices" (cited in Basharina, 2009, p.395). Also, learner agency leads to increased feelings of competence, self-control, and self-determinism and higher emotional intelligence.

Bandura (2001) highlights the role of agency in the self-regulation of learning: "The core features of agency enable people to play a part in their self-development, adaptation, and self-renewal with changing times" (p. 2, quoted in Lindgren & McDaniel, 2012). In the EAP classrooms however, where students do not feel they have the choice to study what they want to or have control over the classroom methodology, students tend to feel no agency and thus conform:

> *Aslan ostad ejazeye harf zadan be ma ra nemide. Dar haman had khodeshan harf mizanan chon mitarsan vaght baraye khatere tariff kardan kam biaran. Migam dar in kelas ke miravam hade aghal 20 adad vaje yad gerefte basham, na inke ostad tarjome karde bashe tori ke bakhahad yademan bedahad, khodeman daste khodeman bashad va yad begirim vali haman ham nist.*
>
> *Lecturer doesn't even allow us to speak. He reads very quickly and translates paragraphs. We are supposed to write as he reads. After that, we sit and listen to his stories. I expect that in this one and half hour class once a week to learn at least twenty words. Not that the lecturer would do the translation himself. I want it to be our own responsibility and that we learn. (Sarah)*

Collaborative discussion enables students to think more deeply about what they have learned, how they have learnt it and what the next steps in their learning are. However, in none of the classes I observed (and the students I spoke with confirmed this) was group work promoted:

Na, aslan kare gorohi nadaraim. Kheili dost dashtam age masalan ye matni ra midadand va do nafari mani mikardim ba estefade az dictionary va baramon nomre dasht.

We don't have any group work at all. I very much liked it if they gave us group work. For example they could give us a text and tell us to translate in peers. We could use a dictionary and receive a mark. (Christine)

Thus, I asked Christine's lecturer, Peter, about his view on group work and whether he gave students group tasks in his EAP classroom. In response he said:

Na, say mikonim daneshjohaye ma roye paye khodeshon beistand va karhashon shakhsi bashe.

No, I try and want for students to stand on their own feet and do their work individually.

An effective way to create conforming attitudes among students is through the use of grades. During my investigation of EAP courses I found that lecturers assign marks for classroom activity and student behaviour. For example, there are two marks (out of a final mark of twenty) given for attendance while three to five marks are for classroom participation and reading (in some humanities classrooms), and up to five marks are given for translation projects (in some engineering classrooms). In order to gain enough marks to pass their courses, students obey the rules. In my interviews, all students pointed out this conformity attitude:

Ma hichkodam lezat nemibarim. Shayad agar bahse nomre va ya hazer khayeb nabood hichkas nemiraft. Ama in kelasi ham hast ke bayad berim. Hazer ghayeb baraye ostad moheme. Shayad yeki do nomre ham kam konad va majboorim, miravim

None of us enjoys it [EAP]. Maybe if it wasn't for the presentation mark nobody would go. It's a class which we'll have to attend. Presentation is important for

our lecturer. He may even deduct a couple of marks, we have to, and we go. (Sarah)

On the other hand, Michael talked about how he did not force attendance because he wanted students to come to class being self motivated:

University asks us to do a check list of students present. But I don't agree with this. I've never done this seriously. If they don't come, I won't report them. In the first session I tell students that it is their responsibility to attend. I cannot motivate you by checking your presence. I don't do this.

According to Gibbs and Simpson (2004), grades have an overwhelming influence on what students learn, how they learn and how much they are willing to learn. The highly performance oriented education system of Iran has pressured students from a very young age to study by memorisation and regurgitation in the exam room. As a result, education restricts one's choices, and ends up developing individuals who are good at abiding by the rules but lack personal voices and interests. Indeed, the memorisation and regurgitation routine has bred generations of submissive, conformist students in Iran. Students find the most effective way to maximise their chances of getting a top grade without paying much attention to real learning:

Bacheha miran moton ra mikhonan, hefz mikonan, va zood ham yadeshon mire… Aslan shiveye khobi nist- man khodam ke in shekli pish raftam khosham naymade.

Students memorise for the exam and forget very quickly … not a good way to assess at all- I have been assessed this way and didn't like it. (Christine)

Man ke faghat do roz miam kalamat ra mikhonam. Ghatan do roz bad ham yadam rafte.

I just study words for two days prior to the exam- definitely I'll forget them two days later also. (Cyrus)

I found that all student participants were unhappy with how the assessment was carried out. Students believe that the end of year exam does not provide reasonable assessment of their language ability. They feel they can get good marks by memorising but it does not assess their real understanding of English. While the exam for engineering students is broader in scope, for the humanities students it only concentrates on translation of one paragraph (See Appendices L and M).

> *Mosalaman daghigh nist, shayad ba yek shab dars khondan, ba yek hafte khondan mosalaman nomreye khobi mitoni az in ostad begiri vali arzyanie khobi nist... chon hefzie- in arzyabiha bayad pey dar pey va ba doreye zamanie boland anjam beshe.*
>
> *Obviously it's not accurate, by studying one night or just a week you could get a good mark from this lecturer… because it's memorising. Assessments should be given frequently and over a long period of time. (David)*
>
> *Man khodam 17.5 gereftam dar sorati ke hagham nabod. In arzyabi standard nabod chon bayad hame chiz ra hefz mikardim.*
>
> *I got 17.5/20. I know I didn't deserve. This was not a standard assessment because we had to memorise everything. (Daniel)*
>
> *Bazi bacheha faghat serfe hefz kardan mitonan nomrehaye 20 ham momken hast ke begiran, vali bad masalan yek mah bad bedahid dastesh nemitone haman matn ra tarjome kone … in kheili bade.*
>
> *Some students just memorise and can even get full marks, but if you give them that same text a month later they won't be able to translate it… this is very bad. (Lisa)*

Students recognise the negative effects of this system on their learning:

> *Kheili delkhoram. Alan ke terme 6 hastam va darad tamam mishavad, kheili delkhoram ke hich chiz yad nagerefteam. Faghat zaban nist, kole reshte hast.*

Vaghty biron azat miporsan ke chi baladi, aslan nemigan ke an emtehan ra dar an jalase chand shodid ya pass kardi ya nakardi. Har ja ke rafti, hala moadelet ham ke bist bashe vaghti chizi ya kari balad nisti…

I'm very unhappy that I'm in term 6 and am finishing, I'm upset that I haven't learnt anything. It's not just EAP, but all papers. When you go out of university you should be better able. When they ask you outside what do you know, they won't ask what mark you got for that exam. What you know when you finish university and graduate is what really counts. (Mary)

In conclusion, conformity is a historically rooted attitude demanded of Iranians by both the autocratic regimes of Pahlavi and the Islamic Republic. Noncompliance to the imposed rules brings with it negative consequences of exclusion from education. Given the significant role that education plays in creating individuals that uphold society's values, and the educational philosophy of the Islamic Republic to create obedient good Muslims, conformity has been a fundamental attitude developed in students from a very young age. Interestingly, to explain this conformity, Javidan and Dastmalchian (2003) noted, "Iranian history leads to an important conclusion: those who oppose the absolute power of the ruling elite tend to repeat the same behaviour when they gain power, perhaps because the Iranian culture ingrains the absolute respect for power in its children from an early age" (Javidan & Dastmalchian, 2003, p. 133). In my research to investigate the EAP programme in Iranian universities, I found this attitude of conformity in both students and lecturers. Despite their articulated belief that the current EAP courses were ineffective due to weakness in syllabus design, instructional methodology and assessment, both students and teaching staff chose to conform to classroom and course requirements because they felt they had limited power to affect change. Instead, students were encouraged by their lecturers to attend private English language teaching institutions. The private institutions are an alternative choice for those interested in learning English effectively.

Chapter 6: The shaping of pedagogy and lack of trust

"We have to distrust each other. It's our only defence against betrayal"

Tennessee Williams

Alongside the enforced culture of compliance discussed in the previous chapter, the absence of trust is another significant feature of the educational environment in Iran as exemplified in the EAP programme, which this chapter discusses. It aims to illustrate how the lack of policy direction contributes to the lack of trust. In chapter four I discussed the lack of trust that exists between the Iranian government and higher education institutions. In this chapter I show how the government's lack of trust towards the universities, which is illustrated by the absence of clearly articulated policies, has led to a lack of trust between lecturers and students. I argue that the top down approach to syllabus design and pedagogy for EAP courses leads to unsuccessful outcomes. This is because ignoring students' needs and removing lecturer agency in designing their courses inhibits a successful pedagogy that could build on the intrinsic motivation of both lecturers and students.

Trust is of prime importance in teaching, for the presence of trust ensures that "creative individuals are allowed greater freedom and autonomy" (Alexander, 1989, p.142). Nias, Southworth, and Yeomans (1989) view trust as a pre-requisite for effective and meaningful collaborative working relationships, and argue that for trust to exist "people must find one another highly predictable and share substantially the same aims" (p.81). Also, Brien (1998) holds that "trust is the essential and central element in the development of a professional culture and trustworthiness is the first virtue of professional life" (p.396).

Many researchers have demonstrated how important factors such as attitudes to work, authority and equality differ from country to country. According to Johnson, Scholes, and Whittington (2008), "such differences have been shaped by powerful cultural forces concerned with history, religion, and even climate over many centuries" (p.190).

Fukumaya (1996) confirms that trust has a strong cultural root, and Kharazmi (2011) identifies national culture as a key factor that may facilitate or inhibit trust formation. To better understand the lack of trust between lecturers and students as illustrated in the EAP courses, it is important to understand the place of trust in Iranian culture.

With constant invasion, dynamic in-group/out-group divides allowed Iranians to maintain cohesion in the face of a constant change as "much of Iranian history was a history of communal struggles" (Abrahamian, 1973, p. 272). Despite invasions and occupying governments, Iranians maintained an acute sense of national and cultural identity (Abrahamian, 2008; Yarshater, 1993). However, throughout history, the people of Iran have experienced autocratic and corrupt regimes. Centuries of domination over Iranian society by successive rulers have reduced the public's trust in the current regime's commitment to the people. In their evaluation of Iranian cultural practices and values, Javidan and Dastmalchian (2003) identify Iranian culture as characterised by "individualism, strong in-group collectivism, high power distance, high performance orientation, and high male orientation. Furthermore, they are low on uncertainty avoidance and future orientation" (Javidan & Dastmalchian, 2003, p.138). The most prominent part of Iranian culture is the family and in-group orientation. There is strong preference for sustaining a significantly high level of family loyalty. The family unit provides the greatest foundation to Iranian society and is the strongest social institution (Arasteh, 1964; Javidan & Dastmalchian, 2003). The inner circle forms the basis of a person's social and business network. The people from the inner circle can be relied upon to offer advice, help one find employment, and cut through bureaucracy.

Fukuyama (1996) identifies one major negative consequence of strong family orientation to be that the 'radius of trust' is reduced. As people grow up learning to trust only in-group members, the level of trust of outsiders is decreased. In such a context, government rules and regulations are seen as coming from a regime that has not had a tradition of trust from the people.

In 1979, after the fall of the Shah and the establishment of the new revolutionary government, the transformation of Iran into an Islamic nation began. All social areas

such as the school system, universities, and public law were changed according to the Islamic ideology. Every aspect of public life had to conform to Islamic strictures, with loyalty tests and ideological standards determining admission to universities, the civil services, and the armed forces. Citizens are implicitly divided into two groups: insiders (*Khodi*) and outsiders (*Gheir-e-khodi*) (Mahdavi, 2008). To be part of the ruling echelon one had to be committed to the Islamic Republic and its mission of salvation. People would get access to jobs and resources according to their religiosity, commitment, inclusion in the system and insider status. Those who did not show their belief in the dominant jurisprudence of this discourse (Islam) are considered to be infidels. All non-believers are considered to be strangers, enemies, and 'satanic'. In this way, the Islamic regime maintains the older tradition of a lack of trust between the regime and the people. This is reinforced by Khomeini's authoritarian rule.

Following the reopening of the universities after the Cultural Revolution in 1980, as discussed in chapter four, Khomeini called for the establishment of a security office inside the universities. The commander of this office is the representative of the Ministry of Intelligence and is appointed with the cooperation of this ministry and university presidents. The security office "controls the private and public lives of university staff and students, threatening students, keeping dossiers for the judiciary and disciplinary committees and stifling student activities with university methods" (Atri, 2007, p.6). The office is also responsible for detection and identification of any non-academic conversation that may occur between lecturers and students. It lodges complaints against student organisations and their transgressions and examines their requests for appeal.

These government policies created following the revolution have produced systems of managerial surveillance and control that have fostered within educational institutions a culture in which trust is not even a basis for inter-personal relations let alone pedagogic relations. The situation strengthens the older cultural mores of strong family collectivism — 'whatever the regime, at least the family can be trusted'. According to Hoecht (2006), "control-based quality systems undermine the intrinsic motivation of the very people that deliver the service quality so desired" (p.550). In other words, when

the autonomy of the controlled is reduced, he or she will behave as expected as long as they believe that the controller is able to monitor their behaviour and has credible sanctions to make them behave in the desired way (Hoecht, 2006). In this chapter I categorise participants' comments into three themes to illustrate the lack of trust and disconnection between lecturers and students and the resultant negative effect on the successful functioning of Iran's EAP programme. The themes are: (1) different ideas about what should be taught in EAP classrooms; (2) lecturers cannot be trusted to know how to teach; and (3) students' disengagement. Through these themes I discuss how the two groups, lecturers and students, have different expectations of what they are doing.

Theme One: What should be taught in the EAP Classroom?

One area which is ripe for active distrust is the place of the English language in Iran. As discussed in earlier chapters, English education in Iran is in an ambivalent position. On the one hand English is an essential tool for the industrialisation and technological innovation of Iran, but on the other, English is officially the language of the enemy because there is a tendency to deem English as the language of the United States (East, 2008). The government fears that young people's communications with the international community will initiate secular and liberal thoughts which will threaten the foundation of the Islamic Republic. Thus, by designing a syllabus that concentrates on teaching reading and translation only, the government deliberately ensures that students will not be communicatively capable. According to Atai (2002), curriculum developers in Iran have omitted systematic needs analysis. Programmes are designed without developing any systematic profiles of the students' needs. Consequently, one of the biggest problems with EAP courses in Iran is that the course syllabus is not designed according to the students' needs. Needs analysis is emphasised in the literature as the principle stage in course design (Atai & Nazari, 2010) and learners' needs are believed to be the starting point in the development of EAP curricula. Researchers maintain that in order to provide EAP programmes which are engaging, responsive to learners' needs and motivating, a thorough and large scale needs analysis assessment must be carried out by the programme designers (Amirian & Tavakoli, 2009). Likewise, Richards (2001) has highlighted the significance of needs analysis in providing a reliable and

valid basis for setting goals and objectives, developing syllabuses and teaching materials, and for the evaluation and renewal of the programmes (cited in Atai & Nazari, 2010). However, as mentioned earlier, needs analysis is completely absent from the Iranian education system.

In my investigation, to find out how the syllabus was designed I asked the lecturers about the role that students' needs plays and if in fact they think it necessary to consider students' needs. Interestingly, not one of the humanities lecturers thought that recognising students' needs was important for the syllabus designers. They believed that students do not know what their needs are:

> *Fekr nakonam daneshjoha bedonan chi bayad bekhonand. Fekr mikonam onha ra ma bayad komak konim, khodeshon nemidonan che chizi barashon mofide.*
>
> *I don't think students know what they should learn. I think we need to help them. They don't know what is useful for them. (Peter)*

> *Chon daneshjo nemidone khastash chie ma dar kol fekr mikonim omade in takhasos ra begire, bana bar in tarahane dars migan ke in bayesti tarbiat beshe. Khastehayash ra ma bayad barash barname berizim.*
>
> *The student does not know his/her needs. We think broadly that a student has come to take a degree. Therefore course designers say this student should become trained- we are to plan for his/her needs. (Steven)*

These responses indicate that the lecturers do not trust students to know what they need. Such thinking on the part of lecturers demonstrates the continuation of the Islamic revolutionary ideology. Following the Islamic revolution, Khomeini created the institution of *velayat e faghih,* and made himself the sole individual competent enough to be the ultimate source of authority. According to this ideology, people are not wise enough to know what is best for them; hence, the Supreme Leader from God is given all the authority to decide for them. In this way, people's social conduct and dress is decided for them. The regime sees itself as responsible for showing people how to

behave and conduct themselves because 'individuals are not knowledgeable'. The government set up the Islamic police to oversee public dress codes. Police and parliamentary forces, such as Basij, were given the right to interfere in the private lives and behaviour of people under the cover of an Islamic injunction to 'enjoin the good and refrain from evil'. Moral police in the street can arrest and punish women who do not observe Islamic dress codes, and harass young girls and boys and discourage them from having relationships with each other. This has created an enforced culture, where if people do not do what is acceptable they will be punished. Consequently people have learned to conform to such rules because not doing so carries sanctions.

Against this background, the role of students and their needs as education stakeholders is ignored. Indeed the concept of the student as stakeholder is non-existent. The syllabus ignores students' wider academic needs such as learning how to write an article in English, communicating and collaborating with scientists and educationalists overseas, attending international conferences and exchanging knowledge. In order to improve the EAP programme, Eslami (2010) has called for development of critical needs analysis for these courses in Iran. Accordingly, critical needs analysis assumes that institutions are hierarchical, although those at the bottom are often entitled to more power than they have. Learners, who are at the bottom of the hierarchy in top-down educational systems such as Iran's, need to be given more power and their voices should be heard in order to facilitate reform (Eslami, 2010).

While the lecturers believed that students are unable to recognise what their language learning needs are, I found the students themselves to be very clear and confident about their expectation of the EAP course. For example Sarah believed that the purpose of the course, to learn to read and translate, was one-dimensional. Sarah claimed that to translate text, she could use a dictionary and translate on her own. Sarah, along with the majority of other student participants in my study, felt a strong need to spend time in the EAP classroom improving their speaking and listening competence, and not to be restricted to translating only. They wanted to improve their pronunciation and communicative skills, yet the purpose of the course was for them to be able to read and

translate only. In the same way, Darius talked about his lack of interest in learning EAP:

> *Vaghean bazi mogheha ba ekrah mikhonam. Chon kheili baraye man hefzi mishe, chon ye halite speaking ham ke nist kheili sakht mishe baraye adam. Ba ekrah mikhonam.*
>
> *I really sometimes study English with aversion because it becomes very much of memorising practice for me. Because there is no speaking component in the lesson, it becomes very difficult for the person [to concentrate]. I study it without interest.*

Megan and Cyrus on the other hand, drew on the impracticality of the EAP courses. They argued that once graduated and in job situations, the text reading and translation alone would not help them succeed:

> *Sare kar ketab nemigzaran jolomon va began az roye in ketab kar bokonid. Agar masalan bekhahim toye kharej kar bokonim bayad yek nafar ba mohandes moshaver, mohandes monazer betone sohbat kone. Serfe inke yek ketab ra betonim tarjome konim kafi nist. Mohavereye takhasosimon ham bayad rosh kar beshe.*
>
> *At work they won't put books in front of us and say work from these. For instance, if we want to work overseas with another engineer we need to be able to speak. Just reading and translating this book is not enough. Our specialised conversation needs to be improved and paid attention to. (Megan)*
>
> *Dost daram roye mokaleme, roye hame chiz kar beshe. Chizi ke vaghean be dard bokhor bashe, na inke ma yek term miaim va mirim sare kelas bad ham akhare kar an jozve ra miandazand an taraf va be dardeshon nakhore.*
>
> *I wish they worked more on conversational activities, communicative practices.*

Worked on everything, something that would really be useful, not that we'd come for a term and attend classes and at the end throw the booklet away. (Cyrus)

Similar to these comments and desire for attention to be paid to students' communicative skills, survey results (see Table 6.1) showed that students are also keen to learn English for social purposes. Although the survey was carried out with 123 students, some questions were left unmarked. For instance, questions 5 and 8 in table 6.1 were not answered by 3 students while question 6 was not answered by 2 students and question 2 by one of the students. Overall, eighty one percent of students either agreed or strongly agreed that they wished to see more communicative activities with eighty nine percent asking for more opportunity to practise oral and listening skills.

Kheili doost daram toristi ke miad ra betonam rahat bahash sohbat konam, ertebat bargharar konam. Age soali porsidand kheili dost daram javab bedam.

I really like to talk fluently to a tourist that comes to my city. I want to communicate with them. I see them and if they ask us a question I really like to answer them (Lisa)

Table 6.1 Attitudes towards EAP courses

	Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)
I believe much of classroom instruction should focus on teaching grammar and vocabulary	9 (7)	36 (29)	28 (23)	38 (31)	12 (10)
Knowledge of grammar and vocabulary are enough to enable me for my future career	8 (6)	51 (42)	24 (20)	32 (26)	7 (6)
I think EAP should not just focus on teaching reading and translation	2 (2)	14 (11)	21 (17)	68 (55)	18 (15)
I feel EAP course has prepared me/is well	9 (8)	26 (21)	42 (34)	36 (29)	10 (8)

preparing me to be competent in using English in my future career/studies					
I don't feel EAP is teaching me what I am most interested in learning about a language	4 (3)	33 (28)	40 (33)	32 (27)	11 (9)
I wish there was more opportunity for me to practice my oral skills / listening skills in EAP class	-	3 (2)	10 (9)	62 (51)	46 (38)
I wish EAP instruction focused on teaching more communicative activities	-	7 (5.7)	15 (12)	58 (47.5)	42 (34)
I am quite satisfied with how EAP is taught currently	12 (10)	45 (37.5)	40 (33.5)	17 (14)	6 (5)

It appears from the data that mismatch between what students want and what is offered has caused problems such as lack of motivation and absence of positive attitude from students towards learning and working and participation in class activity. This mismatch between students' needs and expectations about language learning 'can', according to Horwitz (1988), "lead to a lack of student confidence in and satisfaction with the language class" (p.290).

Many students currently are interested in leaving Iran and going overseas either for work or study (see chapter 6.1). Seven out of the ten students I interviewed said that overseas travel was one of their goals. Despite the regime holding negative views on the 'West' and labelling it 'the enemy', these young people have a strong ambition to learn English and communicate with scientists overseas. Students realise that to progress and succeed in their lives, having relations and communication with people overseas is indispensable. Given that English is considered as the language of contact and intercultural communication between non-native speakers (Seidlhofer, 2004), those who know English are allowed to engage in dialogue with larger educational perspectives. This is why many of the students in my study identified strengthening their communicative skills to be an important goal for them in the EAP classroom:

Kheili dost daram ba digar jame-e ha ertebat dashte basham. Bedonam onha nazarateshon dar morede zendegi chie, che shekli pishraft kardan.

