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WHY AM I LEARNING *DIS* LANGUAGE *SEF*? IMAGINED COMMUNITY AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES OF ENGLISH OF SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN NIGERIA

TAIWO ABOSEDE ILORI

A Thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Anglia Ruskin University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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DEDICATION

To my family

for making the imagined identity/community

I now inhabit

possible

ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS, LAW AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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This study explores senior secondary school (SSS) students' imagined community and identities against the language ideologies of English portrayed in the discourse on education in Nigeria. There has been lots of research done in the areas of identity, imagined community and L2 teaching from different perspectives and contexts (Norton, 2000; Ilori, 2013, Sung, 2013). However, no studies have under a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) angle, explored how learners' identities /imagined community are constructed and what resources or mechanisms (e.g. language ideological discourses of English) play a role in the construction of their identities/imagined community.

The research draws on Fairclough's (2001) concept of social discourse, van Dijk's (2006) socio-cognitive approach to CDA and Norton's (2000) notion of imagined community, and is designed around a qualitative study involving open-ended questionnaires and official documents (e.g. language policy on education). This questionnaire which facilitated the interview process of participants (students, parents, teachers and principals) was digitally recorded, transcribed, coded and analysed thematically.

Findings suggest that the English language, more than any other language is implicated in the process of imagination, as the choices students make about who they are and who they want to be are direct responses to how English is perceived in the local (social, political and educational) and global context. Therefore, examining the relationship that may exist between the ideologies that associates English with the resource of education, employment or status and students' imagined communities/identities may demand that neutrality should no longer be accepted as a concept when talking about imagination or identity. In this way, learners would no longer be viewed as social beings with multiple identities that emerge within specific learning trajectories (Norton, 2000), but as beings with deep-rooted ambiguities that must be represented in a reasonable and justifiable way.

Key words: imagined identity/community, critical discourse analysis, second language learning

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EFL   English as a Foreign Language

ESL   English as a Second Language

CDA   Critical Discourse Analysis

WASSCE   West African Senior School Certificate Examination

SSS   Senior Secondary School

NPE   National Policy on Education

[student 1; SSS 3]   Student 1; Senior Secondary School 3

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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1   Statement of the problem

Learners from around the world are acquiring English as a Second Language (ESL) or a Foreign Language (EFL), making them receivers and producers of multiple discourses around the issues of language learning and its effect on global and local identities. Such discourses go together with discussions around the notion of imagined communities/identities Anderson (1991), as learning that is associated with learners' involvement in a larger world is seen to produce valuable insights in the second language acquisition (SLA) literature (Norton 2000, 2001). Taking a cue from the notion of imagination as a way to create new identities, Norton (2000, 2001) made a case that when language learners engage in classroom practices, they may be investing in communities that are beyond the classroom walls. She argues that for many language learners, the community is one of the imagination - a desired community that offers possibilities for an enhanced range of identity options in the future. Imagination, thus, becomes a driving force that allows individuals or groups of individuals to construct an image of themselves beyond their local environment, and to understand themselves in relation to the larger society.

Ilori (2013) affirms that the theoretical concept of 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991; Norton 2000) is useful in understanding how Senior Secondary School (SSS) students in Nigeria, who are acquiring English as a first language or alongside one or more local languages construct their identities, identify with and invest in English. Such an investigation on how second language users of English construct and negotiate their identities between the cultures and languages they live with and imagine being part of reveals unique aspect of English as a Second Language (ESL) acquisition in the peripheral circle (Kachru, 1997). Kanno and Norton (2003), however assert that imagination cannot be seen solely as a personal construction as certain influential agents (e.g. larger society, media and government) also play a role in providing sources of information that might influence the imagined community of second language learners. This is because learning opportunities according to Rogers (2004), are shaped not only by institutional policies, curriculum and instructions, but also everyday interactions within and outside the school context. What this suggests therefore, is that there is a mode of mediation between SSS students imagined identities/communities and the wider social and educational practices in which their future identities/imagined communities are embedded. Therefore, there is an extent to which the

imagined community is not freely constructed, but rather determined somewhat by forces beyond the students' imagination.

Wodak (2006) explained that "when studying identity constructions ..., we are confronted with perceptions, beliefs, opinions and memories as essential parts of this discursive process" (p.2). These beliefs, though, not exclusively expressed reflect in discourses. As a result, beyond the linguistic expressions students use to portray their imagined communities/identities, there may also be hidden ideological meanings that mediate the development of visions of identity and future affiliation to communities for newcomers. In view of the foregoing, students' imagined communities/identities could be classified as a form of discourse practice or language in use. The correlation between discourse and society (language [in] use) has been established within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 2001, Wodak 2007 and van Dijk, 2006). Rogers (2004) claims that "CDA starts with the assumption that language use is always inevitably constructing and constructed by social, cultural, political and economic contexts" (p.10). Such that, there is a mode of mediation between the actual, realized text and the wider social practices in which the piece of text is embedded.

In essence, the future self-expression of learners that are encoded in their imagined communities/identities is representations of the interplay between micro-level interactions and individual text and talk, on the one hand, and societal macro-structures, on the other hand. In this instance, the societal macro-structures are exemplified by the social ideologies and power positions that exist in the environment and institutionalised entities that enforce such ideologies. From a critical discourse analysis perspective, this study thus aims to explore the imagined communities/identities of SSS students in Nigeria against the language ideologies associated with English that are portrayed in the society.

1.2   Research questions/purpose of the study

The study thus endeavours to answer two research questions

- What language ideologies about the English Language does the Nigerian society reflect and perpetuate?
- How do Senior Secondary School students in private/public schools in Nigeria conceive of their imagined communities/identities with respect to these existing societal ideological discourses of English?

Since everyday interactions are able to mediate the development of visions of identity and future association to communities for learners, then it becomes necessary to explore this subject of influence which is represented by key constructs (e.g. educational programmes, government policies, instructions, curriculum etc.) in the Nigerian society. This study will therefore not only attempt to look at the role that the existing societal ideological postures of English play in the construction of Senior Secondary School's students imagined communities/identities, but also how such ideological postures becomes real in ways that affect students' investment in learning.

1.3   Gaps in literature/contribution to knowledge

As Norton (2000, 2001) suggested, foreign language learners create images of communities and construct identities during the process of learning a second language. Since learners are part of unique and different societies, could their imagined communities/identities be seen as a reflection and reproduction of societal and educational discourses? In trying to answer this question, second/foreign language researchers (Kanno, 2003; Cortez, 2008; Ballesteros, 2010; Ilori, 2013; Sung, 2014) have investigated how language learners (e.g. high school students, teachers-in-training, university students) in Japan, Canada, Mexico, Nigeria and Hong-Kong construct their imagined communities/identities with reference to their societal and institutional practices. However, even though these empirical studies have been conducted in different contexts, and with varieties of participants, such studies according to Yoshizawa (2012) are very few in number compared to studies done in the core circle (Kachru, 1997) of English speaking countries. Therefore, as enlightening and informative as these researches appear to be, there is a gap in literature on the imbalanced attention given to the issues of how identities/imagined communities are constructed in terms of context.

Learners, who live in post-colonial communities like Nigeria, may be influenced by factors that are quite different from learning English as a second language in an English-speaking (e.g. Britain or Canada), second language (e.g. Nigeria, Mexico) or foreign language (e.g. Japan, Hong-Kong) context. This is because the geographical location, socio-historical factors, official and educational dominance of an ex-colonial language as well as cultural and social values may be factors contributing to the construction of their identities/imagined communities. Therefore, an investigation into other English language learning contexts is a significant next step in the field of SLA as it will inform how different

learners' investment, imagined communities and identities are, and how such differences influence their language acquisition.

Another gap in literature is the fact that there are few studies on the ideological assumptions that underlie the imagined identities/communities of second language learners. The analysis on research (Deganais, 2003; Kanno, 2003, Cobb-Roberts, Shircliffe and Dorn, 2006; Cortez, 2008; Ilori, 2013) that examines the influence of the sociocultural environment on the notion of imagined identity and community often explains the relationship that exists between these two variables as direct and automatic. Few research work (e.g. Pavlenko, 2003) have examined these variables as being mediated through people's perception of the status of English in local and global context. It then, becomes important to identify specific ideologies of English inherent in the Nigerian society, and show how these ideologies mediate and contribute to the construction of SSS students imagined identities/communities.

This study will therefore, contribute not only to the field of SLA but also to the growing field of critical applied linguistics (Fairclough, 2015). Examining the relationship that may exist between the ideologies that associates English with the resource of education, employment or status and students' imagined communities/identities may demand that neutrality should no longer be accepted as a concept when talking about imagination or identity. In this way, learners would no longer be viewed as social beings with multiple identities that emerge within specific learning trajectories (Norton, 2000), but as beings with deep-rooted ambiguities that must be represented in a reasonable and justifiable way.

1.4   Research approach

The project is designed around a qualitative framework. Silverman (1997) argues that ―if you are concerned with exploring people's life histories or everyday behaviour, qualitative methods may be favoured" (p.11). In line with this, Mason (2002) suggests that through qualitative research we can explore ―... the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants, the way that social processes, institutions, discourses and relationships work, and the significance of the meaning that they generate" (p.1). In essence, a qualitative design is favourable as it would help to bring to light the complexities of participants' experiences in greater detail.

Data for this study was collected via open-ended questionnaire from school administrators, SSS students, English language teachers, parents, curriculum, language policy on education and the Nigerian constitution. Eight public and private secondary schools from four local governments in Lagos state, Nigeria were selected using stratified random

sampling. To be eligible to participate, respondents were selected based on the following criteria: students had to be in the senior secondary class and should be between the ages of 16-20; parents should have one or more children in the senior secondary school while teachers/administrators/principals/vice principals should carry out their job functions within the senior secondary schools. All of these participants should be willing to participate in the study, and to also reflect on the role of English in their daily lives and in the world.

The data collected were interpreted using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Norton's (2000) imagined community as a theoretical framework. CDA is a multidisciplinary approach to language study and should therefore not be seen as one particular methodological tool (Fairclough 2001; Dijk, 2002; Blommaert, 2005; Wodak 2007), and Wodak (2007) claims that ―CDA is inherently interdisciplinary because it aims at investigating complex social phenomena which are inherently inter- or transdisciplinary and certainly not to be studied by linguistics alone" (p.5). The theory starts ―with the assumption that language use is always inevitably constructing and constructed by social, cultural, political and economic contexts" (Rogers 2004, p.10). Analysis will therefore be based on the beliefs that are at the heart of CDA that language/discourse and social structure are interconnected, and considers language/discourse as a social phenomenon (Blommaert, 2005); While Norton's (2000) concept of imagined community will assist in the explanation on how the learning of another language allows learners to expand their range of identities and reach out to wider worlds.

1.5   Summary of chapters

The introductory section provides a background to the research study, and identifies the purpose, significance and research questions that were raised with regards to the reasons SSS students in Nigeria learn English. Chapter 2 reviews literature on globalisation and the spread of English and argued for a post-colonial perspective on this discourse because it accounts for the reasons individuals choose to learn and use English in the absence of any obvious act of coercion. Also, due to the ways learners now engage with English, issues such as identity, investment and imagined identity/community are used to conceptualise the process of second language learning (Norton, 2000; 2001; Block 2007). This approach, which is in contrast to earlier research work (Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Tajfel 1974; Schumann 1986) in the field of second language acquisition reflects the different environment and current realities that many second language learners face in recent years. Chapter 3 looks at the socio-historical/linguistics background of the country where data for the research will be gathered. Chapter 4 examines the different theories and analytical framework that will be

applied to find answers to the questions raised in this study. Chapter 5 draws on the data obtained from the semi-structured interview of three coexisting agents-social (SSS students, parents), political (government) and educational (teachers/principals/administrators) - to explore the way English is conceptualised in the global (international) and local (Nigerian) society. Chapter 6 examines how the societal/educational and political ideological discourses of English interact with and influence the construction of possible imagined community/identities students might adopt and adapt for themselves. Chapter 7 presents the conclusions and recommendations drawn from the data.

Chapter 2
Identity, imagined community and language learning

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will contextualise English language usage in the world as well as the various theoretical views held about the place of English as a world language in order to provide a broader perspective about where ESL learners are on a global level. The role of the language since its earliest contacts with what is now known as Nigeria, as well as its importance in the Nigerian educational system will also be discussed. This will lead to a discussion on identity and its role in second language learning, especially how the learning of another language, perhaps more than any other educational activity allows learners to expand their range of identities and to reach out to wider worlds (Norton, 2000).

2.2 Globalisation and the English language

> It is everywhere. Some 380 million people speak it as their first language and perhaps two-thirds as many again as their second. A billion are learning it, about a third of the world's population are in some sense exposed to it and by 2050, it is predicted, half the world will be more or less proficient in it. It is the language of globalisation- of international business, politics and diplomacy. It is the language of computers and the internet . . . Truly, the tongue spoken back in the 1300s only by the _low people' of England, as Robert of Gloucester put it at the time, has come a long way. It is now the global language.
>
> (The Economist, 2001)

Even though the English language is not stated directly as the language being referred to in the excerpt, it is however the one that immediately comes to mind. This can be traced to not only the estimation given above as to the numbers of speakers who use it as a first language, those for whom it is a second or additional language and those who learn it as a foreign language and its 'vehicular load' as a medium of science or literature, international business and politics, but also its importance in everyday interactions. Based on these benefits, researchers (e.g. Quirk, 1985; Crystal 1997) on the global spread of English agree that there has never before been a language so widely spread or spoken by so many people as English.

It, therefore, comes as no surprise when the language has emerged in connection with the ongoing process of globalisation, described by Giddens (1990, p.64) as ―the intensification of worldwide social relationships which link distant realities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa." Thus, the idea is that globalisation involves hitherto unprecedented compressions of time and space which transcends national borders and reduces barriers. It is true that day-to-day interactions take place within the community, however, the majority of individuals are moving beyond the local into new communities/societies that are being constructed as they speak, hence the terms 'global village', 'global society', 'global community' (Ayantayo, 2005) have emerged to capture this phenomenon.

This shaping of distant realities as a result of the ―intensification of worldwide social relationships" (Giddens 1990, p.64) account for the importance of language as it plays an active role in social interaction bringing to the fore the need for a common language/linguistic code. The English language is allowed to participate in this society/community because it is pre-eminently the most international of all languages, linking diverse people and cultures of the world, which is the reason learners from many countries are acquiring it in order to take part in the notion of the 'global village'. Within this context, the spread of the language can either be portrayed as a valuable advantage since it allows for inclusion into certain global spheres, or an ideological venture with negative results on a number of other languages particularly in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Ikara, 2005).

2.2.1 The spread of English as beneficial

Proponents of the spread of English as beneficial (Quirk, 1985; Crystal 1997) are of the opinion that considering the status and role of English in different parts of the world today, the language ―has, in many ways ceased to be the property of the native speakers and has been appropriated, through its continued globetrotting, by the many constituencies who use it to communicate across lingual borders" (Johnson 2009, p.138). The rise of English should, therefore, be seen as a positive development since it ―presents us with unprecedented possibilities for mutual understanding" (Crystal 1997, p.viii).

Kachru (1986) arguing in favour of English as a global language asserts that

> English does have one clear advantage, attitudinally and linguistically: it has acquired a *neutrality* in a linguistic context where native languages, dialects, and styles sometimes have acquired undesirable connotations.... It was originally the foreign (alien) ruler's language, but that

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drawback is often overshadowed by what it can do for its
users. True, English is associated with a small and elite
group; but it is in their role that the *neutrality* of a language
becomes vital (pp.8-9)

He goes on to say that ─whatever the reasons for the earlier spread of English, we should now consider it as a positive development in the twentieth-century world context" (p.51). In essence, power relations may have determined that English would outpace other global languages, but the language can no longer be said to be functioning exclusively to serve the interests of English speaking states. Therefore, focus should be on an attempt to provide a theoretical framework to describe the new forms of English e.g. Nigerian English (Jowitt, 1991) and Singapore English (Richards, 1982) which has been variously called 'indigenous' 'nativized' and 'non-native' English (Jowitt, 1991), rather than on the causes and effects of its spread.

Even though the view on the spread of English as a tool for global understanding is central to the discourse on globalisation and the English language, Pennycook (1994) however argued that such debates have tended to be the relegated only to such discussions, and in the process fail to address a diverse range of questions (e.g. causes and effects of its spread) which might encourage a reassessment on the emphasis on English serving as a tool for global understanding. In Nigeria, for instance Adegbija (1994) asserts that knowledge of English is emblematic of power, prestige and status. Since the mother tongues are not seen in this light, attitudes towards the indigenous languages consequently tend to be negative.

2.2.2 Linguistic imperialism perspective

This criticism concerning the spread of English and its suggested connections to several issues in global relations has been taken up by Phillipson (1992). He argued against those in favour of English serving as a tool for global understanding by developing and popularising the term linguistic imperialism which occurs if

the minds and lives of the speakers of a language are
dominated by another language to the point where they
believe that they can and should use only that foreign
language when it comes to transactions dealing with the
more advanced aspects of life such as education, philosophy,
literature, governments, the administration of justice etc….
(Ansre 1979, p. 12-13 cited in Phillipson 1992, p.56.)

The description above illustrates a society whereby a language, which in this case is the English language is perceived to be beneficial and allowed to play a significant role in order to maintain social, political and economic interactions. What he therefore, insinuates is linguistic and cultural domination of the peripheries (underdeveloped countries where the English language serves as a post-colonial currency e.g. Nigeria, India, Kenya etc.) by the centre (developed Western countries that are advanced in technology e.g. North America, Britain, Australia and New Zealand) through the English Language.

This is possible when one considers the fact that language is not a neutral vehicle of communication. It is also useful in the formation and representation of ideas and relationships embedded in culture (Duff and Uchida, 1997). As a result, insisting that the English language should be the primary means of communication in these societies, according to Lin (2013, p. 2), ‐plays an essential role in the Centre's cultural and linguistic penetration of the Periphery". The impartation and institution of English will therefore not only create in the people's psyche the need to identify with foreign values, but will also erode their linguistic and cultural awareness and appreciation. This Phillipson (1992) believes can set individuals in such societies up for exploitation and cultural erasure.