I'm interested to meet with scientists from different societies, communicate with them and get into their lives. I want to hear their thoughts about life and to understand how they have progressed and developed. (Darius)

Darius symbolises many young people in Iran who were born nearly a decade after the Islamic revolution and who do not have any memory of life before the Islamic Republic. Nevertheless, as a result of advanced communication technologies, the savvy youth of Iran have been learning about the life of people of other nations, especially those of English speaking countries. Interstingly, many young people in Iran hold secular and pragmatic views about life which are quite different to those of government. Darius's comment about wanting to know how the developed countries have progressed indicates his hope for the making of a better Iran. Moreover, Cyrus puts an academic spin on the reason for learning communicative English by saying:

Mikham ba asatide khareji dar ertebat basham bayad zabanam khob bashe.

If I want to get in touch and communicate with foreign lecturers my English has to be good.

The administrators' disregard for students' needs contributes to the breakdown of trust in a context already characterised by high mistrust. Bryk and Schneider (2002) described respect, competence, personal regard for others, and integrity as criteria for the discernment of trust. Moreover, trust can be defined as one party's (the trustor) confident expectation that the other party (the trustee), on whom the trustor must rely, will help the trustor reach his or her goals in an environment of risk and uncertainty. At the moment, as the findings show, the mutual respect that is necessary for trust making is absent. The Iranian students I interviewed do not have confidence that their expectations will be met:

Ba in vazi ke hast felan kheili entezar nadaram. Hamin ke betone mano ashna bokone ba ye seri loghate mohandesi ke to ayande be dardam mikhore kafie.

Given the current situation, I do not have much expectation. As long as it familiarise me with some vocabulary in engineering field that will be useful for my future, that is enough. (Cyrus)

Na chizi az talafoze kalame mifahmim, va faghat yek chizi hefz mikonim baraye emtehan. Aslan be dard bokhor nist.

We don't learn about pronunciation of words. We just memorise something for the exam. We don't learn anything practical. (Mary)

While the Islamic Republic has made every attempt to control and limit the exposure of its young people to Western culture and to democratic beliefs and values, the students' comments show a contrary result. They indicate distrust towards the Islamic Republic and a growing desire to broaden their intellectual horizons. Due to developments in communication technology and contact with the outside world through internet and satellite television, the student participants have gained an increasing awareness of their surroundings. One student made a political comment about his desire for learning English. Cyrus stated:

Akhbare jahan ra bekham- akhbare vagheie jahan ra bekham donbal konam bayad zabanam khob bashe

To be informed of world news, and follow the 'real' world news my English has to be good.

While this comment suggests awareness about the national television not broadcasting the 'real' world news due to ideological and political censorship, it also shows distrust towards national news and the belief that the English language news channels are more objective in their broadcasting.

Likewise, Darius, who claimed to have a family member who was a cleric, talked about his conversation with this cleric and how he had encouraged the cleric to learn English. Darius remarked:

Behesh migam agha, folani ke toye keshvare khareji hamchenin teori dade, chera to hichvaght nemikhay beri nazarie on ra motalee koni? Montazeri ke folani biad barat tarjome kone? Folani kie? Folani az gheshre shomast? Az gheshre tolabe ma hast? Kam pish miad ke yek hamchenin kari ra bokonan. Age vaghean bekhahim be yek natije khob beresim khodeton bayad dast be kar beshid.

I tell him, sir, such person has given particular 'theory' or 'opinion'. Why do not you ever want to go and read his theory? Are you waiting for someone to come and translate it for you? Who is that someone? Is he from your stratum? Is he from the theologian population? It is very unlikely that from this group someone would actually translate this. If we really want to get a good result you need to start yourself.

From this comment we can highlight several points. Firstly there is the issue of trust. Darius not only challenges the cleric to learn English to be able to read and understand the religion he practises from other people's critical perspectives, but also mentions how the translations of the theory may be influenced by the interpreters' intentions, and that the interpreter from particular stratum will have his own agenda.

Darius continued talking about English having an influential role in helping him widen his religious view:

Man bekhatere inke yek adame mazhabi basham va yek adame konjkav basham, bekham mazhab ra bedonam, baraye hamin ke bekham adame taasobi nabasham, in mishe ke bayad aval harfe aksariate javame ra beshnavi va badesh yek natije girie khob bokoni.

For me, in order to be a religious person and be a curious person, and want to know and find out about religion, not to be a radical extremist… When you know English as the international language, you can listen to the voice of majority of nations and then make a good decision/conclusion.

Such a comment illustrates the younger generation's liberal thinking and conscious belief that they can not make informed decisions without access to more (Western) information, despite the government's intentions to the contrary.

Theme two: Lecturers cannot be trusted to know how to teach

One of the important factors contributing to the ineffectiveness of EAP in Iran has been the static nature of pedagogy. The educational system in Iran represents a top-down approach with a noticeable emphasis on authority and discipline. Thus, the teacher is regarded as the agent of knowledge transfer and students are knowledge consumers. Because the EAP programme is intended to "bridge the gap between the learners' general English reading competence and their ability to read discipline-based texts" (Atai & Tahririan, 2003, p.4) it focuses on improving students reading and translation skills only. The very purpose of EAP stultifies pedagogy. The professional autonomy of lecturers to exercise their judgment and act on it is not recognised in Iran. Lecturers are obliged to teach the centrally mandated curriculum:

> *Barnamehayi rikhte mishe, tanzim mishe jahaye mokhtalef va be daneshgah eblagh mishe ke ma on ra anjam bedim. Ma toye sistemi hastim ke tebghe mogharare aan anjam vazife mikonim.*
>
> *Once programmes are negotiated and planned at several levels, they are sent to the university for us to follow. We are in a system that we work according to its rules and regulations. (Nick)*

According to Hall and Bazerman (1997), autonomy is one of the most important factors in teaching. Ushioda (2003) also claims that the more choice and freedom a person is given, the more willing and ready he or she will be to work. The above quote by Nick can be taken to illustrate that lecturers view themselves as implementers of a rigidly prescribed syllabus. This attitude leads to lecturers feeling disengaged with their teaching. To get on with teaching is to stick to whatever the syllabus suggests. Iran's top-down education system neither supports nor trusts teachers to teach to the best of their ability. In fact, policy makers in Iran disregard the expertise and concerns of

classroom teachers and impose the most specific modes of institutional practice on them (Aliakbari & Allahmoradi, 2012). According to Bryk and Schneider (2002), "trust relations culminate in important consequences at the organisational level, including more efficient decision making, enhanced social support for innovation, more efficient social control of adults' work, and an expanded moral authority to go the extra mile for children" (p.22). Goddard, Salloum, and Berebitsky (2009) also acknowledge that when schools are characterised by high levels of trust, teachers tend to feel greater responsibility and are more likely to invest themselves in the operation of the school. The absence of trust at all levels of Iranian education then, has repercussions beyond issues of motivation. It 'eats into' all pedagogical relationships contributing to the overall statis of the system.

I found that in the engineering field, textbooks were the only materials used in the EAP courses (also see Atai, 2006). The lecturers are expected to organise classroom activities to fulfil the textbooks requirements. However, unlike engineering, lecturers in humanities did not use the referenced textbook by SAMT for EAP students of their particular discipline. Instead lecturers chose texts from a variety of places themselves and compiled them into a booklet. Both lecturers in engineering and humanities gave the meanings of words, read passages aloud, and made students understand texts by themselves.According to Richards (1993), though a textbook is generally designed to evoke tasks and provoke activities, it may also become a restrictor or a de-skiller (cited in Aliakbari, 2004). Based on the work of Dahmardeh (2006), there are many inconsistencies between the learners' needs and the textbooks that are available for learning and the teaching of English language in Iran. I found the main concern for lecturers in my study was coverage rather than responding to students' needs. To cope with the requirements of the book, lecturers could not use a more creative, interpretive or critical approach. Hence, textbooks could be considered as restricting the function of EAP.

Researchers believe that it is immensely important for students to actually enjoy the process of acquisition (Faiza, 2010; Hutchinson & Waters, 1987). Well known language learning theorists, Hutchinson and Waters (1987) argue against my lecturer

participants' claim about making lessons relevant to the purpose of the syllabus. They state that "it doesn't matter how relevant a lesson may appear to be; if it bores the learners, it is a bad lesson" (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987, p.141). Accordingly, students should get satisfaction from the actual experience of learning, not just from the prospect of eventually using what they have learnt. I argue that teachers need to move towards a more learning-centred approach in which other skills are implemented in order to help learners become better readers. If a word gets into the mind through a number of different pathways — by hearing, reading, writing and speaking — that word is likely to be a richer word than if it gets in through only one pathway. The fact that the learner will eventually use the knowledge gained only for reading is largely irrelevant in this approach. What is of most concern is how the learner can learn that knowledge most effectively. If the effectiveness of the process can be enriched by the use of other skills then that is what should be done.

Some students complained about the authoritarian teaching style in their classroom and passive attitude from their lecturer when teaching EAP:

> *Hatta az gach o takhte ham estefade nemikonand. Yani miayand, 1 saat o nim roye sandal neshastand va tamam. Khob nist… ostad dost daram ke maloomatesh kheili bishtar az in had bashe va bacheha ra ham kheili daste kam migiran.*
>
> *He does not even use the blackboard. He comes, sits on his chair for 1.5 hours and then leaves. That's not good... I wish his knowledge was more than what it is now. They underestimate students very much. (Megan)*

Students want a classroom environment where they feel their presence is valued. They want to be given opportunities to participate and feel safe. Realising the importance of positive teacher-student interaction in the classroom, Michael remarked about his attempt to include students in his lessons:

> *Barkhorde moalem kheili moheme, kari bokonid ke daneshjo rahat bashe. Shakhsiat, ravan, daneshjo ehsas bokone hozoresh sare kelas ahamiat dare.*

Beheshon say mikonam befahmonam hozoreshon sare kelas baraye man moheme.

Teacher encounter is important. It is very important for a lecturer to do something that makes the student feel comfortable. The student feels his/her presence is valued in class. I try to make them understand that their presence in class is important for me.

Moreover, the students' comments suggest that they want a classroom environment where the teacher is not the only person in control:

Mamolan yek saat o nim be dard bokhor ham nist chon na daste ma hast kelas, daste ostad hast. Be tori ke faghat miayad, tarjome mikonad va bad miravad… baraye hamin tarjih midahim ke yek tarjomei ra benevisim va vaghean lal shavim va bad ham zirax begirim.

Class is teacher oriented and in his control and not ours. He comes, does the translation and leaves… That is why we rather write translation and close our mouths. (Sarah)

The students claimed the lecturers' pedagogy was shallow and limited and prevented successful learning. They said that the lessons are too dull, dry and boring for them to learn English. In fact none of the students said that they enjoyed EAP class:

Kheili khoshke, kheili mahdoode. Ostad kheili active nist. Kheili mahdood mishavan be hamin jozveye darsi ke behemoon dadan. Yek jozvei dadan faghat serfe inke ma pass konim. Daran dar hamin had bahamon kar mikonan. Yani hadafeshon hamine.

It's very dry, very limited, lecturer is not active. Their teaching becomes limited to the booklet they have given us… they give us a booklet with the intention for us to pass it. They work with us just for that reason, to that point. That seems to be their aim… they do a simple and basic translation and move on. I do not like this method. (Megan)

The present teaching style has created a lack of trust between lecturers and students. According to Troman (2000), "educational relationships cannot be established and maintained without a strong bond of trust existing between teacher and pupils" (p.335). Research shows that trust is significantly related to academic achievement. Trust mitigates risk, enhances efficiency, and thereby supports learning (Goddard et al., 2009). Bryk and Schneider (2002) documented "a strong statistical link between improvements in relational trust and gains in academic productivity" (p.116). From the students' responses about their attitude towards learning in my study, the students demonstrated distrust towards their lecturers and their pedagogy. Overall, they expressed the idea that they believed their lecturer did not really care about their learning:

> *Kheili fekr nemikonam vasashon mohem bashe ke daneshjo chizi yad gerefte bashe. Pronunciation kheili eftezahe.*
>
> *I don't think it's very important for them if student learn something or not. Students' pronunciations are awful. (Cyrus)*
>
> *Yani agar ostad tory bashad ke bekhahad be bacheha yad bede vaghean bachehayi hastand ke yad begiran. Masalan bekhad etelaate elmi biavarad bacheha dost darand. Amma ostad baha nemide, bacheha migozarand, che kar mitonan bokonan?*
>
> *If a lecturer wants to really teach students, there really are students who want to learn. Students like it if he brings scientific knowledge to the classroom. But the lecturer does not value it. What can we do? (Sarah)*

With the students' comments in mind, I asked the lecturers for their opinions about their teaching styles and if they thought other, more effective methods could be employed. Michael replied:

Agar man ekhtiare amale bishtari dashtam va mitonestam az in chahar chobi ke daneshgah gharar dade faratar beram shayad aslan tore digei tadris mikardam. Barname rizi ra tore digei mikardam.

If I had more teaching authority and was able to go further than the structure that university has put in place, maybe I would teach completely differently. I would do my planning differently.

These comments indicated that lecturers are pure implementers of externally imposed initiatives and schemes. The professional autonomy of teachers to exercise their judgment and act on it which is an important source of strength in a public education system like New Zealand's, is not recognised in Iran. Interestingly, this is common knowledge amongst students. Cyrus, an engineering student who was unhappy with his lecturer's teaching style, defended his lecturer when talking about the shortcomings of the teaching lessons by saying:

Fekr mikonam taghsire ostad ham nabashe chon be ostad ham goftan bayad biay intori dars bedi.

I do not think it's the lecturer's fault because they are told you are supposed to come and teach this way. The lecturer is to follow the syllabus.

The students' awareness of the lack of teachers' autonomy weakens their respect for the pedagogy since they understand that the approach given is not effective and there is no effort made to improve it.

As a useful pedagogical tool, educational administrators worldwide have considered technology to be a beneficial source of learning (Madden, Ford, Miller, & Levy, 2005 cited in Atai & Dashtestani, 2013). Some of the student' participants in my study voiced dissatisfaction with their lecturers' lack of interest in promoting new technology and pedagogy. The students asked the teachers to integrate audio-visual language aids of similar type and level to the textbooks. This way, the students said, they could learn from textbooks but also repeatedly meet the words, grammar, and pronunciation in real-

life situations. Their interest in English would be kept high and enduring and they would appreciate in a deeper manner that the English words in their textbooks are only the written symbols of an interesting communication tool. Nearly all student participants called for use of film. In the same way, Cyrus talked about how video initiates discussion and gives the classroom a lively atmosphere:

> *Film kelas ra jaleb va shadab tar mikone, be listening komak mikone. Age film bod khod be khod daneshjo ha sohbat mikardand. Migoftan ke masalan roye tike be tike, sahne be sahneye film nazar midadand, khode hamin yek bahs dorost mishe beyne daneshjoha.*
>
> *Film would refresh and make classroom interesting and more attractive. It would also help our listening… if there was a movie students would automatically start talking. On each part, on each scene, they gave opinions, it initiates a discussion.*

Researchers also support students' comments that processing the same information through a variety of skills is one way of achieving reinforcement while still maintaining concentration. Variety is, therefore, a vital element in keeping the learners' minds alert and focused on the task in hand. Bearing in mind the importance of learner motivation in the learning process, learner perceived wants cannot be ignored. Factors concerned with learning must be brought into play at all stages of the design process. As with Eslami's (2010) suggestion, the findings from my study show that use of technology and student-centred approaches to teaching are among the most important issues to consider.

There have been very few studies carried out on the use of the internet in the Iranian educational context. Through media of dialogue, such as the internet, young Iranians obtain knowledge about the institutionalised liberal democratic values of the West. Therefore, the Iranian government has taken steps to minimise, limit and control citizens' access to the internet and communication with the outside world. In their study of participants' attitudes towards the internet in EAP courses, Atai and Dashtestani (2013) found that stakeholders unanimously considered the internet to be a

powerful tool for enhancing students' reading comprehension skills. They also believed that the internet offered up-to-date information, various materials, comprehensive information, was not time consuming and was easy access. In my study, I found that while students advocated for visual materials such as video, lecturers saw these as irrelevant teaching tools which did not meeting the purpose of the course:

> *Ba tavajoh be hadaf gozarie in kelas ke darke mafahim hast, chetor mitonim az technology estefade konim kami ghabele taamogh ast. Yekbar shoma bahse listening hast va mikhayd taghviatesh konid, khob badihi hast ke man bayad biam yek filmi bogzaram, gosh konand va bebinand ya sharayete mokaleme ra be vojod biaram.*
>
> *Given that the purpose of EAP class is to increase students' understanding of English texts, how can we use technology? I need to think more!!! If the purpose was to strengthen students listening skills, then it would be sensible for me to put a film so that students can watch and listen, and to create a situation for conversation (Mark).*

The lecturers tried to use materials which directly fulfilled the restricted objective of developing reading skills only. There may be two reasons for the lecturers' resistance to including the internet in their courses. Firstly it is maintained that most Iranian university instructors and students need training in order to use the internet more efficiently (Taghva, 2001). Secondly there are political reasons. For example, Atai and Dashtestani (2013) found that while student participants in their study believed that instructors should encourage students to use the internet and enhance their motivation, EAP instructors suggested that "the educational authorities and policy-makers did not pave the way for using the internet in the EAP courses" (p.34). Although discussion may develop learners' cognitive ability, it also leads to generating knowledge not specified in the syllabus. In chapter four I talked about how the elements of Western liberal democracy and the concept of secularism threatened the very existence of the Islamic regime. Under such an authoritarian government that is afraid of students' interaction and communication with the outside world, it is to be expected that the

government would discourage the use of any technology that enabled greater access by its large youthful population to the outside world.

Theme three: Student disengagement

In addition to the lack of trust between lecturers and students identified above my student participants highlighted how the lack of accountability and professionalism in the lecturers worked to diminish the students' trust in them. In my interviews with two students majoring in geography, I found them to be extremely upset and dissatisfied with their EAP course lecturer. Both Mary and Sarah did not trust their lecturer and, as mentioned earlier, had disengaged from the lessons altogether. They spoke about how their lecturer used his authority to threaten students if they did not do what he expected them to. For example Mary said,

> *Ye zare ham tahdid mikone, masalan age in kar ra nakonid akhare term majbor misham dagh konid, yani gerye tan mindazam.*
>
> *He threatens us a bit. For example he says, "if you do not do this, at the end of the term I will have to make you cry".*

She went on to say:

> *Alan ham ma nabodim dar jalase vali bacheha migoftand in term laj karde. Gofte miandazam. Bacheha gerye va eltemas. baraye chi bayad gerye konim ra nemidonam. Migam aslan karbordi nist kelas hashon.*
>
> *We were not there last session but our friends said that this term he is holding a grudge. He has said "I will fail you". Students have cried and begged him. Why should we cry, I do not know! I'm telling you, his lessons are not even practical.*

It is obvious that as students have increasingly less voice in the classroom, they become more alienated from that environment. In Iran, due to the lack of freedom and the existence of the severe dictatorial environment, the students have almost no voice with

regard to their educational issues. When I asked students why they did not make complaint to their group coordinator about the lecturer's unprofessional behaviour since they were so upset, they replied:

> *Moshkel hamin ast. Aslan residegi nemikonan.*
>
> *That's what the problem is. They do not investigate. (Sarah)*

Sarah recognised that perhaps the reason for the lecturer's over confidence, rudeness and lack of accountability without fear of expulsion was because he had connections with higher authorities, and hence the students felt powerless to do anything:

> *Modir goroh mige in kheili harfesh dar ro dashhte bashe. Mige in dastesh be jayi bande. Maloome chenin adami ke kheili rahat be khodesh jorat mide chenin fohsh hayi be dokhtare mardom bedahad malome poshtesh be jayi gar mast.*
>
> *Our group leader says that this lecturer has a hand in high places. Of course, someone who can easily and comfortably swear at a girl has connections to the people above.*

After my conversation with the two girls, Mary and Sarah, I decided to talk with their lecturer to see if he was willing to participate in my research and if he would allow me to observe his classroom. Contrary to my expectation, upon my entrance to his office I met a rather short, bearded man with prayer beads in his hands. I said *Salam* (hello in Persian). He greeted me back calmly saying *Al salamo alaykom va rahmat ollah va barakatoo* (a formal greeting in Arabic) with a casual grin. After introducing myself and my research study, I told him my intentions and asked him if he would participate in my research. Acknowledging my research he apologised for declining participation. He said that he would only fill in a questionnaire if I had any, but was not interested in doing face to face interviews and would not allow me to observe his EAP lessons.

Mary talked about the lack of accountability in the system and the government's corruption in allowing those with political links and ideological backgrounds to enter

academia. She explained that it was not unusual for some lecturers to fail students if they talked back to the lecturer or made complaints against him:

> *Masalan yeki az bacheha migoft ke ostadeshan be yeki az dokhtarha yek fohshe kheili badi dade bod. Yani man khodam ke shanidam goftam agar man bodam mizadam dahane ostad. Kheili mazerat mikham vali migoftand ke ma chon mitarsim bendazateman chizi nemigoyim.*
>
> *For example, one of my friends said that her lecturer swore and called one of the girls in their classroom a very bad name. When I heard that I said that if this was me I would have slapped the teacher. But they said that "we do not say anything because we are afraid that he would fail us".*

The academic problems cause many students not to trust the university and also lead to an absence of trust between students and their lecturers. In my interviews with students about the EAP courses nearly all student participants felt that the university should take a more active and responsible role. David said:

> *Terme ghabl koli az nomarat ra age negah bokonid mibinid bist bod vali daneshgah nemige chera ma inghadr bist dashtim. Yani aya vaghean etelaate daneshjoye ma dar in sath hast ke in hame bist dashte bashim?*
>
> *Last term, if you look, you would have seen that majority of students got full marks but university does not ask why we have got so many full marks. Is our students' English ability really to that level that we have so many full marks? ... I wish more attention and value were given to these classes.*

Moreover, the top-down approach to EAP courses has led to student ambivalence. Students conform to the rules, come and attend lectures when in fact they have no real desire. Motivation is believed to be the reason for "why people decide to do what they do, how long they are willing to sustain the activity and how hard they are going to pursue it" (Dörnyei, 2001, p.8). Decades of having to continuously play contradictory roles in the public and private spheres has led to a kind of identity crisis among the youth in Iran. The main reason for a student's presence in the classroom is because he

or she recognises that there is punishment for non-attendance; i.e., nearly all lecturers allocate 10 percent of the final mark for student classroom attendance. The conforming attitude was re-emphasised by Michael when he stated:

> *Toye in 50 nafar momkene 3-4 nafar zabaneshon be nesbat bad nabashe, va ya 10 nafar alaghemand bashand vali ma baghi be nachar mian sare kelas.*
>
> *In these classrooms of 50 students, there may be 3-4 whose English might be good on average or 10 people interested. But the rest of the students come because they don't have a choice.*

Lecturers interpreted students' disengagement to be due to their lack of interest in English. They believed that students were lazy and would try to escape activities and tasks allocated to them. The students' main concern, according to lecturers, is to pass papers and gain a bachelor degree. For example, Paul said:

> *Daneshjo nayamade inja ke zaban yad begire. Inha faghat mikhahand ye vahedi ra pass konand.*
>
> *Students are not here to learn. They are here just to pass.*

Contrary to the lecturers' comments, however, I discovered a positive attitude from students towards learning English language. They believed that lecturers needed to become more accountable and that currently students' learning was not really important for lecturers.