Phillipson (1992) argues further that the very concept of an international or world language was an invention of western imperialism debunking the suggestion that the current status of English in the world is a natural result of world forces. He asserts that an attempt to create an hegemony of English can be traced back to the 19th century when the British colonised every continent and the teaching of their language was imperative if they were to achieve their goal. As such, the continuous promotion and policies of English Language Teaching (ELT) especially by the British Council are a direct continuation of such imperialistic practices which operates as a result of the fact that ‐the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (Phillipson, 1992, p.47). Also, while the advancement of hegemony is based on the promotion of the seeming advantages of one language (e.g. position, rank, wealth, power, prestige etc.) over another, there will also be a matching inferred threat that negative outcomes (such as economic and political disadvantages) will result from a failure to transfer to the dominant ideology. Attributing these undesirable negative connotations therefore, feed into the need to acquire English in order to survive in a global world.

It is obvious then that more vital questions regarding the global spread of English should be raised especially regarding ‐its connection to social and economic power within

and between nations… and to various forces that are shaping the modern world" (Pennycook 1994, p.23). In many countries - including Nigeria - the knowledge of English is now ̶emblematic in varying degrees with power, prestige, status, 'making it', 'being up there', and being able to achieve" (Adegbija 1994, p.20). In light of such motivation, it does not come as a surprise when governments and governmental institutions around the globe support and campaign for their citizens to be literate in English. In fact, in Nigeria (Adegbija, 1994) and Mexico (Morris, 1999), educational policies have favoured and recognised the need for making the English language to exist as a subject taught through the language, and the medium through which the other school subjects are taught. Other countries like Brazil (Walker, 1999) and Argentina (Eayrs, 1999) face such educational policies that elevate English Language in the school curriculum.

From the above discussions, even though Phillipson (1992) has been able to raise questions about how English is connected to social and economic inequalities within and between countries, he has also managed to reinforce the fact that choices people make about the language they use often are externally imposed rather than independent decisions made by individuals. In principle, it might not be impossible for a situation of linguistic imperialism to occur especially when one looks at the case of African countries like Ghana and Nigeria where admission into higher university is unattainable without a credit in English in school certificate examinations (Adegbija, 1994). However, in order to validate or refute whether such actions suggest signs of linguistic imperialism, Bisong (1995) asserts that a detailed study of the ethno-linguistic situation as well as the local education system needs to be taken into consideration. According to Fishman (1996), such a study will provide a valuable starting point as there would be a realisation of the fact that

> English is now no longer as much a reflection of externally
> imposed hegemony ... as it is part of the everyday discourse of
> various now substantially autonomous societies, all of whom
> are essentially following ̲their own needs and desires' (p.639).

Therefore, in looking for a position that recognizes the ideological underpinnings as well as, the agency of individuals who use English, Brutt-Griffler (2002), Pennycook (2003a; 2003b), Norton and Kamal (2003) and Canagarajah (1999a; 1999b) offer alternative frameworks concerning the spread of English in the world.

2.2.3 Resisting linguistic imperialism: a post-colonial perspective on the spread of English

Pennycook (2003a) identifies the significance of Phillipson's (1992) work in introducing and promoting ―the problematic institutional domination of English and its many side effects‖ (p.516). However, he is of the opinion that what this view lacks is ―a view of how English is taken up, how people use English, why people choose to use English‖ (Pennycook 2001, p.62). So even though his claims are partly true, Brutt-Griffler (2002) asserts that it is disturbing to observe that what has been captured and presented are second/foreign language speakers of English who are helpless and passive victims of some international scheming, rather than active members who use English as a means to their own ends, and thereby contributing to the development and spread of English.

In line with this, Widdowson (1998) argued that ―there is a fundamental contradiction in the idea that the language itself exerts hegemonic control: namely that if this were the case, you would never be able to challenge such control‖ (p.398). From the point raised in the first sentence, the contradiction lies in the fact that the language itself might not exercise hegemonic control, but its users who might see and use language as a tool for domination, as Holborrow (1993) points out, ―not all Englishes in the centre dominate, nor all speakers in the periphery equally discriminated against… language conflict and domination often arise because one social dialect dominates over non-standard varieties‖ (p.359). While the second sentence depicts that, what Phillipson did was fail to ask the question: what ―if the dominated… wanted to adopt English and continue to want to keep it?‖ (Davies, 1996, p.488) but instead concluded: that ―RP's unfalsifiable answer must be that they don't, they can't, they've been persuaded against their better interests‖ (Davies, 1996, p.488), thereby ignoring the responses, decisions and resistance from the periphery.

In a multilingual country like Nigeria, Bisong (1995) claims that when parents send their children to English-medium schools to learn English, they are aware of the advantages that might accrue to that child as a result of such decisions. To therefore, ―interpret such actions as emanating from people who are victims of Centre linguistic imperialism is to bend sociolinguistic evidence to suit preconceived thesis‖ (p.125). Pennycook (2003a), therefore, suggests that any conversation or debate on globalisation and the expansion of English must be observed ―both critically- in terms of new forms of power, control and destruction- and in its complexity- in terms of new forms of resistance, change, appropriation and identity‖ (Pennycook 2003a, p.524). Instances of resistance are seen in Canagarajah‗s (1993) research where he examines what Sri Lankan students actually do in the face of domination in the EFL

context. Even though he encountered opposition to English from the students, he was also able to discover that this resistance is associated with a conviction towards the advantages of English. He sees such a behaviour as ambivalent, —.. which contain elements of accommodation as well as opposition in response to the conflicting pulls of socioeconomic mobility, on the one hand, and cultural integrity on the other" (Canagarajah, 1993, p.624).

Another form of resistance is the incorporation of indigenous topics into English Language teaching materials; e.g. Bobda (1997) and Kramsch and Sullivan (1996) describes how Western textbooks have been incorporated to suit the Cameroonian and Vietnamese context respectively, while Malik (1993) expresses how the Pakistani textbooks try to establish a connection between ELT, patriotism and the Muslim faith. Canagarajah (1999a) therefore argued that the spread of English as linguistic imperialism —fails to understand that there is a relative autonomy for institutions, communities, and subjects to work out alternate meanings, statuses, and uses for the discourses intended to dominate them" (p.208). Thus, the idea of resistance is not based on the premise that individuals in post-colonial context should reject English, but rather —reconstitute it in more inclusive, ethical, and democratic terms" (Canagarajah, 1999b, p.2). And this involves negotiating and resisting the role that English will play in the lives of individuals through language policies, alternative language teaching and learning paradigms (Canagarajah, 1999b).

This view point is beneficial because it emphasizes the need for one not to reduce one's argument concerning the spread of English to debates along the lines of learning or not learning English, or learning or not learning the vernacular. Rather, interpretation should be done by applying theoretical and methodological tools from post-colonial studies (Pennycook, 2003). Such that in order to recognise and understand the reasons why individuals learn English despite its perceived hegemonic status in the world today, researchers must look beyond examining its structural power (Phillipson, 1992) and begin to pay attention to —why people choose to use English" (Pennycook 2001, p.62).

As can be seen from the above discussions, merely viewing the language as a means of generating intelligibility as Crystal (1997) did trivialises its importance in individual identity and group culture (Gaffey, 2005). Also, looking at it only in terms of international understanding or linguistic imperialism is misguided since it becomes easy to ignore and understand a more important factor, which is the desire for nations to link with the world at large (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). The framework that will be adopted in this research in contextualizing English language learning within the context of globalisation lies within Pennycook's (2001) framework. This is because many learners are acquiring English – the

language of globalization because they are aware of the need to participate in the notion of the global village, at the same time there is the need to be weary of not the language per se but the processes which allow it to occupy the dominant role it presently has on a global level. In essence, it looks as if English language learners are immersed in a complicated global world of paradoxes caught between allegiance to their local language and culture and global perceptions of modernity. This position demonstrates that issues of identity construction and conflict develop while learning a second language. The next section therefore, examines the notion of identity, and the central role that language plays in the construction and creation of identities.

2.3   Identity

An explicit concern with questions of identity is not a novel development, as it cuts across the social, cultural, economic and political sphere prompting Bauman (2001) to observe that the term has become ―today's talk of the town and the most commonly played game in town" (p.16). As a result, discourses on identity have not only managed to attract considerable attention in different disciplines and research (Hall, 1996; Bauman, 2001), but it has also become a thriving industry filled with daytime television, self-help literature and reality talk shows ―that have all combined to make the present first and foremost about individuals: their pasts, presents and futures; ...and in short, who they are" (Block 2007, p.3). However, who we are is not such a straightforward concept to pin down or analyse as will be discussed below.