The misunderstanding between the lecturers and students is generated by a lack of trust and the absence of communication between the two groups. Johnson and Johnson (1975) argue that trust is a necessary condition for stable cooperation and effective communication. They believe that students will more openly express their thoughts, feelings, reactions, opinions, information, and ideas when the level of trust is high. In the same way, Sharabyan (2011) remarks that intrinsic motivation is influenced heavily by "a dialogic connection between teachers and students, a high feeling of efficacy in

the classroom, a sense of accomplishment, and the fact that high teacher intrinsic motivation is motivating for students" (p.1074).

Hoecht (2006) explains that well-functioning trust-based quality systems can be expected to be more effective as they allow for more innovative teaching and learning, and improvement oriented lessons in so far as they stimulate the intrinsic motivation of the trusted individuals. I did interview two lecturers, Paul and Michael who were aware of the importance of trust and tried to develop trusting relationship with their students:

> *Hamishe hese etemad mikham be vojod biad. ..Dar kelas haye khodam ham bacheha kheili azad va rahat hastand. Kelas haye movafaghiat amizi daram chon bar ghalbe bacheha hokomat mikonam... ma bar ooh va ravane ensan kar darim. Man ertebate ghalbi va rohi bargharar mikonam va bad daneshjo rooh va ravanesh ra dar ekhtiare man gharar midahad va zamineye pishraft va etemad faraham mishavad.*
>
> *I try always to create the trust feeling… In my class students are very free and comfortable. I have successful classes because I rule over their hearts… [as teachers] we work with people's souls. I relate to students through their hearts and spirits. Then student gives me his soul. Then the opportunity for moving forward and building trust is provided. (Paul)*
>
> *Yeki do bar daneshjoha be man goftand toye in kelas ma chiz yad migirim bedone inke steres dashte bashim va man tamame talasham ineke in steres az beyn bere. Yani kelase dars halite tahmili be khodesh nagire.*
>
> *A couple of times students have told me "in this class we learn without stress", and I do all I can, to remove their stress. The lesson does not have a forceful nature. (Michael)*

Yet on the whole, the lack of trust between students and lecturers in the case of my research study has caused disengagement on the part of students. I have identified two ways through which students disengage. Firstly it is by non-participation in reading

activities inside the classroom and secondly by cheating when having to do translation projects.

During EAP lessons the lecturer calls students' names and the students are expected to read and translate a few sentences. During my observation, I found that on a few occasions in two humanities classrooms students excused themselves from reading and translating. Similarly, Daniel talked about the strategy his classmates used to escape reading aloud. He said:

> *Kasani ke zabaneshon ghavi nabod sherkat nemikardand. Hesab mikardand migoftan hala age folan ja beshinim be ma nemirese.*
>
> *Those with weak English wanted to somehow escape from participating in our class. They used to calculate and say if we sit at that place then we will not have to read.*

Likewise, Mary talked about her own disengagement from the lesson as a result of the uncomfortable teacher-oriented classroom atmosphere:

> *Man khodam shakhsan az avale saat hands-free toye gosham hast ta akhare saat. Yeki az bacheha ke darsesh khobe minevise va ma zirax migirim.*
>
> *I personally put hands-free (music player) in my ears from the beginning of class until the end. At the end I would copy the translations from a friend. That's all. One of the students who is good, that her English is good, does the writing and the rest of us copy it*.

Cheating, as a form of student disengagement from the EAP programme, was very much a common practice amongst all EAP students. Interestingly, both lecturers and students are aware of the issue but they just ignored it since there is no punishment for this behaviour. In their interviews students admitted that they themselves, or their classmates, would use translation services when given texts or articles to translate as part of their project. For example Cyrus talked about the possibility of students using translation services and cheating by saying:

Be onvane poroje ham hala do ta maghale goftan ke tarjome bokonid…maloom ham nist hala daneshjo khodesh tarjome bokone, ya bere bede be biron ke barash tarjome bokonan.

As a project we are meant to translate a couple of articles… You wouldn't even know if the student has done the translation himself. They might give it to someone outside to translate for them.

Mary on the other hand freely admitted to having cheated in translation projects and argued that the pages she is given to translate are usually from a larger article and thus since it is confusing for her, she would give it to the translation services to translate:

Ye barge az yek maghaleye kheili bozorg hast…man az khate aval ta akharesh aslan nemidonam ghabl az in matn chi bode va badesh chi mishe. Bavaret mishe man matn ra nemikhonam. Yek rast miram dar-ol-tarjome, trajome mikone, hesab mikonam va midaham be ostad. Faghat pak nevis mikonim va haman ra ham midahim be ostad.

The page he would give us to translate is from a big article… I would not know what was before this text and what will be ahead. Would you believe me, I don't even read the text and go straight to translation services, get it translated, pay them, and then give it to the lecturer. I mean I rewrite the translations myself before giving it to the lecturer. (Mary)

Consequently I asked Mary why she cheated. In response she said:

Male khode ostad hast, khodeshan vaght nadashtand va ya hazinash ziad mishe, nemikhad khodesh tarjome konand midahand be bacheha ke an ham be soode khode ostade dige.

The article that the lecturer gives us to translate is for his benefit. Because he does not have time, or that cost of translation may be too expensive, then he wouldn't want to translate himself and hence, he gives it to students to translate.

Since I was not able to talk with the lecturer in question, I was unable to verify this claim. But what I found interesting, particularly with the interviews with Sarah and Mary, was the overlap in students' attitudes. On one hand the students claimed that they wanted to learn English and were interested, and on the other, they found alternative ways to avoid doing their projects. These contradictions and the aforementioned ambivalent identities amongst the youth in Iran are also identified by Ershaghi (2006) where he discusses the forces of reform and modernity on Iranian youth.

According to Bryk and Schneider (2003), relational trust exists where each party in a relationship maintains an understanding of his or her role's obligations and holds some expectations about the obligations of the other parties. As seen in the students' comments above, my participants do not take responsibility for their learning. The case of Mary and Sarah illustrate a complete distrust between students and lecturer. Without trust everybody becomes egocentric — only caring about their own gain. Javidan and Dastmalchian (2003) have observed that in about the Iranian culture, lack of trust leads to participants becoming individuals who are only concerned for their own good. The lecturer teaches what he is expected to and the student uses alternative ways to receive the best mark possible. At this point the real teaching and learning are sacrificed.

Finally, these passive approaches to teaching have little value in a world where creativity and flexibility are at a premium. Indeed, "a more enlightened view of learning is immediately needed, emphasizing active intellectual engagement, participation, and discovery, rather than the passive absorption of facts" (Abbaspour & Abbaspour, 2012, para.7). I argue that for successful operation of EAP programmes, the government should strive to create an environment that increases trust. To ensure quality teaching and learning in Iran's higher education, a restructuring of university management and decision making is needed. Higher education policy needs to be more concerned with the creation of greater autonomy in structure and management systems. The government practices which ensure conformity by citizens demonstrate what Foucault describes as the society's formation of human beings as subjects. As thinking and acting persons constituted by language and available discourses, Kamberelis and

Dimitriadis (2005) note that individuals become disciplined subjects within different discourses. While students in these EAP classrooms conform to the rules by attending the sessions and completing their assigned projects, they also resist by disengaging from the process of learning. In this way, no one, neither lecturers nor students, benefit.

Chapter 7: the state of crisis in Iranian Higher Education

"The fire that never dies, in my heart is awake"

Hafiz

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the factors that influence, and the effects of, the systemic crisis facing Iranian higher education today. The large demographic of young people, economic uncertainty, and the increasing amount of unemployment, and persistent corruption in university, all characterise the sector at a time when higher education is being restructured within the global market. The survey questionnaire and the participants' interviews demonstrate how systematic confusion and contradictions affect the lives of ordinary students within the context of the systematic crisis in the higher education sector. Students' lack of motivation towards the EAP courses despite the huge interest in English and in acquiring communicative proficiency in English illustrates one of many contradictions. Finally I discuss the immoral activities of plagiarism and cheating as well as despair, drug use, and immigration that result from high unemployment among the young people in Iran, all of which are fundamentally damaging for the country's health and well-being.

The process of modernisation of society and culture has continued under the Islamic Republic despite the government's anti-modern rhetoric. Education and health care, urbanisation, and changes in family relations have all undergone significant change. The structure of the Iranian population since the Iranian Islamic revolution is a major force in driving change. Iran has one of the youngest populations in the world. Around 70 percent of Iran's 75 million people are under the age of 30. Of these, 50 percent are between the ages of 18-30 (Davis, 2009). For this reason alone, Iran must move forward. Iran now has a high literacy rate, a high rate of higher educated people, including a large number of highly educated women. The spread of education and urbanisation has helped create a more critical spirit among the younger generation. In turn, this has made them very critical of the Iranian government. Young people are

aware of their personal needs and longings and are not afraid to articulate these (Dorraj, 2001; Mousavi-Shafaee, 2010).

One of the factors motivating young people to attend university and gain a bachelors degree is to gain employment. But for many young people in Iran, getting a university degree does not promise a job in the relevant field. In 2004, Esfandiari reported economists claiming that Iran will have to create more than a million new jobs every year in order to accommodate its youth population, but only 300,000 new jobs have been created each year, leaving the country's youth frustrated and disillusioned (2004). Unemployment is currently the Islamic Republic's most acute single economic concern, with unemployment amongst the young (15 to 35 years) estimated at around 60 percent. The government has failed to generate sufficient job growth to meet the needs of Iran's young, educated population. The root causes of Iran's unemployment crisis date back to the country's politics following the 1979 Islamic revolution and its state-dominated structure. Exacerbating this, the increasing population subsequent to the Iran-Iraq war was far from what the economy could absorb, and at the same time the policies that have been followed since the end of the war have nothing to propose in terms of absorbing this extra population. According to the 2014 index of the economic freedom by Heritage Foundation, of the 178 countries evaluated, Iran stands as the 173rd freest economy in the world. Heavy state interference in many aspects of private economy activity is identified as the reason for economic stagnation (The Heritage Foundation, 2014).

A well-qualified and highly motivated academic faculty is essential to ensuring the academic quality of higher education institutions. The Islamic regime's obsessive preoccupation with the politico-ideological screening of the student body, academics and administrative staff, has had an obvious and devastating effect on higher education. It has lowered, to a considerable degree, the quality of education at all levels. Commitment to Islam, rather than expertise and merit, was and remains the key criterion for hiring and admission to teacher-training programmes (Haghayeghi, 1993). Increasing the number of universities without careful planning and resource allocation has resulted in increased enrolments for students without careful evaluation and

matching with society's capacity and job market. The high number of graduates and low number of job opportunities has caused a crisis. Universities are now functioning as 'holding' schools trying to keep young people out of unemployment. The increasing unemployment rate exacerbates the lack of motivation among students who will be entering the job market upon university graduation. My engineering lecturers identified the influence of social factors as reasons for students' low motivation in EAP classes:

> *Vagheiate matlab in hast ke daneshjoye ma motoasefane dochare masaele biron az daneshgahhast. Yekish bar migarde be ayandeye shoghliash, ke masalan kheili vaght ha baraye bazi ha omidvar konande nist… tedade daneshjohaye ma ziade. Kar nist va baraye hamin daneshjoha alagheye ziadi nadaran. Onha faghat donbale in hastan ke pass konan va ye madrak begiran. Baraye hamin daneshjoye reshte alaghe ziadi nadare.*
>
> *The truth is our students are involved with issues outside of university. One being absence of employment after graduation. For instance, in many cases it is not hopeful or positive for some students… The number of our students is too many. There is no work. That is why students are less motivated. Students are only interested in passing papers and getting a degree. That is why students studying a discipline do not have much motivation. (Mark)*

Mark highlighted the importance of English language in all his classroom discussions:

> *Inghadar man avale kelas tozih midam barashon ke age mikhay movafagh bashid toye herfeye mohandesi bayad zabanet khob bashe. Roshan hast, har kasi midone ke age bekhad dar alame elmi pishraft dashte bashe, bayad zabane engelisish khob bashe. Avale sal va har bar ke betonam beheshon migam ke cheghadr zaban moheme barashon. In tanha karie ke ma mitonim bokonim… beheshon migam ke age mikhaid movafagh beshid toye kareton dar ayande zabaneton hatman bayad khob bashe… man yek class ra kamel dar in mored sohbat mikonam- kolan fazaye karishon- ayandashon va inke cheghadr moheme engelisi ra yad gereftan… beheshon migam age bekhan varede har kari beshan daneshe zabane engelisi yek emtiaze va haeze ahamiate.*

In the specialising society, in academic environment English is a necessity. If a person wants to learn engineering deeply and properly, he must know the original language of that subject. Know the books that are in original language and referenced... At the beginning of the year and any time I can during term I tell them how important English language is for them. That is all we can do for them… I tell them that if you want to be successful in your future career, your English has to be good… I spend one whole session on this- general environments of their work- their future and how important it is to study English … I tell them if they want to go into any career field English ability is a bonus and important.

Paul talked about the importance of English for students by going as far as comparing the English skills to that of a wing for a bird:

Beheshon migam mibinid ke parande baraye parvaz do bal mikhad. Ma ham baraye parvaz va pishraft do bal mikhahim. Yeki zabane engelisi va yeki ham narm afzare kamputer mesle internet. Ba yek bal ghader be parvaz nist va ba in do bal ghader be parvaz hastid.

I tell them you see, in order to fly, a bird needs two wings. We also need two wings for flying and progressing. One is English language and the other is computer software such as internet. One cannot fly with one wing. You will be able to do so with two wings.

Despite this awareness, social issues outside of university affect students' motivation political and social situation. Political sanctions and the reality of the relationship between Iran and the West, especially English speaking countries influenced students' views about learning English. The participating students recognised the country's present political situation and the lack of opportunities to use English. Darius talked about the limited opportunity for the utilisation and practicality of learning skills in English language currently. He said:

Dost daram speakingam khob bashe. Vali vaghti mibinam khob, hala khob bashe spikingam, ba ki mikham sohbat konam? Be che dard mikhore alan? Ma alan chand dar sad darim ke dar shoghl haye edari kar mikonand? Afrad ertebatate khareji nadarand…chand darsad shoghlhayi daran ke engelisi niaz dare?

I like to improve my speaking skills but then I say, O.K why would I want to have good speaking skills? What is the use of it for me? Who do I want to speak with? People do not have outside relations and therefore they do not need to have strong speaking skills… how many people work at jobs where they need English?

To demonstrate the difficult situation and future uncertainty that the Iranian students face as a result of the country's political relations and arbitrary policies towards the English speaking countries, I draw on the recent occurrence between Iran and Britain that occurred in 2011. A series of new economic sanctions was imposed by the US, Britain, and Canada in mid-November 2011 following the report by the international nuclear agency that Iran had secretly carried out research on an atomic bomb (Reuters, 2011). The sanctions targeted Iran's financial sectors in order to limit the regime's access to international funding for its nuclear activities. Two days later, there was a raid on the British Embassy in Tehran after Britain's decision to sever all financial ties between Britain and Iran. While the Iranian government expressed regret over the incident and condemned the act, the British foreign secretary believed that the assaults were with direct links to the regime in Tehran (Synovitz, 2011). The British Embassy was closed down in Tehran and Iranian embassy personnel were expelled from London. In retaliation, the Iranian Parliament approved a bill to downgrade relations with Britain and after gaining the majority vote, the regime cut all its relations with Britain ("Madrake Daneshgah", 2012). The decision was not only limited to the political ties but extended to scientific relations.

Consequently, on 1st February the Chairman of the Supervisory Board of Evaluation from the Higher Council of Cultural Revolution, Mr Ghafoori, along with the Ministry

of Science, stated that the government would no longer give scholarships to students for further study in Britain ("Madarek e Daneshgah", 2012). He added that those people who go to England for further study are not considered students and their qualifications would not be evaluated by the Ministry of Science, Research and Technology ("Madarek e Daneshgah", 2012). This announcement was very controversial. Although it was withdrawn a few days later, many students who were already studying in Britain or were in the process of going to Britain for further study were left worried and uncertain about the future.

Recognising the social and political situation of the country and its effect on students' attitude and motivation for learning English, Paul commented:

> *Agar masalan ehsas konand in chizhayi ke mikhanand ziad karai nadarad va badan be dardeshan nemikhore mosalaman bedone angize mishan.*
>
> *If they [students] feel that what they are learning will not be useful and practical later, naturally they will not be motivated.*

He believes that encouraging students to succeed and giving them hope for better future is important. In this way, Paul recognises communication as a necessary contributing factor for success. Similar to many Iranian scientists (Khosrokhavar, 2009), he regards good relations with the outside world as necessary and important for success:

> *Man hamishe bacheha ra be soye yek doniaye behtar hedayat mikonam, doniaye haghighi, hala vagheiat haye ejtemai ra barayeshan migoyam ke ma dar che vaziati hastim va bayad beresim be kojaha va inke az chizhaye movafaghiateman ham masalan yeki az parametrhaye movafaghiateman in ast ke ba ham yek ertebatate khobi dashte bashim ba doniaye kharej.*
>
> *I always guide students towards a better world — real world, I tell them society's realities, and that where we are now and where we should get to. That one of the parameters for success is relations — having good relations, with the outside world.*

The survey questionnaire

The questionnaire clearly presented the contradictions between believing English to be important and the lack of interest in EAP. While most of the questions were answered by all 123 students, in some occasions some questions were left unmarked. Question 2 in table 7.1 was not answered by 4 people while questions 1, 5, and 6 by one student. Both the interview participants and the survey questionnaire responses demonstrate feelings of unhappiness and dissatisfaction from students with the EAP courses. Yet in another contradiction, the majority of both interview and survey participants wished there were more EAP classes at the university.

All student interview participants mentioned that classes are not enjoyable, that they do not like them because they are routine, boring and dry. Consequently the students argued that they have lowered their expectations of these classes. In fact, some learners noted that, for them, these classes were just to pass and get a degree:

> *In classha ra ma hichvaght azash natije nemigirim…halate starter hastand.*
>
> *We never get result from these classes… they do not necessarily help students learn anything… they are like starters. (Darius)*

	Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)
English is hard to learn	15 (12)	63 (52)	17 (14)	22 (18)	5 (4)
The development of our country is possible mainly by educated people who know English well	4 (3)	14 (12)	30 (25)	50 (42)	21 (18)
English should not be a compulsory subject in universities in Iran	56 (46)	46 (37)	11 (9)	5 (4)	5 (4)
The teaching of English should start as early as the first grade in the Iranian schools	1 (1)	1 (1)	4 (3)	24 (20)	93 (75)
English films are more enjoyable than films in Persian language	6 (5)	12 (10)	37 (30)	33 (27)	34 (28)
Inclusion of cultural material in EAP class increases my motivation for	15 (12)	15 (12)	28 (23)	41 (34)	23 (19)

learning English					
Studying English is important to me because other people see it as a good point for me	5 (4)	14 (11)	15 (12)	58 (47)	31 (25)

Table 7.1 Attitudes towards English Language

Despite this, 83 percent of survey respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement saying that English should not be compulsory (see Table 7.1). Only 8 percent agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. In relation to the EAP courses, while nobody strongly agreed and only 6 percent agreed, 76 percent disagreed and strongly disagreed that they attended EAP courses because it was compulsory. Consistent with the questionnaire results, all but one student interviewee thought EAP classes should be compulsory. They explained:

> *Bayad bashe chon shayad jaraghei bashe, va ya rahi ra jeloye paye daneshjo bogzarand. Lazem hast ke bashe.*
>
> *They should function because it may be a small light for a person. They may also show the student an alternative. It is necessary that they continue their operation. (Daniel)*
>
> *Shayad yeki az khobi haye in kelasha mitone in bashe ke faghat mitone alaghe ijad kone va alaghe start bezane.*
>
> *Perhaps one of the good points of these classes is that they can trigger desire or interest in students [to go off and study English on their own free time]. (Darius)*

Darius's comment and those made earlier by him show the contradiction in his comments. On the one hand, he says that EAP courses are not interesting and that he studies English with no interest while on the other hand he claims that EAP courses could create desire or interest in students. However, he is not alone in wishing for the courses to continue. Other students who also talked about the ineffectiveness of EAP courses wished that EAP would continue:

Gozashtaneshon behtar az nagzashtaneshone. Mitone mofidtar ham bashe. Az in do saat mishe behtar ham estefade kard amma hamin ham ke hast behtar az ine ke nabashe.

Having them is better than not- it could be made more useful- better use of this time… but is still better than nothing. (Cyrus)

Behtar az hichi hast. Age in kelas ha nabod ke dige zaban yad nemitereftim aslan. Vali hade aghal hamin vahede darsi ejbari shode to daneshgah ke bekhonim. In khodesh kheili khobe baz.

They are better than nothing- at least now it is compulsory in university for us to study. This is good at least. (Christine)

A common phrase between the two comments by students was, "they are better than nothing". A sociological and historical lens is necessary in order to explain these students' comments in more detail. Ever since the 1979 Islamic revolution and the political structure of the country, presidential elections between candidates has been widely known by the ordinary Iranians to be a choice between bad and worse. Given the undemocratic system of presidential election, people feel forced to choose one over the other. Consequently, people choose the bad in attempt to stop the worse from coming to power. In relation to the EAP courses, the students' comments illustrate a fear from students that the course elimination would mean no contact with English altogether. Hence, students want to see the classes in operation even though they recognise the outcome is very little.

All of the students I interviewed were interested in attending more English language courses to improve their proficiency in English. In the survey, while 83 percent of students said that they wished to attend more EAP classes at the university, 77 percent said that they wished to attend more private English language classes outside the university. The students recognised English as important, very important or extremely important. They all believed that both for further study and for work overseas, English is valuable, useful, and the key:

Age bekhaym baraye edame tehsil berim engelisi kheili moheme, kheili mofide.

If we want to do further studies, English is the key — very useful. (Mary)

Dar arshad aksare ketab hamon zabane engelisi hast. Majboram ke yad begiram. Agar zaban balad nabasham toye dars haye khodam mimonam.

All our books will be in English [in masters] - if we do not know English then we will be stuck. (Cyrus)

Chon electronic monhaseran dar daste ma iraniha nist va zabanemon ham farsi hast, pas ahamiate kheili balayi baramon dare. Alan chon engelisi zabane beynolmelali hast va baraye ertebat ba digar javame ma bayad zabane engelisi balad bashim. Ahamiate balai dare.