2.3.1   Defining identity: the essentialists approach

A simple answer to the question ―what is identity" according to Fearon (1999) would be described as how an individual answers the question ‗who are you?‘ He went on to say that when there is a need for a more elaborate explanation, the reply is that an individual's identity is how that individual defines who he or she is. Therefore, identity provides us with the avenue to know what can stand in as 'Y' in the sentence ‗I am a Y‘, with the 'Y' being a ―particular sort of predicate attachable to a person" (p.12). From a psychological angle, the particular sort of predicate that can stand in as 'Y' could range from descriptions of personalities, roles and relationships to reference in relation to achievements (or the lack of it) or future ambitions. A rather operative explanation within this domain is viewed from its conception as "people's beliefs about themselves, about their own ideas of who they are, and their personal characteristics, abilities, experiences, emotions and agendas" (Augustinos, Walker and Donague 2006, p.186).

This assertion is not so detached from the philosophical understanding of the term. Fenichel (1945) indicated that a realistic concept of identity is one that

> mirrors correctly the state and characteristics, the personalities and abilities, the assets and limits of our bodily and mental ego; on the one hand, of our appearance, our anatomy, and our physiology; on the other hand, of our conscious and preconscious feelings and thoughts, wishes, impulses and attitudes, of our physical and mental activities (p.187).

However, there is a rather interesting disparity between the two definitions. While the psychological view sees a stand-in for 'Y' as an answer to the question 'what sort of person am I', the philosophical angle aims to answer the questions 'what sort of person am I' and 'what do I do?'

Nevertheless, according to Woodward (2004), these answers are only part of the story because what philosophers or psychologists have meant by identity in this sense is not what it means in the social sciences. From a sociological perspective, the predicate that can stand in as 'Y' can be understood to be the basis of human existence; an individual's awareness of being a distinct entity in the midst of society (Macionis, 1987). Here, the concept is better understood in the light of the connection individuals have with society. According to Mead (1934), an individual's identity can be explained in three steps. In the first step, identity emerges as a consequence of social experience. This means that it is not based in biology or physiology like the philosophical and psychological perspective avers; rather, it develops only as the individual engages in social relation with others. With social relation comes the need to use language which carries the meanings shared by people engaged in social interaction, and this is the second step in Mead's analysis. The third step asserts that by trying to understand the intentions of others, people are able to take up the perspective of another. Therefore, we can understand how another person is possibly going to respond to us by imaginatively taking up the role of that person (Macionis, 1987; Woodward, 2004).

From the foregoing, identity, on the one hand is something individuals uniquely possess and assume is the same across time and situation, hence its origin from the Latin root *idem* meaning 'the same' (Illeris, 2007). Yet on the other hand, it also entails a relationship with a social group/class, religion, education of some kind. Such that in an attempt to define their identities, individuals must not only try to assert their individuality but also identify with others on the basis of social and cultural features, in addition to shared values and interests. The implication therefore, is that without social groups/class, identity cannot exist. What this

means therefore, is that individuals are shaped and formed by being members of a particular social group. From a broader perspective, it means that they are shaped by their culture; and culture here is seen to be ―the relatively fixed worldview, modes of behaviour and artefacts of a particular group" Block (2007, p.12). Thus, to belong to this culture is to belong to roughly the same conceptual universe, and sharing this same universe is to see the world from within the same conceptual plan. In essence, identity from the social perspective is understood to be the product of the social conditions under which it has developed.

Even though this social/cultural argument is an improvement over the biological stance concerning the notion of identity, Omoniyi (2006) argues that this perspective referred to as essentialism defined as ―the philosophy behind labelling any number of normative characteristics or practices as constituting the core of an individual or group which are then used to define them and held to be true of all members of the group" (p.16) has come to be questioned in recent years. This is because this labelling with regards to the characteristics exhibited by the group infers that the whole group consist of individuals who are shaped and determined by either biology or social formations which precede them (Block, 2007). For example, X's identity as a 'woman' or an 'African' speaks in a fundamental way to who she is in the world, but such an identity cannot account for the myriads of complex social contexts and interactions she finds himself in on a day-to-day basis. What this view point thereby produces is a framework that conceptualises identities as static, fixed and rigid; a conclusion that has been challenged in recent literatures on the subject of identity.

2.3.2 A departure from essentialism: the poststructuralist perspective on identity

According to the cultural critic Mercer (1990) and social theorist Bauman (2005), the new shift in the conceptualisation of identity is a reflection of the social and cultural changes that are taking place in the world. These new dimensions in the (post)modern age have not only changed the processes of identity formation, but it has also eroded most of the foundations on which individuals used to anchor their identity thereby, revealing uncertainties in relation to who we are and our place in the world Bauman (2001).

One of such changes is the emphasis on the individual and individual rights, which meant the rejection of traditional norms across social, racial, ethnic and gender lines. For example, the socially determined roles for men and women (i.e. the breadwinner/housewife dichotomy) which was given the status of being natural and normal as if they ―have always been" and ―will always be" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p.14) are disappearing, while new and different identities are becoming available. What obtains now according to

Woodward (2004, p.23 citing Social Trends, 2002) are ‑huge numbers of married and unmarried women in paid work whether full time, part time or short-term contracts…."Even though this does not necessarily mark the end of the traditional view on the roles of men and women in society, however in many societies gender roles have certainly become more flexible. Individuals, therefore, now have the right to become whatever they want to be; to self-create and realise their own identity. As such, according to (Taylor, 1991), the term self-constitution, self-assertion and self-transformation have become slogans of the today's society.

The sweeping economic, social, cultural and political changes often referred to as globalisation according to Giddens (1991) are also contributing factors to a sense of fragmentation and uncertainty as regards to an individual's identity. Certain developments like increase in social mobility, sophisticated technology (e.g. personal computers, mobile phones, iPod, iPad etc.), social networking sites (e.g. Facebook, Myspace, twitter etc.) and social practices of contemporary life have increased the number of people with whom individuals engage in daily interactions. The forces associated with identity formation are thus no longer restricted to the local space, but have their origin on different levels varying from the local to the global. The result of this complex mixture of both local and global elements, therefore, is a frequent and sophisticated shift in roles which would consequently make the idea of retaining a coherent original identity more difficult to achieve. These changes, Woodward (2004) asserts, would thereby bring up questions about 'who we are' in contexts where we might have thought there was no question.

Looking at it from the perspective that the traditional resources for identity formation are no longer so straightforward in the postmodern globalised era, Jenkins (2008) argues that identity should be seen not so much as a fixed possession, but as a social process, in which the individual and the social are inextricably linked. A good example can be seen from how the question ‗who are you?' posed at the beginning of the discussion on identity will be answered. Depending on the context, I might answer a Nigerian, student, daughter, sister, wife etc., thereby making the question as to ‗who am I' to become increasingly difficult to answer. By this exercise, it is noticeable that one might have multiple, hybrid, temporary, and fluid identities, based on the question ‗who are you?'

On this note, Block (2006) raises the issue concerning the extent to which the answer to the question ‗who are you?' is actually the outcome of individual agency knowing fully well that it can also be constrained by social structures and practices. The term 'agency' as used here refers ‑to people's ability to make choices, take control, self-regulate, and thereby

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pursue their goals as individuals leading, potentially to personal or social transformation" (Duff 2012, p.15). Individuals are thereby, agents or social actors whose daily interactions and identities are enacted below a threshold of consciousness. That is, they can decide to move in and between multiple identities called for by the context they find themselves in. Block's (2006) argument is however, based on the premise that even though individuals have the agency, can they possibly assume any identity under the sun? According to Mathews (2000), identity is seen as developing in what he calls the *cultural supermarket*, a market that comes in the form of the media and technology and offers a wide range of identities that individuals around the world can assume. However, he asserts that this does not mean that all the choices available are possible since there are social structures, that is, —conventionalised established ways of doing things" (Hall 2011, p.6) within which individuals live on a daily basis that constrain such choices.

The underlying issue, therefore, is how to avoid the separation of human agency and social structure, and explain how identity can be understood in light of and in relation to both concepts. Going back to the theory of structuration - the process of creating and being created by social structure - put forth by Giddens (1991), Block (2006) argues that identity should be seen as an emergent process that is shaped by individuals, and at the same time is given shape by social structures. What this suggests, he continues, is that —while identity is conditioned by social interaction and social structure, it at the same time conditions social interaction and social structure. It is in short constitutive and constituted by the social environment" (p.38). In essence, individuals do not develop their sense of self by waiting for an explanation of how their environment modifies and shapes their identities nor do identities emerge as a self-conscious product of individuals' agencies; rather identity —should be perceived as shaped out of the process of doing, speaking and interacting with others" (Ballesteros 2010, p.41).

The majority of researchers who view identity in this realm refer to poststructuralism as a framework, a theory that was predominantly helpful to conceptualize this research. Poststructuralism according to Block (2007, p.13) is —about moving beyond the search for universal and invariant laws of humanity to more nuanced, multilevelled and ultimately, complicated framings of the world around us." Weedon (1987) explained that it is a range of theoretical positions which address the questions of —how social power is exercised and how social relations of gender, class and race might be transformed" (p.20). In other words, poststructuralism offers crucially significant ways of thinking about social issues other than the way the term has been conceived in the traditional sense.