Because electronics is not in the hands of Iranians and our language is Farsi, then English is significantly important for us. Because English is an international language, in order to communicate with and relate to other nations we need to know English. It has high priority. (David)

Table 7.2 Attitudes towards learning English

	Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)
English will enhance my status among my friends	4 (3)	8 (7)	24 (20)	61 (50)	25 (20)
EAP is necessary for me because it will help me for my future career	1 (1)	4 (3)	12 (10)	62 (50)	44 (36)
I take EAP just because it is compulsory part of curriculum	33 (27)	61 (49)	22 (18)	7 (6)	-
I wish to learn English to understand every day English	1 (1)	7 (6)	15 (12)	53 (44)	45 (37)

I wish to learn English to keep updated and informed of recent news of the world	2 (1.5)	7 (6)	11 (9)	56 (45.5)	47 (38)
I wish to learn English to communicate with foreigners	2 (1.5)	2 (1.5)	15 (12)	61 (50)	43 (35)
I wish to learn English to be able to read English texts	2 (2)	1 (1)	4 (3)	46 (37)	70 (57)
English enable me to carry out my tasks more efficiently	3 (2.5)	6 (5)	21 (17)	58 (47)	35 (28.5)
English enable me to get a job easily	2 (2)	4 (3)	30 (24)	44 (36)	43 (35)
Studying English is important to me because I hope to further my education	-	1 (1)	8 (6.5)	47 (38)	67 (54.5)
I really enjoy learning English	3 (2.5)	4 (3)	18 (14.5)	55 (45)	43 (35)
I wish I could attend more EAP classes at the university	1 (1)	7 (6)	12 (10)	47 (41)	48 (42)
I would like to attend more English language training courses outside university	2 (2)	10 (8)	16 (13)	57 (47)	37 (30)

Globalisation has directly affected Iranian students' attitudes towards learning English. The comments above indicate that students are increasingly aware that they may have to work abroad or, at the least, interact more frequently with people from other countries. In this regard they realise that both cross cultural skills and an ability to communicate effectively in English are essential. From the 123 students that were surveyed, 8 of them did not answer question 12 in table 7.2. Two did not answer question 4 and for questions 1 and 13, one student did not answer. More than half of survey participants believed that the country's progress is possible mainly by educated people who know English. In addition, 86 percent of students believed that EAP was necessary because it would help them for their future career (see Table 7.2). An overwhelming 92.5 percent of students believed that English is important for them because they wished to further

their education while 83.5 percent said that they want to learn English to keep updated and informed of world news. Likewise, with the statement about students wishing to learn English for communication with foreigners, 85 percent of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed.

The students interviewed regarded English as important because through English they could access world news, and communicate with foreign lecturers:

> *Akhbar haye engelisi adam bedone bishtar dar jaryane. Internet va hame chiz dige alan fekr mikonam zaban mikhad.*
>
> *By understanding English news I believe we are more informed of what is going on. Internet and everything requires English. (Megan)*

Similarly, the lecturers recognised the role of technology in increasing students' awareness in wanting to learn English:

> *An chizi ke bacheha yad migirand bishtar bekhatere ineke gah ba internet sar o kar darand. Cd goosh mikonand, hamin mozoe mahvare, bishtar az in tarigh darand zaban ra yad migirand.*
>
> *Those of what students learn are often due to their contact with internet. They listen to CDs and watch satellite. They are learning learning English mainly through these mediums. (Michael)*
>
> *Alan ba ziad shodane mahvareva internet kheili ha be vaseteye inke mikhastan az mahvare estefade bekonan,mikhastan film ra bebinand va befahmand miraftan zabaneshon ra khob mikardan. Yani yek angize daroni vojod dare…javanan emroze dar asare barkhord ba internet va mahvare bedone feshar khodeshan fahmideand ke bayad zaban balad bashand. Baraye darke behtare film ha, safahate web, mataleb va technology haye mojod dar fazaye omomie jamee.*

> *Now due to the increase in satellite and internet use, many people because they wanted to watch satellite, went and learned English. They wanted to watch and understand. There is an internal motivation. .. Youth these days as a result of their contact with internet and satellite without any pressure have realised that they need to know English. To understand movies better, websites and present technologies in general environment of the society. (Mark)*

These comments illustrate the effect of globalisation and the motivation from Iranians, especially the young people, to be part of the wider world. This is very much a tension for the Islamic government that has constantly tried to limit people's access and interaction with the Western values and culture. Golriz (2009) argues that the greatest weakness of the Iranian government is "the elements of Western liberal democracy, which target the very existence of the Islamic regime… this concept along with secularism is the worst and frightening enemy of Iran" (p.2). In a talk with Fars News Agency, in relation to satellite televisions in people's homes, the former Cultural Minister demonstrated this fear, "the enemy is presenting itself currently with a clean face and is very dangerous in the current circumstances. Naturally, the biggest instrument of the enemy is the media" ("Iran: people boycott", 2011). Iran's large young generation, on the other hand, is curious to find out what is happening in the wider world and to experience and communicate with outsiders. Indeed, they are living in an age in which a global information technology revolution is taking place (Akbari, 2004 cited in Mahboudi & Javdani, 2012), and thus are increasingly in contact with Western influences and values. The new generation in Iran has been active in using technology and is very capable in using proxies and other means to circumvent the government's efforts to block their internet access. The government's fear is of course that the internet is the quickest way for young people to learn about the institutionalised liberal democratic values of the West.

Another important finding in the questionnaire was the students' attitude towards the inclusion of English language in the curriculum from an early age. Ninety five percent of survey respondents believed that teaching of English should begin from as early as the first grade in the Iranian schools (see Table 7.1). Only 2 percent did not believe so,

and 3 percent neither agreed nor disagreed. This was supported by comments in the interviews with the students recognising that age and language acquisition were connected, commenting that the earlier students began learning English the better. Darius explains that although he is aware of, and identifies language competency to be an advantage, he prefers to study mathematics and physics instead of a foreign language. Recognising the inconsistancy in his conversation he continues:

> *Az on taraf migam ke mikham ba gheshre mokhtalefe javame ertebat dashte basham, vaghean yeki az arezohaye mane. Az on taraf migam tarjih nemidam chon dir shoro kardam.*
>
> *I know my talks have paradox, in one way I say I want to communicate with people from different societies and social groups and really this is my dream/wish. At the same time I say I wouldn't prefer learning English. That is because I began [learning English] late.*

In the same way, Lisa said:

> *Dar zamane ma kelas ha az sene pain nabod. Ma ke nasleman az beyn raft. Hade aghal baraye bachehayi ke dar senine pain tar hastand kheili khobe ke barayeshon kelas begzaran.*
>
> *In our time the private English classes were not from young age. Our generation was lost. At least it is good for children today that there are classes from young age*.

The students also mentioned the need for the society to become aware of the importance of English:

> *Farhangesh ra aslan yad bedan ke pedar va madar ha bachehayeshan ra dar senine pain bogzarand dar kelas haye zaban chon ke karai darad.*
>
> *They should teach parents this culture, to send their children to English classes from young age because it is useful and practical. (Lisa)*

Alan bishtare afrad hichi zaban nemidonan. Be zaban ahamiat nemidan. Age tori beshe va hame befahmand ke zaban cheghadr ahamiat dare miran donbalesh.

Many people do not know English in Iran. They do not see it to be important. If people start realising its importance, they will go and learn it. (Christine)

As part of recent changes to the education system, the Ministry of Education has included Koran teaching as a subject for the students from the first year of primary school. Lisa, dissatisfied with the late start of English at school, referred to this change in the education system and argued for a similar approach to English language in schools:

Hamontor ke az lahaze dini taghviat mishan va ghorani, zaban ham alan kheili barayeshon mofide. Mesle ghoran ke dars midan az bachegi engelisi ham bayad behesh onghadr ahamiat bedahand va az sene kochiki dars bedahand.

Just like how they teach Koran from childhood they should value English similarly and teach it from primary school… Just as much as they are strengthening students' religious thinking, learning English is now very important and useful for them.

Like Lisa's point about the English language and Arabic teaching of Koran, Mark went on to talk about how religious studies are given higher priority than science and English language by the authorities and decision makers and how this needs to change:

Dar oloome hozavi chon marjaesh arabi hast ghabl az inke har bahse takhasosi ra shoro konand hade aghal yek sal, do sal, va gahi ta chahar sal bayad arabi bekhanand ta ashna beshavand bad kam kam varede mabahese olome ensani mishavand… ye talabe vaghti varede hoze mishavad yek seyri ra baraye ejtehad miravad ta be hadafash beresad… na inke ma ham bayad hamchenin system hoze ra begzaranim amma ta hade ziadi lazem ast ta betavanad kharash ra az pol bogzaranad.

In the religious science field, because the sources are in Arabic, before they begin any specialised discussion, students have to study Arabic for one, two, three, or even four years so that they become familiar and then slowly they enter those discussions... when a cleric student enters the religious school, he has to go through and pass a series of things in order to get to his goal... I'm not saying that we should do have the same system as the religious school, but it [English language] is immensely important for a student [in engineering] to perform his or her every day job.

The majority of lecturers were also in favour of English teaching starting at an early age. Both Paul and Mark talked about their personal decision to send their children to private English classes at a young age:

Tajrobeye shakhsie man in ast ke movafaghiat afarin ast ke zodtar shoro konad, ba tavajoh be inke alan zamani ast ke yek zaroorat ast.

My own experience is that it is more successful if they begin [learning English] earlier considering the fact that now a days it is a necessity. (Mark)

Yadgiri va ghovate yadgiri dar senne kamtar baraye zabane dovom kheili bishtar hast va man fekr mikonam be in natije ham beresand.

Learning at a younger age is much more successful and I think they will [government] come to this realisation eventually. (Peter)

These comments and the questionnaire findings would cause concern for a regime which is determined to keep its young population away from the influence of English speaking countries. Yet, despite the regime's anti-West position, two of the lecturers were confident that the government has realised the importance of teaching English early, and that in a reformed education system it would include the teaching of English for students at an earlier age:

Man fekr mikonam dolat ham be in natije reside ke bayad dar kolle nezame amozeshi tajdide nazar konand va fekr konam shamele zaban ham beshavad.

I think the government has come to this conclusion, that in the whole of education system there needs to be reconsideration. It will include teaching of English. (Paul)

Fekr mikonam kam kam barmigarde be aghab. Yani be in natije miresan ke zodtar bayad aghaz beshe.

I think it will start going backward. I mean they will realise that they should teach English earlier. (Peter)

In fact, in November 2005, when Mr Farshidi, the Education Minister, was questioned by the students' parliament regarding the plans to introduce English to primary schools and an ELT framework, he responded: "This framework is necessary, but its timing must undergo scrutiny. Which country teaches an 'alien language' to students in the second year of primary school where the students have not yet realised their identity?" (quoted in jamshidifard, 2011, p.146).

Recognising that under the current circumstances the Iranian education system is deficient in providing successful classes for students to learn English effectively, all lecturer participants argued that they encouraged their students to attend private English institutions to improve their language learning. Lecturers believe that unless the students' general English language is strong, they will not be successful in learning EAP:

Agar kasi ke omomi ra balad nabashe va bekhad takhasosi shoro konad kheili sakht ast… bayad az paye shoro beshe.

If a person does not know general English and wants to start learning EAP, it is very difficult… it needs to begin from the base. (Mark)

Man fekr mikonam age zabane omomi taghviat beshe, be zaban takhasosi, makhsosan dar reshte ma komake ziadi ra bokone.

I think if general English improves then it will greatly help influence and have positive impact on ESP in our subject field. (Michael)

With universities unable to fulfil the needs of language learners adequately, a private sector has developed to rectify the problem. Different institutes offer different skills. For example those students, who want to pass International English Language Testing Systems (IELTS) or the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) exam, in order to go overseas or who want to study for a PhD inside Iran, attend these institutes. Ordinary people, who wish to strengthen their communicative skills in order to be able to use the internet, watch English movies, communicate with outsiders, and attend communication focused institutes. Private institutes have played a huge role in recent years in increasing people's interest in learning English. As mentioned in chapter two, subsequent to Khatami' presidency in 1997, an awareness towards English was generated in Iranian policy makers. According to Borjian (2009), "the policy of improving the country's 'technological capacity', by using information technology in curriculum development and equipping the country's schools and universities with computer facilities and internet communication was equally significant to the expansion of English" (p. 194). The students I interviewed believe classes at the private English institutes are more attractive than those at the university. They use various materials to cater for individuals' diverse needs, and are hence more motivating.

> *Kasani ke hatta az zaban badeshon miomad ba raftan be in kelas ha hatta alaghashon bishtar shode.*
>
> *Those who hated English after going to these classes had increased interest for learning English. (Daniel)*

Research and the International academic community

From the time that Ahmadinejad took power in 2005, research in Iran has suffered because direct political influence has affected promotions within universities (Shahi, 2013). Some of the educational responsibilities were given to people based on political party affiliation and political observations, not according to merit and abilities (Shahi, 2013). This not only affects education. The political representatives of the country are chosen according to the inclination of the Islamic rulers in positions of power, especially *velayat-e-faghih* (Supreme Leader). What seems to have discouraged many

scientists, religious and secular alike, according to Khosrokhavar (2009), is "a political and cultural system that does not recognise scientists as a kind of 'moral aristocracy', in a society where official practices turn out to be against science and progress" (p.225).

Iranian scientists have endured many symbolic wounds since the 1979 revolution. The invasion of Iran in 1980 by Saddam Hussein was followed by a breakdown of communications between Iranian universities and the universities of many Western countries. The war lasted for less than 10 years, but its effects are enduring. This scientific isolation trend continued until years after the end of hostilities in 1988 (Ghazinoori, Ghazinoori, & Azadegan -Mehr, 2010). It was not until 18 years later, in 1997 that Iran returned to the same level it was at scientifically and medically in 1979. Additionally, Habibi (2006) argues that sanctions, war, and disturbances in international relationships are very harmful in the long term for science. Isolation means much less international scientific collaboration, which undermines scientific achievement. Recent concerns over Iran's nuclear power programme have increased international pressure and sanctions on the country. Scientists and academics in Iran face isolation and limited international collaboration. There are fewer opportunities for involvement in multinational scientific research programmes, attendance at international conferences and workshops to present new findings, and contributions to science.

Despite the great difficulties that Iranian scientists have faced for more than three decades, they still possess high ambitions. In the last few years of the Shah's regime, a group of mathematicians and physicists were assembled as scientific elite in Babolsar, in northern Iran. They worked with top tools and generous financial means at their disposal for their scholarly work (Khosrokhavar, 2009). After the Islamic revolution, the group was disbanded. Many of them left Iran for Western countries, while others went to Tehran and still others abandoned scientific research and began working in industry. Khosrokhavar (2009) interviewed those who had gone to Tehran and joined the Atomic energy organisation. From his interviews, he found that Iran's relationship with the world scientific community was almost always a comparison to the West, notably the United States and other more developed Western countries (Khosrokhavar, 2009). According to him, in none of the interviews did the scholar compared Iran to

Pakistan, Turkey, or other countries with comparable levels of economic development. "A country closer in stature to Iran is simply ignored, in most cases, to the profit of Europe or even the United States" (Khosrokhavar, 2009, p.233). In fact he noted one of the interview participants saying, "I try to show that we, as Iranians, can achieve notable results, and if we don't earn Nobel Prizes, it is due to the lack of the means and our marginal position in the world. But, still, we can prove that we are as good as the best scientists in the West with our poor instruments and our shabby laboratories" (Khosrokhavar, 2009**,** p.233).

According to Epstine (1994), the internationalisation of higher education "fosters an international orientation in knowledge and attitudes, and among other initiatives, brings together students, teachers and scholars from different nations to learn about and from each other" (p.918). Siah (2009) also maintains that while the internationalisation of higher education is able to widen the existing social, economic, political and cultural divide among world nations, it can "boost Iran's current dysfunctional economy and ineffective social system that is grossly ignorant of true democratic values and regularly violates human rights" (p.12). In my research I wanted to investigate the Iranian government's plans for internationalisation of higher education. Thus, I asked group coordinators about the government's plan for internationalisation and student exchange programme. Nick said:

> *Inke daneshgahe ma va ya daneshgahe Tehran yek mehvari bashe baraye jazbe daneshjohaye khareji, be khosos dar reshteye zabane engelisi na. Hamchenin chizi nist va bishtar tarjih midahand aan afrad beravand keshvarhaye engelisi zaban.*
>
> *Neither our or Tehran university are centres for attracting international students. There is no such thing. They [government] prefer for those students to go to English speaking countries.*

From another perspective, John said that sending students overseas in humanities discipline is not very beneficial for the Iranian government:

Vaghty daneshjoye tarikh mifrestand Engelis, migan boro roye mozoi dar morede keshvare khodet tahghigh bokon. Yani ham omadim pol be daneshgahe kharej az keshvar dadim, ham etelaatemon ra. Dar sorati ke injori nabayad mibod. Dar sorati ke to reshtehaye fanni intor nist. To fanni, miravad yek fanni ray ad migire barmigardone vase Iran. To olom ensani vaghty mifrestin che chiz ray ad migire miare Iran?

When we send a History student to England, they tell the student to research something about his or her own country. You can see that a student has gained a doctorate from England but his or her thesis topic is about Iranian women or Iran's revolution. You see, we have paid the universities abroad money as well as given them our information, when it should not have been like this. In engineering it is not like this. In those subjects you go and learn a technique. In humanities when we send them what do they learn and bring back to the country?

This comment illustrates administrators' concern with sending students to bring knowledge from overseas rather than opening opportunities and avenues for further communication and collaboration between the countries. Interestingly enough, John went on to talk about the political nature of Iranian students researching and writing theses about Iran while they study in the West. He used the example of America's attack on Iraq to give justification for how writing theses about one's own country could have dangerous repercussions. His comments supported the Science Minister's decision to ban research by Iranian students outside Iran on topics related to Iran. John stated:

Vaghty migan dallile hamlaton be aragh chie, migan ke payan namehayi bode ke daneshjohaye araghi neveshtan va vaziate aragh ra injoori tarsim kardan. Gahi neveshtane payan nameye keshvare khodesh va tahvil dadan be keshvare dige hata be lahaze amniate melli ham mitone kheili khatarnak bashe.

When the Americans were asked why they attacked Iraq, they said that it was because of the thesis that Iraqi students had written, and how they portrayed the

> *situation of Iraq. Sometimes writing of one's own country and giving it to another country can be very dangerous for nation's security.*

This is a very different view from social scientists outside Iran who study the global knowledge economy. According to Peters (2013), the openness of the globally integrated knowledge economy breeds transparency, authenticity, creativity and collaboration. There are many hundreds of organisations worldwide that are concerned with the promotion of open education or open science. They seek to promote universal access and are commonly associated with e-learning and MOOCs. Countries like China and Africa have identified the importance of framing a response to the rapidly changing education context, with increasingly globalised economy, technology, and social, political and cultural aspects of learning (Wang, 2008). They have recognised that to thrive, learners must be supported to become creative participants in an era of accelerating change (Wang, 2008; Wang & Chen, 2009).

In Iran, however, the origins of the academic violations which pervade the higher education system can be traced to the Cultural Revolution policy of the Islamic Republic in the early post-revolutionary era. The suppression of humanities and social sciences during this time meant that for many years, Iranian students have been denied access to a wide range of critical perspectives and academic resources that are crucial to the recovery and wellbeing of any society ravaged by war, conflict, and widespread and systematic violations of human rights (Bahreini, 2012). Highlighting the importance and critical role of social sciences and humanities, The American academy of Arts and Sciences (2013) states:

> We live in a world characterized by change—and therefore a world dependent on the humanities and social sciences. How do we understand and manage change if we have no notion of the past? How do we understand ourselves if we have no notion of a society, culture, or world different from the one in which we live? A fully balanced curriculum— including the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences— provides opportunities for integrative thinking and imagination, for creativity and discovery, and for good citizenship. The

> humanities and social sciences are not merely elective, nor are they elite or elitist. They go beyond the immediate and instrumental to help us understand the past and the future. They are necessary and they require our support in challenging times as well as in times of prosperity. They are critical to our pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness, as described by our nation's founders. They are *The Heart of the Matter*.

For the Islamic Republic, however, as Khomeini noted, the humanities and social sciences are sources of great worry. He added that education in the social sciences at the universities "induces disbelief" in celestial and Islamic culture (Golriz, 2009). This is because students in social sciences and humanities, according to the Ministry of Education (2013), develop a critical lens through which they can build their awareness of and make decisions with respect to critical issues in society. In contrast the Islamic Republic requires each new generation to be taught in an Islamic education environment. Students are to internalise Islamic values and consequently be committed to the Islamic government.

Following the 2009 student uprising, Khamenei called for the total Islamicisation of all universities to cleanse them from the scourge of 'decadent' Western values (Bahreini, 2012). Max Weber, along with other seminal social theorists (Jürgen Habermas, John Keane, Talcott Parsons, Richard Rorty) has been blamed for the unrest in Iran (Kurzman, 2009). Given their shared belief that an independent civil society, beyond the reach of the state, is necessary for the development of democracy and human rights, these writers are accused of "threatening national security and shaking the pillars of economic development" (Kurzman, 2009, para.9). Of particular concern has been the German philosopher, Jürgen Habermas's, concept of the public sphere; a free space for the exchange of ideas among autonomous institutions and individuals (Kurzman, 2009). Habermas's theories are very popular among educated Iranians, many of whom object to the state's intrusion into their private lives. Consequently, in a speech, Khamenei portrayed professors as 'commanders' on the front lines of 'soft warfare' — the term that hard-liners use to describe Western efforts to sway and organise Iranian youth. Professors, he said, "have a responsibility to teach their students to avoid Western

influences, and limit their 'specialised discussions' in the social sciences to 'qualified persons within safe environments'". To do otherwise, Khamenei said, "risked damaging the social environment" (Kurzman, 2009, para.7).

Any development in today's global system is dependent on research and scientific institutions. Without research, access to development is not possible. Yet, restrictions on research and development in Iran have been a source of disturbance to Iranian researchers for many years (Rahim, 2009). There are cultural and structural hindrances to research and the progress of specialised scientific associations in Iran (Rahim, 2009). Social science research in particular has not been valued in Iran. Material problems take precedence over sociocultural problems, so attention toward the social sciences is also proportionally less than that toward the technical and natural sciences. Bahrampour and Sabzyan (2004) claim that, while in the advanced countries there are more than 2000 researchers for each one million population, in Iran in the year 2003, there were 320 researchers for each one million population (p. 62-63). According to Rahim (2009), the amount of budget allocated to research in Iran annually is 0.7 percent of the country's gross national product. The share of social sciences research is a miniscule part of this allocated budget.