Buckingham (2008) thus asserts it might be more appropriate to talk about *identification* rather than identity since we ―seek multiple identifications with others, on the basis of social, cultural, and biological characteristics, as well as shared values, personal histories, and interests" (p.1). This can be understood based on the different relationships we have with people, and the various social roles we perform. This is the reason Weedon (1997) rejects discourses that see the individual as fixed and coherent, but rather favours the term *subjectivities* which has a reflexive relationship with the way individuals view and position themselves in relation to the world. In this sense, Davies and Harre (1999) view identity as being positioned by others constantly during interactions ―whereby people are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines" (p.37). In spite of this different term used to capture the notion of identity, one can observe that it all boils down to the way individuals situate themselves and at the same time are situated by others as they engage in discursive practices.

Coming from this perspective, Omoniyi (2006) asserts that Hierarchies of Identities (HoI) can be used to better capture this process of identification. He suggests that since individuals have multiple role identities, these identities should be ranked based on their importance in a moment of identification defined ―as points in time in performance and perception at which verbal and nonverbal communicative codes (e.g. advertisement, clothes, walk style and song lyrics, among others) are deployed to flag up an image of self or perspective of it" (p.21). He explained that in the context of an interaction, various identity options are available to individuals. However, within this context there are moments of interaction where the individual prefers a particular identity over another. While investigating the Idiroko/Igolo and Woodland/Johor Bahru community in Nigeria and Benin and Singapore and Malaysia respectively, Omoniyi (2004) observes that these residents frequently hierarchized national and ethnic identities depending on the context as well as the objectives for the interactional exchange. Therefore, he asserts that in any discursive context, the identities that are available are hierarchized based on their appropriateness or relevance to the moments of identification.

The key concept here is that poststructuralism reflected in contemporary studies has effected changes in the ways identity is being viewed and perceived. Identity is seen not as something that already exists or is acquired at some point in time but as something ―that individuals constantly renegotiate during the course of their lives" (Wegner 1998, p. 154), thereby suggesting that it might be impossible to possess a stable unique identity that we can keep across time and space. Poststructuralists, thus, understand identity to be constructed in

the midst of interactions and consider it to vary even in subtle ways as contextual factors are altered and created. Bendle (2002), however, raises concern to the notion of multiple identities proposed by the poststructuralists, and claims that there is the need for a more psychologically informed approach to identity. He argued based on the premise that identity was taken from the field of psychology, and the idea about fluid and multiple identities might be seen as something to be treated by the psychoanalysts. He, therefore, reasons that poststructuralists have no psychological evidence upon which they could rest their conclusions. In addition, he is of the opinion that there might be an inner core self that might not be susceptible to responses from the social environment or context.

Even though Bendle's (2002) comments and suggestions are thought provoking, Block (2006) argues that investigating identity from the psychoanalytic framework might indeed offer ways to look at the personal lives of participants but it may not be able to account for identity work done by people living liquid lives. Liquid lives, a term coined by Bauman (2005) are ―lives in the fast lane, where the conditions under which...people act change faster than it takes the ways of acting to consolidate into habits and routines" (p.1). When investigating this kind of life characterised by the age of globalisation as described by Bauman (2005), Block (2006) asserts that it is more appropriate to concentrate on the hustle and bustle of the current state of human society and how it shapes identities, rather than endeavour to bring to the fore participants' inner drives and desires. This analytical framework might be regarded as ―shallow and incapable of bearing the analytic load that the contemporary situation requires" (Bendle 2002, p.1), but it is far less intrusive, and is in line with what other researchers (e.g. Norton, 2000; Kanno, 2003; Pavlenko, 2003; Block, 2007) in applied linguistics lean towards and emphasize in their discussions on identity.

A particular and useful definition of identity from this perspective, and which will be used in this thesis is that offered by Bernstein and Solomon (1999) as ―resources for constructing, belonging, recognition of self and others, and context management (what I am, where, with whom and when)" (p.273). As such, rather than ascribe a set of pre-determined categories to people, identity from this perspective is said to be constructed and co-constructed as human beings engage in different social activities. This is because an individual's identity is always present in what they say and in the understanding they construct of what others say. The language/identity relationship can thus, be viewed from the angle that at virtually every point at which language – both code and content - is used, the self/identity of an individual is first of all manifested to others and secondly, constructed and determined by others. Thus, individuals may position and be positioned in certain identities

according to many variables like age, gender, sexuality, race, social status, and educational attainment because of the ways that their discourses are presented and perceived by others. Yet, at the same time, none of these subject positions are fixed, since individuals are creating and at the same time continuously resisting their own positioning. Therefore, an individual's identity is something s/he will constantly be building and negotiating all through his/her lives through interacting with others.

2.4   Identity and second language learning

Any study on identity invariably brings about discussions on language, and the strong connection between identity and language use have been well established in research in applied linguistics (e.g. Cummins, 1996; Gee, 1996; Norton, 2000). This relationship according to the poststructuralists is because language is seen as a site for identity construction (Weedon, 1997; Bourdieu, 1991). As a result of the fact that individuals are struggling to claim the rights to particular identities, and also trying to resist others that are imposed on them, they are therefore constantly faced with an internal battle in which they have to weigh the need to be true to themselves as against their desire for acceptance. The view of language to construct this poststructuralist approach to identity has been explored in various research in education, especially second language learning.

Since our identities and language are inextricably linked, then learning another language might also cause a conflict in one's identity. As a result, the process of L2 learning, according to Lin (2009, p.44) ―can be complicated by the facts that learners are under the influence of two cultural systems whose values can be extremely different from each other". Based on earlier discussions on globalisation, it has become glaring that the world in which the L2 learner lives have changed dramatically, and according to Ushioda and Dornyei (2009), the current world is ―characterised by linguistic and sociocultural diversity and fluidity, where language use, ethnicity, identity and hybridity have become complex topical issues..." (p.1). Therefore, learning and using another language has become more complex than the mere acquisition of grammatical knowledge and skills. Williams (1994) describes this succinctly

> The learning of a foreign language involves far more than
> simply learning skills, or a system of rules, or a grammar; it
> involves an alteration in self-image, the adoption of new social
> and cultural behaviours and ways of being… (p.77)

However, before research in second language learning had evolved to the stage where concerns relating to self and identity began to be considered as important factors during the process of learning another language, a number of intergroup models in the sociopsychological paradigm dominated the SLA scene.

2.4.1 Theorising second language learning in terms of motivation

In an article reviewing the history of second language learning research, Pavlenko (2002) referred to the pioneering works carried out by researchers such as Gardener and Lambert (1972), Schumann (1976, 1986), Tajfel (1974) as part of the general socio-psychological approach to language learning. Gardner and Lambert (1972) explains that ―this theory, in brief, maintains that the successful learner of a second language must be psychologically prepared to adopt various aspects of behaviour which characterize members of another linguistic-cultural group" (p.3). It, therefore, hypothesizes that learning a new language involves learning aspects of behaviour of the target culture, and the learner's attitude or orientation towards members of the target language community relatively determines success with language learning.

This theory of language learning motivation proposed by Gardner and Lambert (1972) as a result of their studies on foreign language learners in Canada, United States and the Phillipines entails *instrumental* and *integrative* motivation. Such motivation or what Gardner and MacIntyre (1991) and Dornyei (2001) refers to as 'orientation' is considered to be *instrumental* in form when the learner can derive personal benefit from the language learning process. As such, it is characterised by the desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages. An *integrative* attitude, on the other hand is conceptually linked with the need for affiliation. In other words, the learner wishes to identify culturally or otherwise with the target language group.

Schumann's acculturation model (1976, 1986) called the theory of *social distance* also drew on existing theories on motivation of Gardner and Lambert. Distance here according to Ricento (2005, p.897) "indicates the degree of similarity between two cultures ... the greater the social distance between two cultures, the more difficulty the learner would have in acquiring the target language" and vice versa. His conclusion grew out of a 10-month study he conducted on the acquisition of English by six Spanish speakers (two children, two adolescents and two adults) living in the US. While examining the language progress of these participants, he noticed that acculturation was an important variable in language learning. According to Brown (1994, p. 71) citing the research of Larson and Smalley (1972), acculturation involves ―... assimilation or adaptation to the new culture and acceptance of the

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'new' person that has developed." In essence, Schumann believed that ―the degree to which the learner identifies with another culture, the more motivated he or she will be to acquire that culture's language" (Ricento 2005, p.897).

This same conclusion could be drawn from Giles and Johnson's (1987) ethnolinguistic identity theory which was based on Tajfel's (1974) theory of *social identity*. Tajfel (1974) defines social identity as ―that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (p.69). He, therefore, claims that identity is derived from group membership, and individuals may decide to change successfully or not so successfully such group memberships if they see such an identity as less satisfactory. Based on this view, Giles and Johnson (1987) developed their theory and consider language to be an important factor of social identity and group membership. They were ready to pinpoint that the individual may have to adapt linguistically, or even have to face language erosion as a result of the fact that large numbers of members of the individual's group were assimilating into the new group. However, some members may be weary of assimilation seeing that as a threat to their ethnic identity. This, Giles and Johnson (1987) claim will then result in a low level of proficiency in the L2.