Since belief in social science research in Iranian society has not evolved, non-specialists have occupied the place of social scientists. According to Rahim (2009), the administrative body of Iran does not depend much on research results for its decision making, because they do not believe that research can lead to correct decision making. In fact, they consider social research a lengthy procedure and a waste of money. Furthermore, educational centres and universities in Iran are tutorial based, not research-centred, so very little attention is paid to research projects. University staff are not obliged to undertake research projects since there is no punishment for non-performance or encouragement for the performance in the system. Yet, Mansouri (2003) argues that "only those societies who value research and sciences gain the opportunity to access prosperity in the research field that needs facilities like capital, social and human investment, planning , policy making equipment, research priority,

and paying attention to researcher's status which are needful. Ignorance of these factors causes damage to scientific and cultural progress" (quoted in Rahim, 2009, p.144).

English plays a key role in establishing and maintaining effective relations at an international level, paving the way for universal connections, and freely transferring science and services throughout the world (Khodadady, Arian, & Hossein-Abdi, 2013). Almost all the changes introduced into foreign language education reflect the fact that there is desire for including English in the educational programmes in Iran. Yet, English is perceived as a threat to the national and Islamic identity and thus there is a motivation for its neglect (Dahmardeh, 2011 cited in Kiany, Mahdavy, & Samar, 2011). This, Kiany et al. (2011) argue, is "perhaps due to the fact that it is believed by not paying enough attention to the teaching of English, the perceived negative effects can be minimised" (p.464). Most of the changes introduced into Iranian foreign language education so far have been arbitrary in the sense that they are not linked to the country's other macro and micro policies and were mostly based on the personal ideas of separate individuals (Kiany et al., 2011). In his interview Nick identified the arbitrary nature of policies in Iran for building international relations with other countries:

> *Be shekle sazman va ya systemi nist. Barname khasi nist. Vaghty yek vaziri mire keshvari chizi emza mishe, bad reshtei migzarand. To rabeteye beyn ol melal dashtim. Ma yek reshte gardeshgari bod. Ostadha miomadan vali bekhatere masael va moshkelate edarie digari ke vojod dare va bazan farhangi, in taamol hanoz be shekele monazam ijad nashode.*
>
> *It's not systematic. There are no specific plans. When a minister goes to a country and signs something they create a discipline. We had this case in international relations. We had a discipline called tourism. Lecturers came from overseas. But for administrative problems and organisational issues, which are sometimes cultural, this collaboration has not been regulated effectively.*

John blamed the government's reluctant attitude and ideological stance as the reasons for the lack of interaction between their university and the international community and also for the absence of initiative for improvement:

> *Still, our administrators are closed. Their thinking is outdated. We can do video conferencing and use different means of communications [with lecturers overseas] but still, they are not willing to do this. They need to accept that satellite and internet have actually opened their way in the society. And that we need to go forward and improve, with the society.*

Here, it seems that John is pleading for the government to accept change and to introduce advanced technology into people's lives. Internationally there is the ever-rapid process of globalisation, increasing human connectivity and social relations as a result of digital technology. With the regionalisation of higher education (Robertson et al., 2012), countries such as India and Turkey which are keen to develop their international connections are using MOOCs. MOOCs represent a new form of open education that meets virtually, in a non-physical space using internet platforms to deliver content globally. Consequently, the growing global demand for higher education places provides a strong case for MOOCs as an alternative to in-person university education.

Unfortunately, Iran's education system has not been able to adapt to the swiftly changing global society. In the era of the knowledge economy when higher education has gained unprecedented attention as a critical player in the process of globalisation and researchers talk about growth and flow of knowledge, the Iranian government has been reluctant to utilise technology to share knowledge and communicate with the international community. As mentioned in chapter four, the Iranian regime, stuck with the problem that the internet leads to democratisation, has been busy working on a plan to introduce a domestic computer network that would be compatible with Islamic principles and work independently from the World Wide Web. This system will prevent people from accessing external websites. It will mean that they cannot email anyone outside of Iran. This extreme act of further indigenisation demonstrates the

regime's fear about people's access and communication with the outside world, especially the West.

With the economy in turmoil, for many young Iranians there is little hope in the political horizon both internally and internationally. The lack of hope for any structural change causes continued uncertainty. In the context of higher education, this frustration, even despair, can be seen in the high level of cheating and plagiarism. This is so endemic that a full description of the extent of academic corruptions of 'buying knowledge' is needed, otherwise it would be difficult for academics in Western universities to fully grasp.

Buying knowledge

A Google search in Iran and typing in the words 'buying a doctorate' brings around 4 million hits. Many online shopping links take you to online shops where one can find a range of things from fashion and cosmetics — to the PhDs— on any subjects. Some providers even supply the address to their office. Online PhD providers in Iran even offer all-inclusive services. They not only write the requested thesis based on the latest standards, but they will also give coaching on how to defend the paper in front of professors. They will also complete those theses that are half-written. There are hundreds of advertisements for buying and selling PhDs. Internet cafes display such advertisements openly on their windows (Appendix N). Even book stores, which normally specialise in textbooks, appear to openly welcome PhD inquiries. The best known case in Iran of a forged PhD is that of former Interior Minister Ali Kordan. Under intense public scrutiny, he admitted in 2008 that his honorary doctorate degree from Oxford was, in fact, a forgery (Ahadi & Keshmiripour, 2013). Many deputies in the Iranian Parliament also believe that the PhD held by the first vice-president Mohammad Reza Rahimi is a forgery (Ahadi & Keshmiripour, 2013). Similarly, there are doubts about the doctorate of the previous president, Ahmadinejad. This is because he is believed to have written his dissertation during his tenure as the provincial governor of Ardebil, a city in north eastern Iran (Ahadi & Keshmiripour, 2013).

The leading scientific journal, *Nature,* uncovered many instances of apparent plagiarism in papers co-authored by government ministers and senior officials in Iran (2009). The cultural expectation in Iran which expects officials to have strong academic credentials encourages plagiarism in order to gain promotions. For example, publication in an Institute for Scientific Information (ISI) journal is a precondition for promotion of faculty members as universities place excessive emphasis on the Impact factor of journals (Ghazinoori et al., 2010). Several researchers argue that the 'plagiarism' is partly due to difficulties with English or pressure to acquire academic credentials as a prerequisite for promotion (Shahi, 2013). *Nature* accepted that the frequent cases of plagiarism in Iran may well be partly the result of poor fluency in English, however it does not explain all causes by any means. Many academics in Iran do not have good command of the English language (Rezanejad & Rezaei, 2013) and lack the proficiency to produce the academic discourse necessary to clearly express ideas. For example, during our interview, Nick who was extremely disappointed with the communicative skills of Iranian academics, stated:

> *Alan inja mibinid khodeton, ostadane daneshgahe ma nemitonan do kalam engelisi sohbat konan. Ye khareji miad mimonan ke chetori rabete bargharar konand.*
>
> *As you can see here yourself, our university lecturers cannot speak and say two words in English. When an overseas guest comes they don't know how to start a conversation.*

Cheating

I found that cheating was quite wide spread in the university where I undertook my research. I mentioned in chapter six that students used services to translate their article projects. Many will go further and resort to plagiarism as a quick and safe way to complete their projects and assignments (Riasati & Rahimi, 2013). Rezanejad and Rezae (2013) found that 92 percent of their student participants engaged in acts of academic dishonesty because of a need to make better grades. They also found that students plagiarised mainly because they did not possess the necessary skills for writing

and carrying out research (Riasati & Foroughi, 2013). In the interviews with lecturers, Mark and Peter, while recognising plagarisation from their students, talked about either having taken measures or planning strategies to prevent students from cheating:

> *Ye ghesmati az ketabeshon ra bayad ba ham mani konand. Inke chetor in kar ra mikonan khoda danad. Terme pish har kodam joda . masalan 30 safhe ra 3 ta 10 safhe mikardan va bad har kodam ham har 10 safhe ra hata joda be man midadan. Khode daneshjo ha ba ham kar nemikardand. Format ra mikham yeki bokonam. Begam 30 safhe male 3 nafare, bana bar in, in 30 safhe ra hame bayad bedonan. Hade aghal on 20 safhe ra yek bar ham ke shode bekhonan. Alan inja yek ravandi hast ke midan tarjome konand barashon. Baraye inke az in kar ejtenab beshe in kar ra mikonam.*
>
> *They have to translate a part of their book together. How they do it God knows. Last term they did it separately. 30 pages were for three people. They divided it between themselves, 10 pages each. They did not work together. They even gave me the 10 pages each separately. I want to change the format and say that these 30 pages are for all of you to translate. The three of you has to know it all. This way, at least they get to read the other 20 pages once. At the moment there is a phenomena that students give their articles to translators for translation. I'll have to do this to prevent. (Mark)*
>
> *Baraye in ke daneshjoha matne tarjome ra az hamkelasi nagerefte bashand va ya tarjomash ra az jai peida karde bashand va ya dade bashan barashon tarjome karde beshe, bad az inke tarjomash ra khondan, beheshon migam kheili tarjome khobi bod, hala mishe kami tozih bedi bishtar? In yani chi? Intori daneshjo ehsas mikone khodesh bayad kar bokone. Bishtar mifahme ke man fahmidam.*
>
> *To make sure students have not taken the translated text from their friends or found it from somewhere, or given it to someone to translate it for them, after reading it, I say "it was a good translation, now can you explain what you have*

read a little further for me? what does this mean"? This way student feels that they need to do it themselves. They will know that I know. (Peter)

Although the EAP classes focused exclusively on teaching the students translation of texts, both of the humanities group coordinators recognised the importance of teaching wider skills such as writing in English so that students could publish in popular international journals. They talked about the large numbers of students' journal papers published in Persian and were concerned about the paucity of articles suitable for students available in English:

Tolidate elmie ma ziad hast va ma hamanjor ke gofte shode hodode roshde motovaset elmie ma 12 barabare motovasete donia hast.

Our production of scientific articles is quite large and as it is said, on average our production is about 12 times the average of the world (Nick).

Shoma negah bokonid toye hoze olom ensani maghalate ISI kheili kame va dalilesh ineke daneshjoye ma nemitone maghalash ra tarjome bokone va ma nemitonim chon tasalot be zaban nadarim.

If you look at articles in ISI in the field of humanities you will see that they are very little and the reason is because our student can not translate his or her article. (John)

John also revealed how the low number of articles published in English has an affect on the university' ranking:

Hatta age rankinge daneshgahe ma ra ham bekhay tanzim koni bar asase maghalate hamayesh shodash, on maghalat hatman bayad be zabane engelisi bashe.

Even if you want to set the university ranking, based on the number of presented articles, then these articles must be in English.

Despair

The economic recession of Iran was worsened by the collapse of the oil price and the tightening of the international economic sanctions against Iran in 2006 (Saleh-Isfahani, 2010). For the majority of young people, marriage and family formation are increasingly becoming challenges to overcome rather than celebrations of reaching adulthood (Saleh-Isfahani & Egel, 2009). Rising unemployment, high inflation and a currency that has lost over half its value since sanctions were placed on Iran at the start of 2011 have led increasing numbers of young people towards choosing drugs or suicide as their way to escape from the situation. According to The Economist (2013 August), "an official youth unemployment rate of 28 percent and inflation running at 42 percent a year, both aggravated by American and European economic sanctions, have helped to turn ever more Iranians to hard drugs" (para.1). In recent years there has been a significant increase in the rate of substance (drug) use, age reduction of substance abuse onset and its popularity among youth (Rahman, Lesani, Moghaddam, 2011). According to the U.N. World Drug Report for 2005, Iran has the highest proportion of opiate addicts in the world — 2.8 percent of the population over age 15 (Vick, 2005). Estimates of the number of addicts vary widely - from one million to more than three million in Iran. Consequently, addiction problems have become one of the most important and serious priorities of all the planners and officials in all social areas (Rahman et al., 2011). The annual growth rate of addiction in the country is about 8 percent, while the annual population growth rate is about 6.2 percent (Rahman et al., 2011). Research results show that addicts are less hopeful than non-addicts. Depression, hopelessness, anxiety, and intense feelings of inferiority and dependence are the most common psychiatric disorders among drug users.

Attempted suicide has also become prevalent in the age group 15–24 years in Iran, especially among women. The main methods used are reported to be overdosing and self-immolation. In 1999 and 2000, 895 cases of deliberate overdose and 97 cases of self-immolation were admitted to the hospital in Isfahan, the second largest city in the country (Keyvanara & Haghshenas, 2011). In their study to illuminate the sociocultural contexts of attempting suicide among Iranian youth, Keyvanara and Haghshenas (2011)

found that financial problems, unemployment and poverty contribute in attempted suicide in southern and Western regions of the country. In addition, their participants expressed feelings of depression and despair in various ways. Many expressed feeling of worthlessness, loneliness, sorrow and sadness as well as sleep disturbances. These are feelings of *Na'omidi* (hopelessness and futility, loss of hope). What is important to note is that a great number of suicides in the Islamic Republic of Iran are not reported since it is considered a great sin in Islam. Indeed, that suicide is considered so sinful increases the impact of these numbers.

Higher education in Iran has failed to provide skills that are relevant to the country's needs, but still churns out graduates faster than jobs can be created. Davies (1962) posited that rising expectations associated with expansions in education could, when left unmet, spill over into political violence (cited in Campante & Chor, 2012). In the same way, Campante and Chor argued that the lack of adequate economic opportunities for an increasingly educated populace were the reason for episodes of regime instability such as the Arab Spring (2012). In December 2010, the Tunisian street vendor, Mohamed Bouazizi, whose act of protest marked the start of the Arab Spring, was himself rumoured to be a university graduate. According to Campante and Chor, "the fact that the rumor gained such traction is revealing of the strong current of job-related discontent amongst university graduates in Tunisia" (p.174). Similarly, in June 2009, a year earlier, unmet expectations, unrealised aspirations and the challenges of unemployment and underemployment led university students and graduates in Iran to join protest movements over the presumed rigged elections (Rezai-Rashti & Moghadam, 2011). Wide-spread protests were regarded as expressions of the anger and frustration of the majority of young Iranians with the regime and a call for political and social change (Mather, 2010).

In the face of hopelessness and despair, many members of the younger generation have chosen migration as a response to many of Iran's unemployment and other social problems. Those who have an opportunity to leave, do so. Indeed, migration has become a common trend and an expected fact of life among Iranians. Seeing discrimination in the system and having low level of uncertainty avoidance for future

(Javidan & Dastmalchian, 2003), people leave Iran with a hope for better, more stable life abroad. According to Ravanshad (2011), currently there are between 3.5 million to 4.5 million Iranian immigrants around the world. The majority of these migrants leave Iran because of the economic and social restrictions. An Iranian sociologist from a Paris university identified ten waves of migration from Iran over the past thirty years. The first wave was political; second wave, social-cultural; third wave, economical; fourth wave, ethnic minorities; fifth wave, religious minorities; sixth wave, people pursuing further education; seventh wave, businessmen; eighth wave, artists; ninth wave, regime officials; and finally those leaving due to natural disasters. One of my interviewees highlighted the overwhelming desire of ordinary Iranians to go overseas when he talked about students' motivation for attending private English institutes:

> *Alan hame daghdagheye raftan az iran ra darand. Bekhatere hamin be zaban bahaye bishtari dare dade mishe. Khanevadeha be bachehashon migan bayad yad begiri chon ye roozi mirim.*
>
> *Now everyone is thinking of going overseas. That is why people give more value for learning English. They [parents] say to their children, you will have to learn it because one day we will leave. (Michael)*

Marr and Syklos (1995) found that immigration and the unemployment rate are inversely related (cited in Entezarkheir, 2005). Instability in the Iranian economic situation and growing unemployment among university graduates have pushed many of them to seek opportunities abroad. Report from the World Bank (2002), *Constructing knowledge societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education,* has expressed concern at the rapidly increasing rates of emigration of knowledge workers from the developing countries, thus depriving them of conditions necessary to sustain their universities. In my conversations with the participant students, I found that seven out of ten students expressed a desire to go overseas. In fact, Darius replied to my question about whether he had a plan and motive for going overseas by saying:

> *Inja az kheilli az afrad ke beporsid hame migan mosalaman daaram.*
>
> *Here, if you ask many people, they would all say "obviously yes".*

Cyrus talked about the competition for a place at postgraduate level to be an impacting factor for his decision to move abroad:

> *Malom nist, bastegi dare. Yek Shansi ke daram ineke man jozve shagerd aval haye inja hastam va age betonam az in sahmie estefade bokonam vase arshadam haminja mimonam amma age nashod va majbor besham chand sal arshad bemonam miram kharej.*
>
> *I'm not sure, it depends. One of the points I have is that I'm a top student at the university and if I can receive the scholarship to get into Masters' programme I will stay. But if I can't and have to stay behind masters' exam for few years then I'll go overseas.*

Paul also identified students' desire to go to English speaking countries for further studies:

> *Kheili hayeshan masalan alaghemand hastand ke baraye edame tahsileshan be keshvarhaye khareji beravand, makhsosan keshvarhaye engelisi zaban. Ehsas mikonam vaghean be sorate yek niaz be an negah mikonand.*
>
> *Many of the students are interested to further their education overseas. Especially English speaking countries. I feel that they look at English as a need.*

According to Rizvi (2005a), international education has now become a major channel for the movement of highly skilled workers. "Many students view investment in international education as their ticket to migration" (p.7). Tremblay (2004) found that more than 50% of international students from Asia eventually secure permanent residence in a developed country. He also found that the proportion of Chinese and Indian doctoral students who intended to stay in the US after completion of their studies in 2001-2003 was over 80%.

According to Amuzegar (2004), the lack of suitable work for university graduates each year has been a crucial factor in the 'intellectual hollowing out' of the country. Poor

prospects for finding satisfying work have led thousands of Iranians studying abroad — including those recipients of government scholarship – to choose not to return home even at the cost of forfeiting their 'return pledge' bonds (Amuzegar, 2004). Likewise, David talked about his interest for going abroad due to lack of job opportunities in Iran:

> *Reshtei ke ma tosh tadris mikonim bomie keshvare ma nist, va khob makhsosan electronic kheili kam kar hast barash to iran.*
>
> *The subject field which we study is not native and limited just to our country, and also there is not much job for electronics in Iran.*

In conclusion, this chapter has discussed how the crisis in Iranian higher education has led to despair among university students and contributes to the low motivation in studying EAP. Paradoxically, however, it has not lowered the incentive to study English. The presidential election of Hasan Rouhani in June 2013 has brought a glimmer of hope for many young people who had given up on believing there would be an improvement in the situation. Rouhani has inherited a higher education system in crisis. He will have to address the place of English along with many other problems of the dysfunctional system. Rouhani's statements (which I will discuss in the next chapter) suggest that he understands the stakes. In the next chapter I consider how the new president, aware of all the social and political problems in the universities identified in this research, promises to tackle the issues and improve the situation. Like my analysis of the current situation, Rouhani's statements will be set within the context of the globalisation of higher education. Any reforms he attempts will work only if they address this context. English language is central to any attempt to join the global higher education market. Rouhani will need to confront the deep contradictions towards English language and the hostility to the language of the 'enemy' that I have identified so far in this thesis.

Chapter 8: Discussion and conclusion

"An expert is one who knows more and more about less and less until he knows absolutely everything about nothing"

Nicholas Murray Butler

The purpose of this thesis is to use the English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programmes to illustrate a wider issue of the traditionalist-modernist contradiction in Iranian higher education. Many researchers maintain that EAP programmes in Iran are not successful and thus link the ineffectiveness of these programmes mainly to the absence of needs analysis, resources, and pedagogy (Atai, 2000; Eslami, 2010; Nikui Nezhad, 2007). The most noticeable shortcoming of the existing literature on the EAP programmes in Iran is the underestimation of the role of political, cultural and social forces on the teaching and learning of EAP courses. Using a sociological approach, I wanted to dig deeper and examine government policy in regards to the teaching and learning of English in Iran. Similarly, I needed to go beyond the country's education and its subfield of English language in order to identify the social, political, and economic causes of the tension between the receptiveness to English, on the one hand, and hostility towards English, on the other.

The study identified problems that could only be explained in terms of the deeper structural contradictions that underpin the ambivalence towards English. I developed a conceptual methodology in order to identify and explain these contradictions. Concepts of 'fundamentalism', 'traditionalism', 'neoliberalism' and 'globalisation' were brought to bear in explaining the source and strength of the contradiction that produces a general stasis in the provision of EAP. In chapters four and seven I analysed the government's higher education policy and practices to show that Iranian higher education is a system in crisis. The educational system under the Islamic Republic of Iran has many fundamental problems. One of the main problems in higher education is the ideological commitment to a fundamentalist form of religion and the incorporation of this ideology throughout the education system. Iran lost considerable scientific ground in the region

during the 1982-1992 period following the Cultural Revolution when the Islamic fundamentalists seized power. This greatly weakened Iran in the areas of science and technology. The large decline in university quality and performance is the consequence of the pronounced ideological commitment of Iran's education system (Keddie, 2006; Khosrokhavar, 2009). Many unqualified but pro-regime students and professors have been admitted into higher institutions (Habibi, 1989). There is excessive emphasis on rote learning, memorisation, and unconditional obedience to the Koranic doctrines as Islamic ideology leaves little room for creativity, independence and critical thinking (Ashraf, 1997& Mehran, 1997 cited in Borjian, 2009).

Iran's current situation in relation to higher education and globalisation is also explained in the thesis. I have looked at the demands of globalising higher education and explained the fundamental tension between the global marketisation of knowledge and the Islamic attachment to religious values. I have argued how neoliberal globalisation in the West has changed the role of government, from a provider of welfare benefits to a builder of markets (Mok, 2010). In the same way, the social values of equality and democracy have been rearticulated and subordinated to dominant economic concerns. In Iran, however, the religious government has kept a tight hold over higher education due to its fear of a youth uprising and the threat to its legitimacy. The Islamic Republic requires the state to be strong in teaching and controlling Islamic knowledge and the values that frame the political system. Yet, Iran's higher education system does not have the capacity to meet current needs. It faces numerous challenges and needs reform and transformation (Rasian, 2009). Higher education pays little attention to the personal and occupational development of the students and therein lays the problem that surface in the EAP courses. Religion holds sway over universities with the government unwilling or afraid to allow the introduction of Western knowledge in the thirty four years since the Islamic Revolution.