One interesting fact about this approach is that the learner has to identify with the target culture in order to be motivated to acquire the new language. And according to Ricento (2005), identification or what he refers to as an exclusively *assimilationist* model comes with a price and in this case, it is either the loss of the learner's identity or the adoption of dual identities. Gardner and Lambert (1972) explained this situation clearly

> the more proficient one becomes in a second language, the more
> he may find his place in the original membership group
> modified since the new linguistic-cultural group is likely to
> become for him something more than a mere reference group. It
> may, in fact, become a second membership group for him.
> Depending upon how he makes his adjustment to the two
> cultures, he may experience feelings of chagrin or regret as he
> loses ties in one group, mixed with the fearful anticipation of
> entering a new and somewhat strange group (p.3).

They were able to relate this experience to Durkheim's (1897) concept of *anomie*, which was used to describe the symptoms of adjustment difficulties that most people face in the era of the industrial revolution. The changes taking place in European cities in the 19th century

even though was a sign of economic progress, also meant the giving way of long-standing and predictable social conditions to less stable modern social conditions. To Durkheim, a French sociologist such drastic changes arouse *anomie* which translates to feelings of 'not belonging' in individuals.

According to Gardner and Lambert (1972), the serious student who really masters or is becoming skilled enough in the new language to be acknowledged as part of the group like the Anglophone students in the advanced French course in Montreal, Canada might begin to experience ‖the socio-cultural tugs and pulls (or *anomie)* which might create disillusionment, a feeling of being lost somewhere between two cultures" (p.16). They inferred that the immigrant and the bilingual individual must also grapple against great odds to keep and sustain comfortable links with two cultures. In other words, at a point in their language learning process, learners will experience a conflict of identity, culture and values. One would think that with some of these findings and statements, 'identity' would be taken further and made central to discussions on second language learning. Rather, Block (2007) asserts that the interests of these researchers, especially Gardner and Lambert lie more in relating issues of identity back to attitude and integrative orientation, which was collected from participants via structured questionnaires.

As a result, instead of exploring what it means to say that ‖learners must also struggle against great odds to keep and sustain comfortable contacts with 2 cultural traditions and retain full membership in both" (Gardner and Lambert 1972, p.10), their priority was to find answers to questions like ‖what are the reasons for learners' learning the language?" and ‖what variables contribute to successful language learning" Gardner and Lambert (1972, p.10)? So even though it may never have been their intention, as Gardner and Trembley (1994) had argued against such conclusions, their research has, however, been widely seen to solely portray the fact that individuals learn a new language either for instrumental or integrative reasons.

2.4.1.1 Dissatisfaction with Gardener's integrative motive

The impact of the Gardnerian approach to the process of learning a second language is obscured by the fact that it has been around for such a long time and recent theories and approaches began to generate a lot of interest and excitement in the field. Dörnyei (1994) states ‖having been familiar with the Gardnerian approach for a long time, we may not be conscious of how much of a ‗breakthrough' this was: one which rightfully influenced motivation theory for the next decades" (p.519). Also, according to Koike and Tanaka (1995), Gardner's work added a social dimension to L2 learning as it represented the starting

point whereby successful language learning was not merely accorded to aptitude and intelligence but motivation and attitude.

And although this model has often been interpreted as presenting L2 motivation in terms of the instrumental-integrative dichotomy, the debate seems to centre on the integrative construct as empirical findings made by several researchers did not always seem to fit into Gardener's original interpretation (Dörnyei, 2005). As the principal approach to the process of L2 learning for so many years, their theories attracted a lot of theoretical discussions and debate that intensified in the 1990's with Crooke and Schmidt's (1991) introduction of the cognitive perspective to the discussion of language learning motivation, and has escalated into what obtains as to the relevance of integrativeness within current research frameworks.

This contradiction which has been referred to by Dörnyei (2005) as the 'integrativeness enigma' prompted Dörnyei and his team (Dörnyei and Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh, 2006) to carry out an in-depth study of the concept of integrativeness. In a longitudinal study of learners of English in an Hungarian secondary school, they were able to uncover factors such as motivational intensity, sociocultural orientation and the need for achievement; concepts that have been identified and found to be similar to the Gardnerian integrative construct. The findings were a bit surprising because they were obtained where the possibility of integration did not exist. What this, therefore, portends according to Dörnyei (1994) and Noels et al. (2000) is that the strength of the integrativeness variable was too dominant to simply be explained by a mere desire to integrate or strongly identify with the target language culture.

The comment made by Dörnyei (1994) and Noels, Clement and Pelletire (2000) may be true for the African context because according to Adegbija (1994), even though the English language confers enormous social advantages especially as far as rising high in the upward social ladder is concerned, there is, however, a strong desire to be like the indigenous elites (and not necessarily like the native target language speakers of English as Gardner and Lambert postulated) who have a strong command of the language. He went on to say that this desire for affiliation and identification with the educated elite could create an intense desire or motivation to learn English, and could also be interpreted as integrative motivation. In view of this, McClelland (2000) argued that there is a wide difference between integrating with native speakers and a global community of speakers, which prompted him to call for a definition of integrativeness that would ―if a perception of English as an international language" (p.109).

The case with the English language within the context of globalisation is that it is no longer solely associated with a specific socio-context. An example of this can be found in a study conducted by Lamb (2004) about Indonesian learners of English. He found that for these Indonesians, the reasons they give for learning English are not so much tied to being affiliated with English-speaking communities, but additionally incorporate notions such as ―meeting with westerners, using computers, understanding pop songs, studying or travelling abroad, pursuing a desirable career - all these aspirations are associated with each other and with English as an integral part of the globalisation process...‖ (p.15). This not only blurred the distinction between integrative and instrumental motivation (Dörnyei, 1990) as notions of contact with the L2 community take on new meanings, but it also suggests that there might be other motivational factors which might not have been accounted for.

Noels, Clement and Pelletire (2001), therefore, claims that other orientations have been seen to sustain motivation. The orientations advocated were travel, friendship, knowledge and instrumental orientation which echoes the conclusions earlier reached by Clement and Kruidenier (1985). In addition, Oxford and Shearin (1994) also contended that learners had a myriad of reasons for learning a language apart from being motivated integratively. These reasons they claim range from ―enjoying the elitism of taking a difficult language to ―having a private code that parents would not know‖ (p.12). The arguments raised in these studies are in agreement with Skehan (1991) conclusions that

> the most pressing difficulty facing such researchers seems to be one of clarifying the orientation- context links that exist. There would seem to be a wider range of orientations here than was previously supposed, and there is considerable scope to investigate different contextual circumstances (outside Canada!) by varying the L1-L2 learning relationship in different ways (p.284).

For Gardner and Lambert, their research contexts were clearly identifiable L2 communities (i.e. the Canadian socio-educational environment), which even though may be a valid approach at the time does not reflect current realities of many learning environment. Miller (2004) claims that in globalised societies, multilingual contexts are the norm and what this means, Block (2007) explains, are learners who live in and among two or more languages. And with the increase in technology, work and social practices of contemporary life have dramatically increased the assortment of people with whom learners engage in daily interactions.

Vast numbers of learners around the world according to Ryan (2009) have contacts with an English-speaking community that is different from those envisaged by Gardener and Lambert (1972). As a result, what is applicable in bilingual Canada might necessarily not be appropriate in a context like Hungary where Dörnyei (2001) claimed that learners were confronted with a very different learning challenge. In other words, the nature of this approach can be seen from the angle that it will always have to rely on who learns what language, and where such a language is being learnt. The limitation of Gardner and Lambert's (1972) motivation theory was therefore ascribed to the fact that it is only useful and applicable in specific sociocultural environments (Noels et. al., 2001).

2.4.1.2 What then is the way forward?

From the earlier discussions, Gardener and Lambert's (1972) model has come under a lot criticisms over the years. As the intensity of these discussions have increased, so also have major questions been raised as to the relevance of their work for second language learners in recent research contexts. The debate and the issues researchers seem to be contending with borders on the appropriateness of the integrative construct in a situation whereby learners have minimal contact with the target language and community. In learning situations where English is taught as a school subject without any face-to-face contact with its speakers (e.g. teaching English in Spain, Italy, Nigeria, Zimbabwe or any other foreign or second language contexts), what target language community would the learner be interested in integrating into? This is not a research question but one that the study will hopefully answer.

Trying to resolve this dilemma has, however pitched researchers into two tents. Those in the first tent (e.g. Ryan, 2009; MacIntyre, MacKinnon and Clément 2009 etc.) have argued that all that needs to be done is to build up on valuable insights obtained from over 50 years of research within the socio-psychological model. In the words of MacIntyre, MacKinnon and Clément (2009), throwing the baby out with the bath water might result in researchers straying into areas that are untested. Whereas, building on already established foundations will further exploit and utilise the strengths of Gardener's model and move L2 research into new directions.