Higher education in Iran is an anti-democratic and dictatorial system which aims at creating obedient subjects in the service of the ruling theocratic regime (Jahani, 2007). Academic freedom violations pervade Iran's system of higher education. Dialogue has been stifled in the domains of the social sciences, and academic and community

educators have engaged in self-censorship to insulate themselves from charges of blasphemy or subversion. Consequently, the International Monetary Fund reported Iran to have the world's highest rate of brain drain (Esfandiari, 2004). This has raised considerable concern among Iranian policy makers. The *Iran Daily* (2005) argued that the Iranian government spends a lot of money on education and training programmes (cited in Entezarkheir, 2005). Yet, every year many educated Iranians leave their home country. These people represent human capital in the Iranian economy and their leaving causes a loss for the country. Without educated people, the economic growth of Iran will be restricted (Entezarkheir, 2005).

Role of English language in higher education

With the emergence of the United States as the dominant economic and political power after World War II, English solidified its role as the premier international language (Hayati & Mashhadi, 2010). The ability to communicate in a universal language has become an imperative in the modern globalised world. Most countries believe that English is necessary for their socio-economic development and thus have developed language plans accordingly. Non-English speaking countries introduce English in their higher education curriculum in order to build individuals who can study and work on the global stage and who can also progress the country economically. In Iran however, the status of English as a foreign language has been controversial and questionable.

Before the 1979 Islamic revolution, there was a push for English language acquisition and its learning was linked with modernisation and development of the country economically. For example, the Shah sought to link English and modernisation by using English in many of his speeches and in his most important writings. In his major statement of his vision for Iran's future, *The White Revolution*, the Shah quoted Washington, Lincoln, Emerson, Shakespeare, Wellington, and Disraeli. He called Western countries 'progressive', praised Iran's close ties with the West and praised Iranian students who studied abroad. He instituted changes in vocational education and prepared Iranians to work for international and Western agencies (Jamshidifard, 2011).

In contrast, the new Islamic Revolutionary Government of 1979 viewed English as undesirable. Refereed to as *zabane biganeh* (alien language), English was banned from appearing on T shirts or in shop names. While English use was frowned upon and shop keepers were fined if they used English words, it has always remained iconic of modernity (Jamshidifard, 2011). With the passing of time, the use of English on signage and on television programmes has started to become more acceptable. During Khatami's presidency (1997-2005) the government recognised that the key to economic recovery was to mobilise domestic capital and attract foreign investment. As with the Shah, Khatami stressed that the road to the development would go through the West. This was because "science, technology and wealth are today concentrated in the West, a fact which Iran cannot ignore" (Menashiri, 2001, p.183). Calling the Western civilisation 'superb', "Khatami asked what was wrong in utilising the experience of other human communities" (Menashiri, 2001, p.186). The gradual change in attitudes towards English language and the realisation of its importance by the Islamic Republic has not, however, seen fundamental changes to the English language programme in universities. The government is afraid of young Iranians obtaining knowledge about the institutionalised liberal democratic values of the West. This is because the elements of Western liberal democracy and the concept of secularism threaten the very existence of the Islamic regime.

Nonetheless, despite the Islamic government's great efforts to prevent young people from following Western pop-culture and fashion trends, the policy seems to have failed. According to Mr Armeni, a young middle class Iranian, "there are two worlds in Iran that contradict each other yet exist side by side" (quoted in Asharq-Al Awsat, 2007, para.2). Today's Iranian youth are discontented with the current government, as evidenced in the 2009 protests. They see the archaic vision and repressive policies of the traditionalist clergy as incongruent with their hopes and dreams for the future. It seems that every step the clerical administration has taken to stamp-out Western practices or values served only to exacerbate the desire for them among Iranian young people today (Basmenji, 2005). Iranian civil society, including many young people are "all-too aware of the difference between the paradise they were promised and the harsh reality of living under the rule of Islamic fundamentalists" (Berkeley, 2006, p. 89).

Interestingly I found no great significance between male and female responses in relation to learning English. Language learning seemed to be an interest to both genders. One of the significant triumphs for Iranian women after the 1979 revolution has been their undeniable and growing presence in higher education. The number of female students admitted to university has dramatically risen and outnumbered the males (Al Amjadi, 2011). Overall, the population of women has exceeded the male population, mainly as a result of the catastrophic Iran-Iraq war. Unlike the previous decades when a woman's role was confined to household duties and raising children, middle class women have now found ways to challenge traditional constraints. While in the past Western education was to enhance career opportunities within Iran to the benefit mainly of men with wealthy families sending their children (especially the men) to the West, in recent years, further education has become a pathway for both men and women to leave Iran for a better life overseas.

Fundamental findings and contradictions

An important finding that comes through at every level of government policy and practice is the structural contradiction between modernity and tradition. The Islamic Revolution was undoubtedly a traditionalist revolution which resulted in the traditionalisation of a modernising nation-state. The post-revolutionary state in Iran has tried to amalgamate modernity with what it considers as 'Islam'. This process has witnessed intensive forms of political and social contestation (Khiabany, 2007). One can see the contradiction of the two forces in Iran's political system structure. The Islamic Republic is a truly distinctive political system. The world's only modern theocracy combines clerical rule, believed to be sanctioned by God, with popular presidential and parliamentary elections. The Iranian constitution bestows dictatorship rights on a leader, and presidential candidates must be approved by Iran's powerful Guardians Council. The Council comprises 12 members, all of them directly or indirectly elected by the Supreme Leader. During this process, the candidate's devotion to Shi'a Islam, the state religion, and their belief in the principles of the Islamic republic are included in the appointment.

The thesis has shown the stasis that occurs in many levels of government institutions as a result of this traditionalist-modernist contradiction. The regime's desire is to participate in the neoliberal world economy by developing a knowledge-based economy. A primary objective of Iran is still to become a developed country and the principal economic power in the region by 2025 (Kharazmi, 2011). However, it cannot move beyond its fundamental theocratic principles. Thirty-four years of the Islamic regime's ideology, of its anti-Western sentiments, slogans of national reliance and anti-capitalism have placed the country into a difficult and isolated position. Iran's theocratic regime demands that the nation's citizenry has to change. People are expected to purify themselves and adhere uncritically to the regime's ideological exhortations and obey its commands. Hardliners dismiss the notions of individual sovereignty and an empowered citizenry as a means of forging a new political community.

The state's hard line policy has been contested by ongoing popular protests. Many Iranians, across a wide spectrum of age, class, ethnic and religious backgrounds, are scathing in their criticism of the government and its policies (Mousavi-Shafaee, 2010). Increased urbanisation and literacy and the rapid spread of technological and organisational changes have all contributed to an eruption of new and dynamic energies and new forms of struggles (Khiabany, 2007). Khatami's landslide election in May 1997 and his promises of various freedoms, dialogue among civilisations, and civil society led many to believe Iran was entering a period of fundamental reform (Semati, 2008). Some hoped a democratic regime would emerge (Keddie, 2006). Khatami attempted to establish the rule of law, to relax restrictions on the freedom of press, speech, and assembly, and to talk initiatives to improve relations with the outside world (Dorraj, 2001). His efforts for change were met by oppositions from the Supreme Leader and the Conservatives and hardliners. Every time he wanted to do something he was stopped, and he was not willing to challenge the Supreme Leader. Khatami eventually admitted that his role was that of an administrator and not an executive leader. This led to many people's dismay and despair that there could be any structural change in the country.

All these deep structural contradictions are experienced at a phenomenal level. My research used the EAP programme in universities to illustrate the tensions and stasis that results from the contradictions within discourses about the need for English on one hand and rejecting the West on the other. My study found no arguments against the importance of English. Both educators and students at the university recognised its importance. When I asked lecturers about the attitudes held by students, as well as the general public, towards English learning, they all expressed a positive response.

> *Kolan tarafdarane zabane engelisi toye Iran kheili ziad shodand, kasani ke bekhahand engelisi bekhanand. Taghriban tamame danesh amozane ma kelase zaban miran. Ghablan injori nabod.*
>
> *The number of people wanting to learn English in Iran has increased very much. Nearly all our students attend English classes. It was not like this before. (Mark)*
>
> *Kheili khobe, kheili esteghbal mishe azash, alaghe hast va har sal esteghbale bishtari mishe va afrad be kelas ha miravand.*
>
> *It is very good. It gets welcomed by people very much. There is internet and each year it becomes more popular and people attend classes. (Peter)*

However, lecturers were negative about the pedagogy for teaching English at the schools. For example, Michael said:

> *Alan daran dar senine ebtedai tar ham shoro mikonand. Ba in hame man dar dorost bodan va mabdai bodane barnamashon fekr nakonam be natije beresand... man fekr nemikonam moshkel ra ta zamani ke yek barname rizie monsajem baraye tadris nadashte bashim nemishe entezari bish az in dasht.*
>
> *They are starting to introduce English at primary school age. However, I am not optimistic that their plans would be successful. I do not think that until we have a proper and firm planning put in place, we can expect anything more this.*

However, these tensions exist in all areas of Iranian life. The Islamic Republic is caught between including the English language in the curriculum so that students can participate in the globalised international economy and the determination that its citizens should not be in touch with Western culture. There are two paradoxical perspectives on the English language which result in tension and dissension between top-down official policies and the bottom-up grass-roots English language learning practices of contemporary Iranian society. Given that the English language is associated with globalisation and progress it is in demand in Iran. However, the dominant official discourses in the country consider English as a threat because it incorporates Western values, allows access to these values, and could thus be deemed harmful to local cultures and identities. According to Paziresh, Shojaie, and Shokrollahi (2013), the English language teaching materials, such as CDs, books and DVDs, that Iran imports from English speaking countries, contain rules, patterns, dialogues and simulations which do not fit with the rules and culture inside Iran. Consequently, these language resources will be "making Western brains over Muslim shoulders" (Paziresh et al., 2013, p.118).

As the language of academic and scientific communication, English has a key role in universities. My study found, as has previous research (Atai, 2002), that unfortunately conversational skills, central to a communicative approach to teaching English, are severely neglected at the cost of paying more attention to reading. Both the participant comments, and research studies (Mahboudi & Javdani, 2012; Eslami-Rasekh, Jafarzadeh, & Simin, 2011) identify reading and translation as inadequate as the main outcomes of EAP courses. According to Bagherian the communication difficulties Iranians face in English could be due to "lack of attention to: …the international standards in planning the objectives of foreign language instruction [in Iran]. Based on these [international] standards the objective of foreign language instruction is improving the speaking, listening, writing and reading skills and becoming familiar with the culture and traditions of other nations. However, educational assessment procedures in [Iranian] universities stress reading comprehension, which lead to lack of listening [comprehension] skills" (App, p.31, quoted in Jamshidifard). Despite their articulated

belief that the current EAP courses are not effective, students still believe it should be compulsory.

The Islamic Republic of Iran is currently facing many challenges such as a devastated economy, dysfunctional higher education system, and political discontent from people inside, as well as opposition groups outside the country. The regime has realised that, in order to sustain its existence, it needs to build the economy and minimise dissatisfaction. To do this, the government needs to improve relations with the West and, more specifically, the US. Hassan Rouhani's victory in the June 2013 elections unleashed a wave of expectation and hope. Here, I discuss some of the promises that the new government of Rouhani, known as *Prudence and Hope,* has made in order to break the deadlock the country is in, both in relation to the country's international relations and in the context of higher education. The EAP programme which is at the centre of this thesis is operating in the higher education institutions of Iran and hence any change of attitude and structural change that occurs in these fields subsequently affects and influences the success of the EAP programme.

Building relations with the United States

Iran and the United States broke ties after the storming of the US embassy in Tehran in 1979. As a result of sanctions imposed on Iran by the United States in 1980, following the hostage taking, and more recently after the 2006 report on Iran's nuclear bomb making, Iran has suffered a great deal economically. To give an example, at the time of the revolution each US dollar was being sold for 70 rials; at present one dollar is being traded at the rate of 30,000 rials. A broken economy is the biggest threat for any regime. Mather (2010) recognises that the momentum for the disputed election protests of 2009 were due to the frustration felt by Iranian youth over the economic situation and high unemployment. Consequently, in mid-2013, to break the deadlock and improve the country's image and devastated economy, the regime had to introduce a president who was both popular among the Iranians inside the country and had a good reputation internationally so that it could negotiate and eradicate some of the sanctions placed on Iran.

Hasan Rouhani was a negotiator of nuclear activities during the Khatami's presidency. He is fluent in English, holds a PhD from the University of Glasgow, and is perceived as a moderate. Rouhani has worked to break the standoff with the international community over Tehran's controversial nuclear programme. To overcome thirty four years of estrangement between Washington and Tehran, Mohammad javad Zarif was appointed as the new Foreign Minister. Zarif is also fluent in English and is a PhD graduate from the University of Denver. A senior Western diplomat refered to Zarif as "someone who knows the United States very well and with all the frustrations of the past is still someone they know in Washington" (George & Taylor, 2013, para.7). Accordingly, Zarif's appointment is a strong gesture of positive intent towards the United States (George & Taylor, 2013).

Since the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, leaders have been repeating the 'Death to America' slogan at every public occasion. Rouhani's new push for moderation at home and abroad has prompted calls for the slogan to be dropped. Rouhani stated, "We can stand against powers which threaten our national interests with prudence rather than slogans" (Theodoulou, 2013, para.6). A decade ago, a rare opinion poll revealed that 70 percent of Iranians favoured establishing ties with Washington. Recently, Rouhani has called for a new poll to gauge opinions.

Rafsanjani, an influential former president and key supporter of Mr Rouhani, recently called for the chant to be mothballed (Theodoulou, 2013). He recounted a private conversation with Khomeini, founder of Iran's revolution, in which Khomeini said that the 'death to America' slogan could be dropped if it was in the national interest. He recalled Khomeini saying that the US "should not be discouraged from re-establishing ties with Iran" (Bozorgmehr, 2013, para.4). While these comments are welcomed by the ordinary Iranians who see international relations as essential, they have infuriated many hardliners who view anti-Americanism as an ideological cornerstone of Iran's Islamic revolution.

As the person who has final say on all state matters, Ayatollah Khamenei was one of the greatest opponents of any friendly relations with the West, especially the US. On Wednesday 17th September, 2013, he told an audience of Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) commanders that he was "not opposed to diplomacy," adding that he believed in an idea called "heroic flexibility" (*narmeshe ghahremanane*) (Karami, 2013a, para.1). The term has been the 'buzz word' of the Iranian media since Khamenei uttered it, raising questions as to what precisely the Supreme Leader meant by his elusive phrase. According to Haghighat Nejad (2013), "one of the most significant aspects of the speech was Khamenei's efforts to prepare hardliners, especially the most radical, for the potential innovations, read concessions, of the Rouhani government" (para.7).

Nevertheless, one cannot be too optimistic about the regime's relaxation in attitude given that any good relations with the West would also promote cultural closeness and bring Western values into Iran, values which threaten the foundation of the Islamic Republic. The survival of the regime has for the past thirty four years been based on a relationship of suspicion between Iran and the US. According to Takeyh (2006), the revolutionary leader, Khomeini's confrontational foreign policy was because he perceived it to be the best way to consolidate his regime at home. Takeyh quotes Khomeini saying, "all the superpowers have risen to destroy us. If we remain an enclosed environment, we shall definitely be destroyed" (2006, p.19). Likewise, whenever there was protest over social or economic problems, the regime blamed the West for stirring up the dissent. The Islamic regime pulled the 'enemy card' in order to unite people and use their nationalist panic to suppress protests. The most recent example of this tactic was the 2009 uprising where the government called the protests a scheme designed by the West to overthrow the regime. Many individuals arrested and prosecuted were charged with having links with the West and working for the US. In fact, a 'pro-regime' film, *ghaladehaye tala* (Golden Collars) was produced in 2011 in which it portrayed the Iranian opposition groups overseas, namely People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran (*Sazmane mojahedine khalgh*), to be behind the uprising. It also claimed group members were responsible for the street shooting of protestors.

In a speech in honour of National Day of Resistance Against Global Arrogance, on 4th Novermber, 2013, Khamenei said that when we talk about good relations we mean political relations only. He warned the Iranian diplomats and negotiators, sent for the nuclear programme meetings, against trusting the Americans: "You cannot trust an enemy who smiles," Ayatollah Khamenei said. "My recommendation to officials in the field of diplomacy and negotiations is, be careful, do not allow the deceitful smiles of the enemy entangle you in a mistake" (Karami, 2013c, para.4). All of this indicates the contradictions in the system. On one hand the regime has realised that for the country's economy to survive, global participation and assimilation is crucial, but on the other hand, sees it as a threat because any contact with the democratic values of the West may well inspire the large population of young well-educated Iranians to demand democracy for Iran.

The new government and Higher Education:

The majority of university students and lecturers across Iran voted for Rouhani at the June Election of 2013. Many of the young people and academics who were disappointed and despairing over the Ahmadinejad government supported Rouhani's election campaign. One of the reasons for his popularity was his willingness to engage with the international community — a theme of his election campaign. He also campaigned on an ambitious platform that included free speech, release of political prisoners, and gender equality. He pledged to "break this security atmosphere" (Kashani & Nada, 2013) and on a number of occasions voiced criticism over the Islamic state interfering in the private lives of citizens and called the filtering of internet websites "a senseless act" (Orgeon Herald, 2013). His government seems to be more responsive towards the wishes of its citizenry and more responsible in its approach to the international community. "President Rouhani has an immense responsibility to uphold his promises to protect citizenship rights and use all means at his disposal to stop this latest onslaught against civil and human rights," said Hadi Ghaemi, executive director of the International Campaign for Human Rights in Iran (quoted in Kashani & Nada, 2013, para.6).

Aware of the large number of young people online who bypass filters and proxies, it seems the new government has accepted that controlling people by force is to fight a losing battle. Hence, since President Rouhani took office in August 2013, the authorities appear to be showing a greater tolerance towards social, cultural, and media issues. Despite a systematic ban, the new officials use social media to reach the internet-savvy younger generation, as well as the Iranian diaspora. The president has encouraged government officials to open their own Facebook pages and they have done so. Both the president and the foreign minister have opened Facebook and Twitter accounts, even though it is technically illegal for them to have such accounts at all (Orgeon Herald, 2013). Keating (2013) points out that this embracing of social media indicates the government's willingness to engage with critics.

In the June 5th 2013 presidential debate, Rouhani condemned the forced retirement of professors and expulsion of student activists which have continued since the nationwide protests of 2009. In August, having won the election, Rouhani appointed Jafar Tofighi, as interim head of the Science Ministry. Tofighi immediately promised to resolve the problem of 'starred' students. The term 'starred' is used for those university students whom, over the past eight years were considered a threat by the Intelligence Ministry and banned from continuing their higher education (Fassihi, 2009). The ministry subsequently set up a committee to receive complaints lodged by students and faculty members. By the mid-September, Tofighi announced that 400 to 500 complaints had already been received, adding that 40 students excluded in 2011-12 could enrol again. At the start of the academic year in September, The Ministry of Science, Research and Technology allowed about 40 students and a few teachers, previously barred from university on account of their political convictions or activities, to return to their respective establishments (Golshiri, 2013; Kashani & Nada, 2013).

In another move, symbolic of the new government's determination to allay the political tension in universities, several university presidents perceived as particularly conservative were replaced with more moderate figures (Golshiri, 2013). Tofighi sacked Sadreddin Shariati, the ultra-Conservative head of Allameh Tabatabai University, the top centre for human sciences in Tehran, for his role in the dismissal of

faculty and politically active students. Appointed by Ahmadinejad in 2005, his term of office saw many cases of harassment and the expulsion of both students and teaching staff (Golshiri, 2013). Shariati had also tried to segregate co-educational classrooms (Kashani & Nada, 2013). His place has been taken by Hossein Salimi, who urged some former faculty members, such as the economist Farshad Momeni, to resume their work. Meanwhile, Hamid Mirzadeh has been put in charge of Iran's private universities, where millions of students are enrolled. He too promised that all the 'starred' students would be reinstated (Golshiri, 2013).

In his speech at a ceremony marking the start of the academic year (on 14th October, 2013, two months after his appointment) President Rouhani spoke about some of the issues I have developed as thematic categories in my research and highlighted in this thesis. Rouhani condemned many of the previous government's actions towards university academics and argued for his government's commitment to improving the state of universities. He also acknowledged the important role that universities play in the country's social, political, and economic development. Rouhani's statements suggest that he understands what is at stake. Here I will discuss the themes of trust, academic freedom, and teacher autonomy that emerge from my findings in regard to the EAP programme and while suggesting what needs to happen for the situation to improve, I bring in statements from Rouhani to discuss how he suggests overcoming problems.

Trust

Trust is a pre-requisite for effective and meaningful collaborative working relationships. However my study of the EAP programme found that the absence and the lack of trust that exists between the Iranian government and higher education institutions and also between students and lecturers is an important factor influencing the effectiveness of the courses (Nias et al., 1989). According to statistics collated by student organisations since Ahmadinejad took office in 2005, 250 students were expelled from universities (Golshiri, 2013). Attendance at international conferences by Iranian lecturers and students of humanities was frequently treated with suspicion and viewed as attempts by

foreign powers to infiltrate Iranian society. All university professors were required to obtain permission to travel from the security offices of universities (*Herasat*), which then has to defer the cases to the Ministry of Intelligence. This placed the movement of academics under the direct supervision of the Iranian government. In recent years, dozens of students and professors have been expelled from schools or forced into retirement after attending gatherings abroad.

Now, however, Rouhani has called for Iranian scholars and students to be granted more opportunity to take part in international gatherings. "I urge all security apparatuses, including the 'Intelligence Ministry' to open the way for this diplomacy". He reiterates the need for greater outreach to the world by stating, "We should have solidarity and peaceful co-existence with all friendly countries or even with all the world's nations" (Karimi, 2013). Interestingly, Rouhani also made a comment about the building of two character-identities amongst Iranian people by saying, "some try for the 75 million population to have two faces. One face, where there is the matter of grade and job promotion, and another when they have free life. We do not want this" ("Dolat fesharhaye mahfeli", 2013, own translation).

Academic freedom and teacher autonomy

Academic freedom is an essential component of scientific research and teaching. One of the important points of education and university study is to develop critical thinkers who do not accept everything unquestionably. According to Paivandi (2012), the university is the only institution of modern society where critical thinking and freedom are institutionalised. Paivandi believes that a university without autonomy and freedom to criticise is a "clamped and disabled university" (2012, p.13).

In New Zealand, "there are two legislative requirements designed to protect intellectual autonomy in universities. The first is the Education Act of 1989 which guarantees intellectual freedom to academics, including 'the freedom of academic staff and students, within the law, to question and test received wisdom, to put forward new ideas and to state controversial or unpopular opinions (section 161 (2) (a). The second is the

legislative requirement that universities accept 'a role as critic and conscience of society' (section 162 (4)(a)(v))" (Rata, 2013, p.333).

In contrast the system of the Islamic Republic requires unquestionable commitment from its citizens. Educated intellectuals who engaged in the practice of criticising and questioning would be seen as a threat to the regime. Such intellectuals threaten the legitimacy of the regime, as was seen in the July 1999, June 2003 and again 2009 student protests, all of which were violently crushed by government security forces. The June 2004 report by Human Rights Watch detailed how Iran's Conservative forces quashed efforts to promote peaceful political change with a deft strategy of silencing public debate and eliminating potential opposition leaders (Brzezinski, Gates, & Maloney, 2004).