Those against this perspective (e.g. Kim, 2005; Coatzee-Van Rooy, 2006) have argued for a clean break, and a rejection of the sequence of constant modifications to already existing frameworks. According to Kim (2005) ―this process is a vicious circle ... whatever potential concepts are included in the current L2 motivation paradigm would have inherent limitations from the start" (p.307). However, this thesis would like to embrace the statements made by researchers in favour of preserving and building on the significant insights obtained

from social psychological research. Severing the link with established constructs as earlier suggested may result into an ultimately shallow theory of language learning, but engaging with the findings of the groundwork already established by the socio-psychological research would provide a solid theoretical base with which researchers would then be able to move into new and unexplored directions. As Dörnyei and Csizer (2002) suggests

> Although further research is needed to justify any alternative interpretation, we believe that rather than viewing 'integrativeness' as a classic and therefore 'untouchable' concept, scholars need to seek potential new conceptualisations and interpretations that extend or elaborate on the meaning of the term without contradicting the large body of relevant empirical data accumulated during the past four decades (p.456).

The call to, therefore, embrace and fully exploit crucial findings of earlier research in order to provide a broader frame of reference on the notion of integrative motivation represents the beginning of novel and interesting ideas in the field of L2 learning. It is also the starting point for this study.

2.4.2 Reframing second language motivation in relation to self and identity

Questions raised by budding discussions within the field of applied linguistics concerning the inappropriateness of a theory of learning that relies on the links between a language and a national/ethnic group have opened up a rethinking of the Gardnerian integrative notion from various scholars. While researchers like Dörnyei (2005; 2009) drew on progress in research on the concept of self in mainstream psychology, others like Norton (2000) and Yashima (2002; 2009) have looked into recent discussions on identity in the globalised and postmodern world (e.g. Giddens, 1991) in order to reframe the nature of L2 motivation and integrative orientation. Our main concern though will be on Norton's (2000) expansion of the integrative notion as Ricento (2005) makes the claim that her research on language, identity and investment represents a new and important direction in the field of SLA.

2.4.2.1 Identity and investment

While conducting a research in Canada, Norton Pierce (1995) noticed that Gardener and Lambert's (1972) theory on motivation did not fully explain the experiences of the immigrant women involved in her research, and it could also not do justice to the other findings she got from various ethnographic observations of language learners. Being able to learn a new language, she claims, should not be regarded merely as an individual

accomplishment which was what the existing theories of motivation in the field of SLA predicted. She pointed out that the situations under which language learners speak are often extremely demanding involving their identities, and the power relationships inherent between language learners and the target language speakers. As a result, she favours the term 'investment' which can be understood as a sociological construct to complement the notion of 'motivation' in the field of SLA (Norton Pierce, 1995; Norton, 2000)

The notion of 'investment' in language learning can be traced to the economic metaphor of 'cultural capital' associated particularly with the work of Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). The term, which has different exchange value (or currency) depending on its function in various social fields refers to intangible, non-monetary assets including education, skills, knowledge, and relationships that can be exchanged for other types of capital, including social relationships and wealth. Relying on this metaphor, Norton (2000) asserts that the term investment represents ―the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (p.10). This notion thus recognizes that learners often have inconsistent desires while participating in the variety of social interactions and community practices in which they find themselves.

If a learner thus decides to invest their time and effort in learning the target language, s/he does so with the hope that it will be rewarded with a ―wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital" (Norton 2000, p.10). She however cautioned that investment here should not be understood as synonymous with instrumental motivation; as the former ―presupposes a unitary fixed, and a historical language learner while the later conceives of the language learner as having a complex social history and multiple desires" (p.10). As a result of the fact that the notion of investment sees the language learner as having a complex social identity and multiple desires that changes over time and space in response to their environment, Norton (2000) concludes that an investment in the target language can then be said to be an investment in the learner's own identity.

Since investment seeks to establish a link between learners' desires and commitment to learn a new language and their varying identities, Norton (2000) asserts that the questions raised by researchers should revolve around an investigation of how learners' relationship to the target language is socially and historically constructed instead of focusing on their motivation to learn the target language. She claims that a language learner may be highly motivated to learn a language, but have little or no investment in the language practices of the

classroom which may be racist, sexist, anti-immigrant or elitist. In time, the learner chooses not to participate or is excluded from classroom activities and is inevitably tagged a 'poor' or unmotivated language learner (Norton and Toohey, 2001).

Gardner (2001) and Dörnyei (1994; 2003) have succeeded in changing the view of motivation as a static attribute into something dynamic and receptive to factors such as teacher and peer relationships, instructional context etc. In foregrounding her own theory however, Norton (2000) not only distanced herself from other SLA research by examining the cognitive, linguistic as well as the social constraints on L2 acquisition, she also contends that learners' desires to speak English outside the classroom is not the result of some innate need, but rather an investment in particular identities. L2 learners from this perspective are thus, conceptualised as socially situated individuals with ever changing wants and desires, rather than autonomous beings who possess certain features that encourage or delay learning. What the term 'investment' therefore, provides is a conceptual framework that encourages one to consider not only the reasons for learning, but also how learners' dedication to learning is related to their varied desires which changes over time, to the communities in which the language learnt is used, to the opportunities that they have to speak, to the socio-political issues that may influence their opportunities to use the language, and to the learning environment and processes.

McKay and Wong (1996) have relied on this concept of investment to explain the English Language development of four students who speak Mandarin in a school in California. Focusing on the four skills of listening, writing, reading and speaking, they observed that the students' specific needs and desires were not a diversion from the language learning task, but should be seen as a determinant to their investing in the target language. However, they claim that an investment in each of the skills is selective, and that distinct skills attract different values according to the identity of the learner. Taking a cue from McKay and Wong's (1996) conclusion, Angelil-Carter (1997) also found the concept useful in explaining the development of the academic literacy of English language learners in a university in South Africa. Potowski (2004) has used the concept to explain students' use of Spanish in a dual Spanish/English immersion program in the USA. Norton and Gao (2008) argued that it is only the construct of investment that can sufficiently describe how learners of English in China continue to take ownership of English, redefine the target language community, and develop unique forms of intercultural competencies. To Cummins (2006), the construct of investment has thus emerged as a ―significant explanatory construct" (p.59)

in the L2 literature, as it provides the tools to explain how and why the literacy engagement of multilingual learners' or marginalised individuals' increases.

2.4.2.2 Identity and imagined community

Another way by which Norton (2001) extended the concept of integrativeness is to talk about some sort of virtual or metaphorical identification, which is associated with a globalised world citizen identity. Yashima (2009), for example, talked about an international posture which ―captures a tendency to relate oneself to the international community rather than any specific L2 group, as a construct more pertinent to EFL contexts" (p.145). What occurs, therefore, according to Arnette (2002) cited in Lamb (2004) is that ―most people develop a bicultural identity, in which part of their identity is rooted in their local culture while another part stems from an awareness of their relation to the global culture" (p.77).

What this suggests is that in everyday life, individuals construct an identity in relation to members of their communities as well as members of an imagined community. Anderson (1991), who coined the term 'imagined community' observed that nations are socially constructed and ultimately imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of the group. His assertion is based on the fact that ―the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p.6). He particularly explores the crucial role of print languages such as newspapers and technology in imagining a community. Newspaper readers according to him have a sense of their fellow readers' existence and they connect themselves to the members through the ideas or images in print over geographical terrain. Thus, each individual's feeling of being connected leads to an imagined community which is ―distinguished not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (p.7).

His ideas on imagined communities have inspired a lot of debate on globalization (Appadurai, 1996). Appadurai (1996) asserts that advancement in technology, which has brought about developments in communication and mass migration has had an influence on the range of imaginable communities. To him, ―more people than ever before seem to imagine routinely the possibility that they or their children will live and work in places other than where they were born" (p.4). This situation, he went on to explain makes the work of the imagination a driving force that allows an individual or groups of individuals to focus, and act in the construction of possibilities that lie beyond their local environment. This will not only allow them to construct an image of themselves in relation to the many communities (e.g. workplaces, families, religious communities, educational institutions etc.) they interact

with on a daily basis, but also enables them to understand their participation in relation to larger social constructs.

Another way in which this concept has been applied is in education through the work of Lave and Wenger (1991). They conceived of learning as a situated, social ongoing endeavour that takes place as individuals become involved through experience, the mastery of knowledge and skills and legitimate peripheral participants in the socio-cultural practices of their community. However, Wenger (1998) later expanded this theory by focusing on learning that takes place in combination with the learner's engagement in an intangible and inaccessible community. Reiterating Anderson's thoughts, he asserts that individuals can belong to a community that is beyond their immediate social networks through their imagination. As such, imagination becomes another way of being part of a particular community of practice and an avenue by which individuals can position themselves and others in the world, and also incorporate into their identities ‒other meanings, other possibilities, other perspectives" (p.178).

Through imagination, it therefore becomes possible for people to position themselves in the world and in history, explore and incorporate other meanings, possibilities and new developments in their identities as well as envision possible futures. Imagination thus, informs particular actions as it is anchored on social interactions and communal experiences that are beyond their immediate environment, and it is this feature that distinguishes imagination from personal fantasies or wishes. In this sense, imagination plays ‒both an educational and an identity function" (Pavlenko 2003, p. 253) in that it is seen as ‒the creative process of producing new 'images' and of generating new relations through time and space that become constitutive of the self" (Wenger 1998, p.117).