However, since taking office in August 2013, Rouhani has continued to press for more freedom in universities even to the point where he says "Trust the universities". He disapproves of restrictions on the freedom of speech in Iranian universities. In his October speech, Rouhani noted that universities can be regulated only by law, and that he will not allow anyone to exert pressure on students. Accordingly, "university is a place for expressions of ideas, and only a language, that is the language of science, wisdom, and rationality would be accepted in university" ("Government would not", 2013, para.3). Rouhani continued, "How will it be possible for university to make great academic progress while its professors are not allowed to air their views?" ("Government would not", 2013, para.2). Rouhani demanded an end to the obsessive scrutiny of students and faculty members. "The security environment will lead to hypocrisy and we do not want that" (Pedram, 2013, para.2). He asked for greater freedom so that all faculty members would feel safe to express themselves and to participate in debates on campus.

"This is a shame for an administration that its students and professors are not able to express their viewpoints," Rouhani said at Tehran University on October 14 (Karimi, 2013, para.6). Rouhani said his administration will not tolerate factional pressures on universities. "University officials should respect freedom of expression, and we should

not be involved in the bad and inappropriate tendency of sending teachers into early retirement. I call on the security services to pave the way to that diplomacy and to trust professors and students" (Kashani & Nada, 2013, para.20). He went on to say, "Only a single group in an Islamic university would be blamed, and that group is those who mismanage the production of knowledge" ("Government would not", 2013, para.4).

Structural change required

According to Tilak (2003), coherent and long-term policies for the development of higher education must recognise the critical importance of higher education in development. No nation that has not expanded its higher education system can achieve a high level of economic development. Therefore, in order for Iran to reach the economic goals promoted by Rouhani, the development of the higher education sector is crucial. The government needs to become more committed to merit rather than ideology for admission of students to university and for the appointment of lecturers, educators and university chancellors. Science and development should take priority over religion. This is where a major tension point lies for the Islamic republic despite Rouhani's statements. According to Khiabany (2007), ruling elites have tried over the years to offer "some form of re-evaluation and reassessment of the entanglement between 'Islam' and 'modernity', painfully trying to reconcile 'Islam' with 'democracy'' (p.484). Unable to do so, Golriz (2009) considers the Iranian attempt to islamicise education as a useless effort, because unlike Islam, science is not a religion that can be ideologised.

Indeed, science urges the authority of critical reason and empirical verification (Turner, 1978). It enables a scientist to use a scientific theory to attack the Koran or to discredit the clergy for reasons that had little or no intrinsic relationship to belief. Rata (2013) asserts that "science has developed within disciplinary communities in order to *change* society by developing new understandings" (p.333). George Gaylord Simpson succinctly outlined the difference between science and religion by stating:

> The conflict between science and religion has a single and simple cause. It is the designa-tion as religiously canonical of any conception of the material world

> open to scientific investigation... .The religious canon ... demands absolute acceptance not subject to test or revision. Science necessarily rejects certainty and predicates acceptance on objective testing and the possibility of continual revision. As a matter of fact, most of the dogmatic religions have exhibited a perverse talent for taking the wrong side on the most important concepts of the material universe, from the structure of the solar system to the origin of man. The result has been constant turmoil for many centuries, and the turmoil will continue as long as religious canons prejudice scientific questions (1964, p.214).

Educational reforms in Iran have always been imposed by the government through undemocratic processes. A highly centralised authoritarian system severely limits the flexibility of actors at the local level of the university (Paivandi, 2012). Iran's current system sees most key policy and planning decisions made at the centre, and local authorities merely serve as implementation arms. Education in Iran needs deep reforms to both its curriculum and to its organisation and policies. The extent, scope and depth of the educational reforms that can be proposed, according to Paivandi (2012) are extraordinarily large, since the reforms concern all levels and all areas of education: curricula, educational legislation, management, and administration. A complete overhaul of the educational system is necessary to implement an open and democratic curriculum. Student admission and staff employment should take place at university without ideological, religious or political control. There also needs to be a different approach to training teachers to explore new methods that encourage student autonomy and agency.

Iran needs to equip its system of higher education for preparing and familiarising the nation with living and working in a context of global interdependence if its economic goals are to be achieved. There is very strong desire by Iran's educated populace to learn English properly. An improved international relationship between Iran and the West, I argue, is the single most important contributor to the success of EAP courses. A more cooperative, less hostile attitude towards the West, and English speaking countries especially, will allow for greater collaboration. An improved economy promises increased employment opportunities. Students' attitudes would be more positively

affected because they would be able to see the concrete practicality of learning English. Interestingly, Mohammad Javad Zarif is the first Iranian official to have a verified account on Twitter, although no one inside the country can legally read his tweets. The new foreign minister only posts in English on twitter as an attempt to reach out beyond Iran and the Iranian diaspora to an international audience. In an interview on national television, Mr Zarif was asked why he used English when he tweeted. In reply he said that English is an easier language to express thoughts rationally using several words only, whereas Persian is the language of poetry (TheONTENTV, 2013 October).

The new direction for the international policy demonstrates the Iranian government's realisation that problems exist and that the Islamic regime's ideology is no longer effective with the new generation and hence needs modification. By rectifying the domestic management and reforming foreign policy the government hopes to improve the situation. The question is, can Rouhani really mean what he says? According to the *Reporters Without Borders* (2013), the only notable changes since Rouhani's presidency have been the Twitter and Facebook accounts of the president and some of his ministers, and the end of the quarterly statements about the launch of a "Halal" (national) Internet, although the project has not been abandoned altogether. Classified by *Reporters Without Borders* for years, as an 'Enemy of the Internet', Iran continues to impose draconian restrictions on the Internet and denizens ("Reporters Without Borders", 2013). Except for the use of the foreign minister, Mohammad Javad Zarif, and some of the regime's closest allies, social networks are still banned in Iran. Iranians have to use a Virtual Private Network (VPN) to access them.

Rouhani has repeatedly stated that he wanted a change in favour of free speech and media freedom. These promises have encouraged progressively-minded Iranians, especially young people and women, to give him their vote. However, for Rouhani, keeping the hard-line faction content, in light of the promises made during the election, is proving to be especially problematic. On August 3rd, 2013, the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto set out a website called the 'Rouhani Meter' to measure the performance of Iran's new president by monitoring the status of promises made during his campaign. To date (19 Nov 2013), of the 46 promises made,

the Rouhani Meter finds only 4 have been achieved (Munk School of Global Affairs, 2013).

Like Khatami, Rouhani also belongs to the same establishment in the Islamic Republic and, similarly, he is determined to reform it. In 1997, Khatami's goal was to reform the system without destabilising it. As a result, he remained in an extremely difficult and paradoxical position (Mahdavi, 2008). The challenge for the reformers was to reconcile two competing demands. On one side stood Islam with its holistic pretensions, maintaining how society and individual lives should be governed. On the other side was the movement for political modernity with its democratic claims (Takeyh, 2006). Indeed, Khatami did not achieve his lofty ambition of creating an Islamic democracy. Once his reforms threatened to undermine the edifice of the Islamic Republic, "he quickly retreated and opted for conformity instead of confrontation" (Takeyh, 2006, p.45). Khatami defended his reticence, stressing, "We believed the internal clashes and chaotic conditions were a fatal poison for the country's existence and the Islamic Republic's sovereignty" (Takeyh, 2006, p.45). More than a decade after that time, the new Rouhani government is asking for similar changes.

The position of the English language is equally problematic. Learning to speak English to a high level of communicative proficiency enhances the involvement of young Iranians into the international community. The intensification of communications and links between individuals, according to Rizvi (2005b), leads to a situation where "social identities are no longer tied unambiguously to territories (p.337). This is indeed challenging for an Islamic Republic that requires absolute commitment from its citizens to Islamic laws and is constantly engaged in controlling all aspects of people's public and private lives.

Tensions and the outlook for the future

Universities have been the epicentres where student movements and protests have begun and authorities have sought to control them. One of Rouhani's campaign promises was to break the security atmosphere that had become prevalent across

universities in Iran, especially after the 2009 elections and the protests that ensued. He has also pledged to revitalise and reform universities after years of restrictions under the previous government. In spite of the positive promises, there are critics who say that little has actually changed since Rouhani took office. The extent of power the president has in Iran is as the highest publicly elected official, but he is the second in command of the country. According to Shirin Ebadi, Nobel Peace Prize winner, few of the roughly 1,000 students who were expelled after the 2009 protests have been allowed to return (Kashani & Nada, 2013). The government has not reversed policies that prohibit women from enrolling in 77 fields of study —including engineering, accounting, education, counseling, and chemistry. Neither have the quotas that favour admission of men to universities been cancelled.

The process of appointment of ministers of education and higher education has been particularly fraught. Higher education is a sensitive portfolio given the role of students and universities in opposing government policies and their ability to rally public support. Rouhani's proposed minister for the Ministry of Science, Research and Technology, Jafar Mili Monfared, described the humanities as the most essential field of human knowledge. He added, "Research and analysis in any aspect of the humanities must not be ignored or overlooked" ("Proposed minister calls", 2013, para.2). Mili-Monfared stressed that eliminating the humanities is not an effective policy, and claimed that "expanding the humanities, women's studies and scores of other subjects is vital" ("Proposed minister calls", 2013, para.2). He also emphasised the need for the improved administration of official student volunteer programmes in various fields and a commitment to bringing back an atmosphere of energy and activity to universities and young people ("Proposed minister calls", 2013).

However, the proposed minister failed to win a parliamentary vote. According to Gholamzadeh (2013), "the parliament's rejection of the candidate… was a signal to President Rouhani that the representatives are more closely monitoring his performance and that he would be better off to abide by his moderate slogans" (para.22). Reza Faraji Dana, an electrical engineer with a doctorate from the University of Waterloo in Canada, was finally confirmed by the assembly on 28 October, after many hours of

debate. Insisting that reform policies would continue under Faraji Dana, Rouhani told the *Majlis*: "An official may change for some reason but the same path will be pursued. The government will not retreat from its [moderate] path even one iota" (Shirazi, 2013, para.15). Consequently, the Science Minister appointed Milimonfared and Tofighi as deputy science minister and special adviser, respectively. Nearly ten days after Iran's parliament gave a vote of confidence to Science Minister Reza Faraji Dana, 150 Iranian members of parliament signed a letter of protest addressed to President Hassan Rouhani asking him to intervene in the actions of Faraji Dana, who had been threatened with removal for hiring individuals that were supportive or sympathetic to the 2009 post-election protests (Karami, 2013b). This example shows the tight control the president is under. There exists tension wherever there needs to be change. The parliament whose members are overall approved by the Supreme Leader can inhibit change and the structure of the system remains contradictory and problematic.

Concluding comments

It is my sincere hope that this thesis has shed some light on the factors affecting the success of EAP programmes in Iranian universities in the broader context of exploring the tradition-modernity tension. I have attempted to explain that most of the problems influencing the effectiveness of EAP in Iranian universities are due to structural contradictions in the institutions of higher education. Forces that influence the success of EAP programmes are rooted in the social, cultural, economical and political situations of the country. They illustrate larger systematic crises. I believe that until these issues are resolved, very little can be done to improve that attitudes and motivation of students towards EAP courses, or lecturers' methods of teaching EAP.

Finally, by investigating and understanding what it is that hinders the success of EAP, it is the belief of the author that knowledge can be put to use. To date, Iran has rejected pedagogical approaches that have already been shown to be effective. However, more positive relations with the West and with English speaking countries especially, influence policy development and improve students' and lecturers' motivation. Increased trust, academic freedom and autonomy within Higher Education institutes

will contribute to the development of academics. The ideal of the university as a place for intellectual freedom and scientific advancement relies on a political economy that seeks to benefit from the economic products of knowledge. In the West, the freedom of universities is increasing compromised by neoliberal attempts to turn knowledge into a marketable product. In Iran, creating yet another paradox upon many, global neoliberalism may in fact serve for a time to protect knowledge from the constraints of fundamentalism by insisting on its global context. The use of English by Iranian academics will enable them to move into the international intellectual community and take part in the debates about what context knowledge needs for it to retain its creativity. Just as Iranians currently ask: can knowledge develop under the restrictions of an authoritarian theocracy? So they may well ask once included in the international academy: can knowledge develop under the restrictions imposed by the market?

Appendix A

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
Te Kura Akoranga o Tamaki Makaurau
INCORPORATING THE AUCKLAND COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

Epsom Campus
Gate 4, 60 Epsom Avenue
Auckland, New Zealand
Telephone 64 9 623 8899
Facsimile 64 9 623 8836
www.education.auckland.ac.

nz

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601, Symonds

Street

Auckland 1150, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: COURSE COORDINATOR

Project Title: The English for Academic Purposes (EAP) Programme in a university in Iran: Factors Influencing its Success

Researcher: Saba Kiani
Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

This study will investigate the experiences, view points and perceptions of students as well as lecturers involved in the English for Academic Purposes (EAP) courses. This research aims to gain insight into how a particular group of Iranian EAP lecturers and students in their final year of undergraduate studies majoring in the two different disciplines of Engineering and Humanities studying EAP perceive these programmes. There are four possible questions to investigate through doing this research study. One of these is to find out the government's policy concerning the EAP requirement in all state-run Iranian universities courses. I would like to invite you to be part of my research. I would like to have one interview with you of about one hour.

With your permission the interviews will be recorded in Persian. I will then type up the interview and transcribe it into English. You can ask me to turn the recorder off during the interview, leave the interview, or not answer a question if you wish. The recordings and notes will be kept in a locked cabinet at the Faculty of Education of the University of Auckland, for six years, and then be destroyed.

Taking part in this research is voluntary and you can withdraw from the research up until and during the interview, and you can withdraw your interview material up until 1st May 2011. I

will not use your name or the name of your university in any reporting of information however I cannot absolutely guarantee anonymity.

If you agree to participate in this research I will ask you to sign a consent form. As a small token of my appreciation for your time and effort, I would like to offer you a book voucher which will be available for you to collect at the interview. If you withdraw your data, you will not have to refund this voucher. Thank you very much for considering this invitation.

If you are able to participate in this research, I would appreciate it if you would fill in the consent form [attached] and bring it with you to the interview.

An electronic version of the completed thesis will be emailed to you on your request.

Enquiries about the research can be made to:

Researcher: Saba Kiani
s.kiani@auckland.ac.nz
mobile: 021 02307551

Supervisor:

Associate Professor Elizabeth Rata,
The School of Critical Studies in Education
Faculty of Education
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601
Symonds St
AUCKLAND
Ph: (09) 6238899 ext: 46315
E-mail: e.rata@auckland.ac.nz

Head of School:

Dr Airini,
Head of School: Critical Studies in Education
Faculty of Education
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601
Symonds St
AUCKLAND
Ph: (09) 6238826
E-mail: airini@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142, Telephone 09 373-7599 extn. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 13 October 2010 FOR (3) years, Reference Number 2010 / 431

Appendix B

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
Te Kura Akoranga o Tamaki Makaurau
INCORPORATING THE AUCKLAND COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

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The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601, Symonds Street
Auckland 1150, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: LECTURER

Project Title: The English Academic Purposes (EAP) Programme in Iranian Universities: Factors Influencing its Success

Researcher: Saba Kiani

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

This research will investigate experiences, viewpoints, and perceptions of students as well as lecturers involved in the English for Academic Purposes programmes at Isfahan University. The research aims to examine lecturers' teaching pedagogy of English language in the English for Academic Purposes classes for students of Engineering and Humanities. I would like to invite you to be part of my research. I would like to interview you before and after a classroom teaching observation. Each interview will take approximately one hour. I also would like to look at your lesson plans or course material.

With your permission the interview will be recorded. I will then type up the interview and transcribe it into English. You can ask me to turn the recorder off during the interview, leave the interview, or not answer a question if you wish. The recordings and notes will be kept in a locked cabinet at the Faculty of Education of the University of Auckland, for six years, and then be destroyed.

Taking part in this research is voluntary and you can withdraw from the research up until and during the interview, and you can withdraw your interview material up until 1st May 2011. I

will not use your name or the name of your school in any reporting of information however I cannot absolutely guarantee anonymity.

If you agree to participate in this research I will ask you to sign a consent form. As a small token of my appreciation for your time and effort, I would like to offer you a book voucher which will be available for you to collect at the interview. If you withdraw your data, you will not have to refund this voucher. Thank you very much for considering this invitation.

If you are able to participate in this research, I would appreciate it if you would fill in the consent form [attached] and bring it with you to the interview.

Enquiries about the research can be made to:

Researcher: Saba Kiani
s.kiani@auckland.ac.nz
mobile: 021 02307551

Supervisor:

Associate Professor Elizabeth Rata,
The School of Critical Studies in Education
Faculty of Education
The University of Auckland
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Ph: (09) 6238899 ext: 46315
E-mail: e.rata@auckland.ac.nz

Head of School:

Dr Airini,
Head of School: Critical Studies in Education
Faculty of Education
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601
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AUCKLAND
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E-mail: airini@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142, Telephone 09 373-7599 extn. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 13 October 2010 FOR (3) years, Reference Number 2010 / 431

Appendix C

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
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www.education.auckland.ac.nz

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601, Symonds Street
Auckland 1150, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT

Project Title: The English Academic Purposes (EAP) Programme in Iranian Universities: Factors Influencing its Success

Researcher: Saba Kiani

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

I would like to interview you for about one hour outside of your class time to ask you some questions about your experiences in the English for Academic Purposes programmes.

In this research I am going to talk to lecturers and students involved in the English for Academic Purposes programmes at Isfahan University about their experiences, view points and perceptions of EAP programmes.

With your permission the interview will be recorded. I will then type up the interview. You can ask me to turn the recorder off during the interview, leave the interview, or not answer a question if you wish. The recordings and notes will be kept in a locked cabinet at the Faculty of Education, for six years, and then destroyed.

Taking part in this research is voluntary and you can withdraw from the research up until and during the interview, and you can withdraw your interview material up until 1st May 2011. I will not use your name or the name of your school in any reporting of information however I cannot absolutely guarantee anonymity.

If you agree to participate in this research I will ask you to sign a consent form. As a small token of my appreciation for your time and effort, I would like to offer you a book voucher which will be available for you to collect at the interview. If you withdraw your data, you will not have to refund this voucher. If there are a larger number of students who wish to participate in the research than I need, I will select participants randomly and inform you if you are not among the group selected. Thank you very much for considering this invitation.

If you are able to participate in this research, I would appreciate it if you would fill in the consent form [attached] and bring it with you to the interview.

Enquiries about the research can be made to:

Researcher: Saba Kiani
s.kiani@auckland.ac.nz
mobile: 021 02307551

Supervisor:

Associate Professor Elizabeth Rata,
The School of Critical Studies in Education
Faculty of Education
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601
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Head of School:

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For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142, Telephone 09 373-7599 extn. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 13 October 2010 FOR (3) years, Reference Number 2010 / 431

Appendix D

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
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Private Bag 92601, Symonds

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Auckland 1150, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: COURSE COORDINATOR

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS.

Project Title: The English for Academic Purposes (EAP) Programme in a university in Iran: Factors Influencing its Success

Researcher: Saba Kiani

I have been given and understand the Participant Information Sheet for this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have had them answered.

I understand the interview will involve a time commitment of approximately one hour.

I understand that if the information I provide is reported/published, this will be done in a way that does not identify me as its source. I also understand that complete anonymity cannot be guaranteed.

I understand that I may withdraw from the research at any time up until and during the interview, without giving a reason and that I can withdraw my interview up until 1st May 2011.

I understand that once the interview has been completed that I may not withdraw any information.

I agree / do not agree to be audio taped.

I agree to take part in this research as outlined in the Participant Information Sheet.

I would / would not like a copy of the completed thesis emailed to me.

Signed: _____

Name: _____ [please print carefully]

Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 13 October 2010 FOR (3) years, Reference Number 2010 / 431

Appendix E

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
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nz

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601, Symonds

Street

Auckland 1150, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: LECTURER

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS.

Project Title: The English Academic Purposes (EAP) Programme in Isfahan University: Factors Influencing its Success

Researcher: Saba Kiani

I have been given and understand the Participant Information Sheet for this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have had them answered.

I understand the two interviews will involve a time commitment of approximately one hour each.

I understand that I will provide the researcher with examples of lesson plans or course materials.

I understand that the researcher will observe two of my classes by negotiation with me and that she will make field notes during those observations.

I understand that if the information I provide is reported/published, this will be done in a way that does not identify me as its source. I also understand that complete anonymity cannot be guaranteed.

I understand that I may withdraw from the research at any time up until and during the interview, without giving a reason and that I can withdraw my interview up until 1 May 2011.

I understand that once the interviews have been completed that I may not withdraw any information.

I agree / do not agree to be audio taped.

I agree to take part in this research as outlined in the participant information sheet.

I would / would not like a copy of the completed thesis emailed to me.

Signed: _____

Name: _____ [please print carefully]

Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 13 October 2010 FOR (3) years, Reference Number 2010 / 431

Appendix F

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
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nz

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601, Symonds

Street

Auckland 1150, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: STUDENTS

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS.

Project Title: The English Academic Purposes (EAP) Programme in Isfahan University: Factors Influencing its Success

Researcher: Saba Kiani

I have been given and understand the Participant Information Sheet for this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have had them answered.

I understand the interviews will involve a time commitment of approximately one hour.

I understand that I will need to bring examples of my class work.

I understand that if the information I provide is reported/published, this will be done in a way that does not identify me as its source. I understand, however, that complete anonymity cannot be guaranteed.

I understand that I may withdraw from the research at any time up until and during the interview, without giving a reason and that I can withdraw my interview up until 1 May 2011.

I understand that once the interviews have been completed that I may not withdraw any information.

I agree / do not agree to be audio taped.

I agree to take part in this research as outlined in the Participant Information Sheet.

I would / would not like a copy of the completed thesis emailed to me.

Signed: _____

Name: _____ [please print carefully]

Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 13 October 2010 FOR (3) years, Reference Number 2010 / 431

Appendix G

Interview questions – University students

(The following questions are indicative of the kinds of questions participants will be asked grouped under 'themes')

Background

- How old are you?
- What is your major at the university?
- Do you attend another English language institution in addition to the university EAP courses?
- Do you intend to go overseas? If so, what do you intend to do?

Attitude

- If you had a choice of other languages to study would you still choose English? Why / why not?
- What do you think about learning English? Necessary? Why?
- What do you think of EAP courses?
- Do you think it is necessary to take EAP? Why / why not?
- Do you enjoy EAP courses? What do you find enjoyable? Why? What do you dislike? Why?

Experience

- How long is your instruction per week [How many lessons do you have a week?] Do you think it's enough? Why / why not?
- What skills does the course focus on? Do you think it is appropriate?

- What are the things you are happy about and what are the things you are not happy about?
- What type of materials do your teachers use?
- Are they motivating?
- How are you assessed? What assessment tools are used?
- What do you like most / least about your EAP course?
- Is teaching teacher-centred / student – centred?
- Do you do group-peer work? Which would you rather? Why?
- What is the level of student participation in class? Do you get time to participate?
- Do you get feedback? Overall, do you feel comfortable or satisfied with the course?
- Do you think this course is preparing you well for using English later on? Why / why not?

Beliefs

- Do you think EAP courses are useful? In what sense?
- Who should teach EAP?
- Do you think EAP should prepare students for IELTS tests?
- Do you think they should be compulsory?
- What type of materials do you think are more effective?
- Do you plan to go and study in a university overseas? Why / why not?
- Do you plan to use English in future? Why / why not?
- What do you hope you be able to do at the end of your course?
- What suggestions would you have for the administrators/teachers/curriculum developers that could make EAP courses better?

Interview questions –Lecturers

Background

- How long have you been teaching English at university?
- What is your area of specialty? English or subject specific?
- Tell me a little bit about yourself. Background-experience in teaching EAP-training
- What is your qualification? PhD, MA
- Why teach EAP? Purpose of the course from curriculum point of view? Own perspective?

Experience

- Are EAP courses at your university taught by English teachers or subject area teachers?
- Why teach EAP? Purpose of the course from curriculum point of view? Own perspective?
- Have there been any changes in EAP courses overtime? If so, what?
- Have EAP courses become popular overtime? What has made EAP courses popular?
- All in all, from your view, how might EAP courses be improved?
- Do you think EAP should be taught by English teachers or subject area teachers?

Teaching pedagogy

- Do you consider individual students' learning styles?
- Do you obtain knowledge of students' wants? To motivate learners?
- How do you teach? Group work, peer work, teacher directed?
- Tell me about student involvement in class activities. Is lack of involvement a problem?
- Are you able to choose text books? What do you think about the materials you use in your classes? Are they effective?
- What is the focus of course? Communicative? Grammar translation?
- How are the EAP courses preparing students for proficiency tests such as IELTS?

- Should they prepare students for these tests?
- How can EAP courses better prepare students for proficiency tests?
- How are EAP courses preparing students to use English after their studies?
- Does the assessment test at the end of the course influence your teaching pedagogy? Why?
- What do you think about your teaching?
- What type of materials do you use? Why?
- Do you have time to amend materials?
- What teaching method do you use?
- Do you do needs analysis? How often? How do you analyse students' needs?
- Is it not successful because it is teach to test? What types of tests are implemented?
- What do you think about the role of technology in learning English? Do you think teachers should use it? What are some motivational techniques teachers could implement?
- What do you think about the size of your classes? Is class size an issue when it comes to success?
- How many hours a week do students attend EAP classes? Is it enough?
- Does every student get a chance to participate?
- What do you find as a barrier to success of these courses?

Students' attitudes

- Are students willing to take these courses? What motivates / de motivates them?
- Do you think students are motivated enough to learn?
- Do some of your students also attend private language institutions? Are they more motivated?

Interview questions- Course co-ordinators

- What is the government's English language policy in universities?
- What is the purpose of EAP courses?
- Why should EAP be compulsory?
- What is the curriculum requirement regarding English language teaching in University?
- What is the government's objective for students to pass EAP courses?
- What do you think the purpose of EAP courses should be?
- Why is the government investing in these courses of instructions?
- Does the government want students to go and further their studies overseas? For economic means?
- Does the university want to have international exchange students?
- Can you tell me a little bit about the EAP programmes in your university?
- Who teaches, how many hours a week? What are the requirements for students?
- How are assessments designed? From ministry or individual universities?
- Course design, syllabus, material choice?

Are there any other comments you would like to make?

Appendix H

طرح کلی درس

نام درس: زبان تخصصی برق میزان واحد نظری: ۲ واحد میزان واحد عملی:

شماره درس: ..... مقطع تحصیلی: کارشناسی مکان ارئه درس: کلاس ۶۱۱۱۷ روز و ساعت: چهارشنبه ۱۰-۸

نام استاد: ساعت و نحوه ارتباط با استاد: شنبه ۱۰-۸ حضوری

تکالیف دانشجو:

نمره نهایی (نمره فعالیت های کلاسی.....۲..... نمره میان نیمسال ..... نمره پایان نیمسال .....۱۸.....)

تاریخ امتحان میان نیمسال: - تاریخ و ساعت امتحان پایان نیمسال:

تذکرات مهم:

هدف یا اهداف درس:		
بودجه بندی درس:		
شماره جلسه	تاریخ	مبحث
اول	۸۹/۱۱/۲۰	روش تدریس زبان تخصصی و شروع درس اول
دوم	۸۹/۱۱/۲۷	ادامه درس اول: Theory of Magnetism
سوم	۸۹/۱۲/٤	کوئیز درس اول شامل: Comprehension & Practices
چهارم	۸۹/۱۲/۱۱	درس دوم: Power Stations
پنجم	۸۹/۱۲/۱۸	ادامه درس دوم: Power stations
ششم	۸۹/۱۲/۲۵	کوئیز درس دوم شامل: Comprehension & Practices
هفتم	۹۰/۱/۱۷	درس سوم: Electrical Insulation
هشتم	۹۰/۱/۲٤	کوئیز درس سوم شامل: Comprehension & Practices
نهم	۹۰/۱/۳۱	درس چهارم: Solid State Semiconductor
دهم	۹۰/۲/۷	کوئیز درس چهارم شامل: Comprehension & Practices
یازدهم	۹۰/۲/۱٤	درس پنجم : Transistor & Transistor Circuits
دوازدهم	۹۰/۲/۲۱	ادامه درس پنجم: Transistor & Transistor Circuits
سیزدهم	۹۰/۲/۲۸	کوئیز درس پنجم شامل: Comprehension & Practices
چهاردهم	۹۰/۳/٤	درس ششم: Photodetectors
پانزدهم	۹۰/۳/۱۱	ادامه درس ششم: Photodetectors
شانزدهم	۹۰/۳/۱۸	کوئیز درس ششم و رفع اشکال نهایی تمامی دروس
منابع: English for the Students of Power, Electronics , Control & Communications		

Appendix I

دانشکده ادبیات و علوم انسانی
مروه فلسفه

متون فلسفی به زبان خارجی۲

تعداد واحد نظری:۲	تعداد واحدعملی:- حل تمرین:-
نوع درس: تخصصی	پیشنیاز: متون فلسفی به زبان خارجی ۱

هدف درس:

افزایش توان دانشجویان جهت قرائت و فهم متون فلسفی به زبان انگلیسی

رئوس مطالب:

استاد درس ۸۰ صفحه از متون مختلف فیلسوفان مثل افلاطون، ارسطو، اسپینوزا، کانت، هایدگر، هگل و فیلسوفان اگزیستانس به زبان انگلیسی را انتخاب و تدریس می‌نمایند.

تذکر: متون انتخاب شده برای این درس در قیاس با متون مربوط به زبان خارجی(۱)سنگین‌تر خواهد بود.

روش ارزیابی:

ارزشیابی مستمر	میان ترم	آزمون نهایی	پروژه
-	+	+	-

بازدید: -

منابع اصلی:

۱- آثار فیلسوفان یاد شده به زبان انگلیسی از قبیل:

1.C.I.Kant "Quritique of Pure Reason" Cambridge University Press, 1999.

2. D.Hume, "An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding", Oxford University Press; New Ed edition, 1999.

3. Plato."Plato Complete Works" ,editor,John M.Cooper, Hackett Publishing Company, 1997.
4.G.W.F.Hegel, "Phenomenology of Spirit" Oxford University Press; New Ed edition , 1979.

۵۱

Philosophical texts in Foreign Language 2

Number of Units: 4

Type of paper: Specialized

Pre requirement: Philosophical texts in foreign language 1

Purpose of the paper:

Increasing the ability of students in reading and understanding philosophical texts in English

Main topics:

Lecturer will choose and teach 80 pages from texts of philosophers such as aflatoon, arastu, Espinoza, kant, Heidegger, Hegel, and egzistans philosophers in English language.

Main references:

1. C.I.Kant
2. D. Hume
3. Plato.
4. G.W.F. Hegel

Assessment procedure:

Midterm End of term

Appendix J

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Section A: Attitudes towards English language	**Strongly agree**	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
English is hard to learn					
The development of our country is possible mainly by educated people who know English well					
English should not be a compulsory subject in universities in Iran					
The teaching of English should start as early as the first grade in the Iranian schools					
English films are more enjoyable than films in Persian language					
Inclusion of cultural material in EAP class increases my motivation for learning English					
Studying English is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have a knowledge of English					
Section B: Attitudes towards learning English					
English will enhance my status among my friends					
EAP is necessary for me because it will help me for my future					

career					
I take EAP just because it is compulsory part of curriculum					
I wish to learn English to understand every day English					
I wish to learn English to keep updated and informed of recent news of the world					
I wish to learn English to communicate with foreigners					
I wish to learn English to be able to read English texts					
English enable me to carry out my tasks more efficiently					
English enable me to get a job easily					
Studying English is important to me because I hope to further my education					
I really enjoy learning English					
I wish I could attend more EAP classes at the university					
I would like to attend more English language training courses outside university					
Section C: Attitudes towards EAP courses	**Strongly agree**	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	
I believe much of classroom instruction should focus on teaching grammar and vocabulary					
Knowledge of grammar and vocabulary are enough to enable me for my future career					

I think EAP should not just focus on teaching reading and translation					
I feel EAP course has prepared me/is well preparing me to be competent in using English in my future career/studies					
I don’t feel EAP is teaching me what I am most interested in learning about a language					
I wish there was more opportunity for me to practice my oral skills / listening skills in EAP class					
I wish EAP instruction focused on teaching more communicative activities					
I am quite satisfied with how EAP is taught currently					

Appendix K

۱-۲-۲- پوشیدن جوراب در محیط های آموزشی لازم می باشد.
۱-۲-۴- رنگ جورابها و کفش ها باید متعادل بوده ، تند و زننده نباشد.
۱-۳- جواهرات و زیور آلات
جواهرات و زیور آلات مورد استفاده در محیط آموزشی باید از مصادیق مجاز (مانند حلقه ازدواج ، ساعت و ...) باشد.
۱-٤- مواد معطر
استفاده از مواد معطر ملایم مجاز است.
۱-۵- آرایش و ترکیب ظاهری
۱-۵-۱- بهداشت و پاکیزگی فردی شرط لازم برای دانشجویان می باشد.
۱-۵-۲- آرایش هایی که جنبه زیبایی و جلب توجه دیگران را دارد در محیط آموزشی ممنوع می باشد. (مثل استفاده از پروتز و ژل مبرای پسران و لوازم آرایشی صورت برای دختران)
۱-۵-۳- طول ناخن ها باید مناسب باشد. استفاده از لاک ، ناخن مصنوعی و جواهرات ناخن ممنوع می باشد.
۱-۵-۴- آرایش و پیرایش موها باید مناسب با شان دانشگاه باشد.
۲- پوشش مختص بخش های بالینی و حرفه ای و آزمایشگاهی
۲-۱- پوشیدن لباس فرم در بخش های بالینی و حرفه ای ضروری و لازم می باشد.

بسمه تعالی

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دبیرخانه

۲-۲- پوشیدن لباس های فرم خیلی تنگ مجاز نمی باشد.
۲-۳- ضخامت لباس های فرم باید به گونه ای باشد که از ورای آن لباسهای زیر جلوه نمایی ننماید. (از پوشیدن لباس زیر به تنهایی و یا لباس های رکابی و حلقه ای که قسمتی از بدن مشخص می شود باید خودداری گردد.)
۲-۴- لباس ها باید تمیز و مرتب باشد ، بالاخص لباسهایی که در محیط بیمارستان و یا ... استفاده می گردد.
۲-۵- پوشیدن جوراب با ضخامت مناسب و کفش با پاشنه مناسب لازم و ضروری است.
۲-۶- استفاده از جواهرات و زیور آلات در محیط های بالینی ، کارآموزی و کارورزی می بایست از مصادیق جواهرات و زیور آلات مجاز باشد.
۲-۷- استفاده از عطر و ادکلن با بوهای تند در بخش های بالینی ممنوع می باشد.
۲-۸- استفاده از آرایش صورت و بلندی ناخن ها در بخش های بالینی و تشخیص ، ممنوع است.
ماده ۲- مصادیق البسه ، متعلقات وابسته به البسه و ... (غیرمجاز)
۱- مصادیق غیرمجاز برای دختران
۱-۱- استفاده از کلاه بدون مقنعه ممنوع می باشد.
۱-۲- نپوشاندن کامل موی سر ، گردن ، سینه و هرجای دیگر بدن جز صورت و دست ها تا مچ (مانند استفاده از روسری های نازک و کوتاه ، استفاده از جوراب نازک و ...)
۱-۳- استفاده از دامن ممنوع می باشد به استثناء افراد خاص (بیمار ، باردار)
۱-۴- استفاده از شلوارهای چسبان و کوتاه و شلوارهایی که تعمداً پاره یا وصله داشته باشد ممنوع می باشد.
۱-۵- استفاده از طلا و جواهرات که مستلزم سوراخ کردن قسمتی از بدن به جز گوشواره (تظلیر بینی ، زبان ، ابرو و ...) مجاز نیست.
۱-۶- بلند بودن ناخن بیش از معمول، استفاده از ناخن مصنوعی، استفاده از جواهرات ناخن یا طرحهای هنری روی ناخن ، استفاده از لاک ناخن در محیط آموزشی ممنوع می باشد.

Appendix L

نیمسال : اول سال تحصیلی 1389 – 90 :	نام استاد :	امتحان درس : زبان تخصصی برق	
وقت امتحان : 45 دقیقه	تاریخ : 1389/10/27	رشته و مقطع : کارشناسی مهندسی برق	دانشکده فنی مهندسی
شماره دانشجوئی :	نام و نام خانوادگی:		

➢ **Mark the choice that best answers the question.**

- The conductivity of a semiconductor material is directly proportional to..... .
□chip □ temperature □ polarity □ integration

- Conducting salts , when added to a plating solution , increase its ..... .
□ resistivity □ conductivity □capacity □ permeability

- It is true a cad cell ..... .
□ is not usually used as a light sensitive switch □ is usually used to produce high currents
□ acts much faster than photovoltaic cell □ exhibits lower resistance in the presence of sunlight

- The collector-base junction of the phototransistor acts as a ..... . □ photodiode □ photodetector □ resistor □ transistor

- Solar cells often called .....**devices , are made of silicon .**
□ photoemissive □ photoconductive □ photodiode □ photovoltaic

- The.....**of metals increases with increase of temperature .** □ conductivity □ resistivity □ solutability □ durability

- A..... **like a variable resistance could amplify a radio signal .** □ diode □ capacitor □ transistor □ vacuum

- Optoelectronics deals with high-sensitive semiconductor devices used in ..... .
□ industrial □ industrialization □ industrialist □ industry

- In a condenser , the outlet steam is.....**and then recirculated .**
□ depressurized □ purified □ condensed □ exchanged

- In steam power stations, the turbine efficiency will increase if..... .
□ the outlet steam is condensed into water □ the outlet water is pumped back into the boilers
□ the steam pressure is kept constant □ the steam temperature is not varied

- Photoconductive cells..... **the particular property that their resistance decreases in the presence of light .**
□ rectify □ design □ exhibit □ amplify

- The bipolar junction transistor has three terminals called ..... .
□ the drain, source, gate □ the anode ,cathode, gate □ the terminal-1 , terminal-2 , gate □ the emitter ,base, collector

-The gas pressure can be ..... **by means of standard gauge.** □ measure □ measured □ measuring □ measures

- Manufacturers specify the spectral ..... **of their devices in the form of a frequency response curve .**
□ sensitivity □ sense □ sensitive □ sensor

- The..... **is a region from which charge carriers are injected into the base.** □ collector □ diffuser □ emitter □ carrier

-The term " mushroomed " can best replaced with..... .
□ set free potentially □ emerged productively □ grew rapidly □ appeared largely

- ..... **are supported on porcelain insulators.**
□ Cambrics □ Transformers □ Polyethylene □ Overhead lines

- In contrast to ..... **the cost of transporting nuclear fuel is negligible .**
□ coal and gas □ oil and gas □ coal and oil □ gas and water

- Gas oil must be ..... **and then used .** □ vapourized □ refined □ heated □ isolated

- The cooling factor in a cooling tower is ..... **the tower .**
□ the water inside □ the air passing through □ the interior of □ the pond under

- The transistor..... can be used to test both NPN and PNP bipolar transistors. ☐ tested ☐ tester ☐ testing ☐ test

- The conduction , in a ..... material , is done by electrons . ☐ conduct ☐ conduction ☐ conducts ☐ conducting

- The heat of the steam is removed by .....the condenser .
☐ the recirculation of cold pure water in ☐ the recirculation of steam in
☐ the flow of natural air in one side of ☐ the flow of cold water through one side of

- The half – wave..... circuit can be arranged to produce either a positive or a negative pulsating output .
☐ rectified ☐ rectifier ☐ rectify ☐ rectification

- Certain insulating materials are impregnated with oil ; that is ,they are..... oil .
☐ saturated with ☐ covered with ☐ deprived of ☐ made of

- The energy of water may be converted to work by hydraulic..... . ☐ boilers ☐ towers ☐ turbines ☐ generators

- A.....is an electronic circuit that supplies input to another electronic circuit . ☐ drive ☐ drives ☐ driving ☐ driver

- Many photodetectors can operate at speeds that cannot be ..... by mechanical contact switches .
☐ tolerate ☐ tolerates ☐ tolerated ☐ tolerating

- Most low-power , small-signal transistors are .....sealed in a metal, plastic or epoxy package.
☐ slowly ☐ clearly ☐ hermetically ☐ rapidly

- The..... on power transformer windings is commonly paper tape . ☐ insulation ☐ current ☐ voltage ☐ loss

- A stealer transistor ..... the base current away from another transistor to keep it turned off .
☐ stills ☐ steals ☐ steels ☐ styles

- An.....current is not necessarily periodic but alternately increases and decreases .
☐ direct ☐ differential ☐ junction ☐ oscillating

- A.....is a device that scatters the light from a source , primarily by the process of diffuse transmission .
☐ diffusion ☐ diffused ☐ diffuse ☐ diffuser

- A ..... is the familiar concrete structure like a very broad chimney . ☐ condenser ☐exchange ☐atmosphere ☐ cooling tower

- .....power stations must be sited where the head of water is available . ☐ Nuclear ☐ Gas ☐ Hydroelectric ☐ Coal

- With a process called ..... , crystals can be designed with the desired electrical properties .
☐ doping ☐ adding ☐ bounding ☐ charging

- A bipolar transistor is constructed from a .... material . ☐ conductor ☐ nonconductor ☐ semiconductor ☐superconductor

- Insulating tapes ..... .
☐ are used to stop deterioration caused by the weather ☐ cannot withstand high electrical stress
☐ are used to insulate ducts of small cross section ☐ can withstand high temperatures

- Cooling towers and condensers are two kinds of heat ..... . ☐ exchange ☐ exchanged ☐ exchangers ☐ exchanges

- Voltage stress may affect the..... of insulating materials . ☐ sensitivity ☐ suitability ☐ stability ☐ conductivity

Appendix M

به نام خدا

نام ونام خانوادگي :
شماره دانشجويي :

متون زير رابه فارسي روان برگردانيد.

1- This seems strange, but that is how the matter stands . For the present, however, it is enough to have said that much; for even if I should wish to expound the matter to you as it should be understood, my incompetence would be equaled by my arrogance if I should profess that I myself have grasped it already. Nevertheless, insofar as it has deigned to reveal itself in the things that appear familiar to you, let us now examine it to the best of our ability, in accordance with the demands of the discussion we have undertaken.

2- But because very learned men are wont to distinguish keenly and ingeniously between the rational {rationale} and the reasonable [rationabile] , such distinction is by no meansto be ignored in view of what we have undertaken. They designate as ratonal, whatever uses reason or possesses the faculty of reasoning; but whatever has been done or spoken according to reason, that they call reasonable.

3- In like manner, when we hear a melody harmonize well, we do not hesitate to say that it sounds reasonably [harmonized] But anyone would be laughed at if he should say that some thing smells reasonably or tastes reasonably or is reasonably tender, unless perchance in those things which for some purpose have been contrived by men so to smell or taste or glow .

4- In things constructed, a proportion of parts that is faulty , without any compelling necessity, unquestionably seems to inflict, as it were, a kind of injury upon one's gaze . But the fact that three windows. Inside, one in the middle and two at the sides, pour light at equal intervals on the bathing place-how much that delights and enraptures us as we gaze attentively,

5- And then furthermore, not unmindful of numbers and measure, it directed the mind to the different morac of vocal sounds and syllables; and thereby if discovered that of the time intervals through which the long and the short syllables were extended, some were double and other were simple.

Appendix N


تجزیه و تحلیل آمـاری
پروژه های تحقیقاتی
با SPSS و لیزرل
با حداقل قیمت و زمان
(حداکثر یک هفته)
تجزیه و تحلیل آماری پایان نامه های
مهندسی، علوم اجتماعی، مدیریت و ...
با نرم افزارهای Spss، Amos و Lisrel
مدل های معادلات ساختاری، تحـلیل عاملی
تائیدی و اکتشافی، تحلیل مسیر Path Analysis
توسط کارشناس ارشد آمـار با سابقه مشاوره
بیش از ۱۰۰ عنوان کار پژوهشی و تحقیقاتی
انجام تحلیلهای آماری پایان‌نامه، مقاله و پروژه های علمی
انجام کلیـه روشـهای استنباطی و آزمونهای مختلف پارامتریک و
غیر پارامتریک آمـاری (t، کروسکال والیس، من ویتنی، کندال تاو b....)
انجام کلیه روشهای توصیفی آماری، محاسبه آماره‌های توصیفی و رسم نمودارهای توصیفی
محاسبه آمـاره‌های گوناگون مانند آمـاره t، آمـاره کی دو، آمـاره گاما و ...
مـدل سازی رگـرسیونی، سریهای زمانی و طـرح آزمایشها، تحـلیل عـاملی
محـاسبه p - value برای آزمـونهای مختلف و تفسیـر آن
ارائه کامل فصل ۴ پایان نامه به صورت فارسی به همراه
۱جلسه (۱.۵ ساعته) توضیح روند انجام کار و توضیحات
کافی جهت پاسخ به سوالات پرسیده شده
در جلسات دفاع
تلفن تماس
۰۹۳۰۳۶۱۲۸۲٤
مدرک تحصیلی:
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