Norton's (2000, 2001) work therefore connected the notion of imagination and imagined community to conceptualise the process of second language learning. She asserts that

> A focus on imagined communities in SLA enables us to explore
> how learners' affiliation with such communities might affect
> their learning trajectories. Such communities include future
> relationships that exist only in the learner's imagination... These
> imagined communities are no less real than the ones in which
> learners have daily engagement and might even have a stronger
> impact on their identities and investments (Norton and
> Mckinney, 2011, p.76)

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According to her, L2 learners have an imagination of the community in which they intend to involve themselves in future. These 'imagined communities' that they hope to gain access to one day however, can influence their current investment in learning. In other words, learners' current social participation as well as their future affiliations have a huge impact on learning.

The work of Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) helped Norton (2001) to therefore make the case that when language learners engage in classroom practices, they may be investing in communities that are beyond the classroom walls. If the language teacher therefore, fails to acknowledge these imagined communities, students may avoid participating in learning and fail. Her conclusions were based on the stories of non-participation of two of her participants in an ESL classroom. Katrina left the course in anger when the teacher assumed her English was not good enough for a computer course she intended to enrol in. This she felt negates her claim of legitimate participation in the community of professionals, one she believed she had already achieved an old-timer status. Felicia's grudge was that the teacher asserted that Peru was not a country to be considered in a class activity, and the Peruvian identity was one she had greatly invested in. According to Norton (2001), Katrina and Felicia's decision to drop out of the class can be seen from the perspective that their imagined community extended in time and space beyond the classroom, a community that the ESL teacher inadvertently failed to validate.

Norton's observations based on Katrina and Felicia's experience is that second language learning is influenced by the learners' current social participation, as well as their past and future imagined community. For these language learners, this community which is one of the imagination is powerful as it offers possibilities for an enhanced range of identity options in the future. Imagining that there is such a group, though not countable can move learners to invest in the activities that define the group. She explains that language learners invest personal resources such as time and energy in learning the target language in order to receive social and cultural capital, which includes social approval and material resources (e.g. better employment, more money and better opportunities). Thus, Norton (2000) theorizes that "an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space" (p.11). Norton and other qualitative researchers since her have shown that students' investments in learning change greatly depending on the type and power of the imagined communities they think they belong to and want to belong to.

2.5   Imagined communities and second language learning

Advancing the ideas of Norton (2000) further, Norton and Kamal (2003) conducted a study exploring the imagined communities of English language learners in a Pakistani School. From 2001-2002, data was collected using interviews, questionnaires and observations. Participants attended a private school where English is the medium of instruction with Urdu the local language also being spoken. The students were at the time participating in the Youth Millennium Project (YMP), which aims to create a plan of action to help develop the literacy and English skills of a group of Afghan refugees. The authors argue that students have multiple and hybrid imagined communities. They also underscore that although students recognized Pakistan's ‗minor' status in the international community, they never considered themselves as second-class citizens of the USA and UK. In fact, pupils imagined a technologically, literate in English, advanced and knowledgeable society that is at the same time peaceful, true to the principles of Islam and respected by the international community. The authors claim that the children's imagined communities can best be understood with ―reference to a ‗politics of location', in which the English language coexists with the vernacular languages, and local needs are balanced against global imperatives" (p.301).

Pavlenko (2003) also carried out an investigation on the imagined professional and linguistic communities available to pre-service and in-service ESL and EFL teachers looking at the concept of imagination from three perspectives: identitary, ideological and educational. She asserts that

> the ideological function allows us to consider imagination not as a personal attribute but as a terrain of struggle between different and often incompatible ideologies of language and identity in particular sociohistoric contexts. The identitary function allows us to view appropriation of newly imagined communities as an important aspect of learning trajectory, which transforms apprentices or peripheral community members into legitimate participants. And the educational functions underscores the need for teacher education to offer identity options that would allow teachers to imagine themselves and others as legitimate members of professional communities (p.253)

Coming from this perspective, she raised two questions that she feels have not been sufficiently looked into in the study on critical praxis in TESOL: ―how are the students' imagined communities linked to their perceived status in the profession?‖ and ―how can critical praxis engage the students' imagination and broaden their options?‖

In order to answer this question, data was drawn from 44 TESOL students enrolled in a second language acquisition class. They were told to reflect on the framework of the readings discussed in class which was intended to offer them ―a complex and nuanced understanding of multilingualism, second language learning and linguistic diversity‖ (Pavlenko 2003, p.255). They were also made to write linguistic autobiographies of approximately five pages on the language learning and teaching history within the perception of the issues examined in the classroom. These data were analysed from a discursive positioning perspective. She noticed that students in the course were seen through pedagogy to begin confronting the way they are seen and perceived as non-native speakers, and to start thinking about themselves as English speakers and professionals that belong to a multicompetent speaker community. She therefore concludes that "classroom discourses can have just an important impact ―in shaping students' memberships in imagined communities and legitimizing new identity options‖ (p.266).

Deganais (2003) explored how parents were willing to invest in their children's language education because they envisioned them as members of a global community. In a 4-year longitudinal study, she explored the ―family experiences, practices and values related to language learning and language maintenance‖ (p.218) of 12 immigrant parents in Canada. Based on data collected from interviews, she concludes that parents invest in a multilingual education involving French, English and often a different family language. As such, their children will be able to develop a transnational identity and have access to a wide range of imagined communities, conceived, according to Dagenais (2003) as ―sociolinguistic networks within Canada and abroad where symbolic and material resources circulate‖ (p.281). The French immersion programme which was specifically designed to strengthen national unity now serves the purpose of placing these Canadian children at an advantaged position wherever they eventually find themselves around the world. Therefore, it is not only individuals who invest in language learning with the understanding that this will help them join and access their imagined communities, but also those agents (e.g. parents, institutions) who have in their hands the choice of education for others.

Kanno (2003) extended the notion of imagined communities from the realm of the learner's imagination to those created by institutions. He argued that just like L2 learners,

schools also imagine imagined communities for their students and attempt to prepare them for the membership of such a community. With this in mind, he examined the relationship between the school's vision for their students, their current policies and practices and the students' identities. Based on the ethnographic data collected at four different bilingual schools in Japan, he argued that there are specific visions created and promoted through policies practiced in the schools which will in turn affect the identities of students. For example, even though students were taught in both Japanese and English in two of the schools, he noticed that there were salient discrepancies in the skills advanced in the students as well the role that these languages played in the curriculum. School policies and classroom practices can then be said to play a distinct role not only in determining students' present education but in constructing the imagined community students are expected to join in the future. Consequently, Kanno (2003) asserts that educational institutions ―are powerful social agents that can create images of communities for their [students'] future and give these visions flesh and blood" (p.295).

The above ideas on imagined communities have been applied by Cobb-Roberts, Shircliffe, and Dorn (2006) in their work on 'Schools as imagined communities'. They provide a sociological explanation of why some would see schools as imagined communities by proposing four different categorical theories of this namely: functionalist, materialist, opportunistic and institutional-identity theories. Within the first, the authors explain the role of schools in the preparation of children to be functional members of their community and society at large thereby providing society with human capital to fulfil social roles. The materialistic view sees school as an avenue by which parents/teachers advance the interest of their children/students by hoarding and manipulating the resources provided by the schools. Thirdly schools might be seen as imagined communities because they provide opportunities to acquire what Bourdieu terms as social and cultural capital. This is possible as a result of the fact that parents network socially, and can therefore have access to skills and knowledge that will allow them to meet professional requirements. Finally, the institutional identity explanation claims that there is no other way we can relate to the institutional facet of a school except it is seen as an identifiable community. This study is thus credited with the powerful roles that schools can play in the community and in shaping students' identity because they serve not only as the source of a community's identity but a path towards learners' social mobility and upliftment.

Ballesteros (2010) examined how professional identities and imagined communities are constructed in an English Language major course in Mexico. Through a qualitative study

involving the use of autobiographies and questionnaires, she provided evidence on how imagined community might be constructed for others through the interaction of social and institutional practices as well as personal histories. She claims that imagined community is not a private nature as it is really not possible for the teacher in a classroom to access and adjust lessons to fit into each student's imagined community. However, if one could hypothesize that imagined community could be influenced by social practices, then it means that insiders within this community can intervene into how newcomers develop their visions of identity and future affiliations. Learners' imaginations would thus be sustained by the community through institutional policies, curriculum and day-to-day interaction within and outside the context of the school. This way, it becomes possible for the learner to choose from a variety of possibilities and have at his disposal the necessary support to create a positive identity.

Using a predominantly qualitative study involving interviews which were digitally recorded, transcribed, coded and analysed thematically, and by applying a theoretical framework of imagined communities (Anderson, 1991; Wenger 1998; Norton, 2000), Ilori (2013) also explored the identity and imagined community of Senior Secondary School (SSS) students in Nigeria. She asserts that there is a relationship between learners envisioned future and their competence in the English language. In that, students imagine English will provide them with the linguistic resources to access the professional/academic titles they covet, enable them to communicate locally and globally, bring about self-confidence and national and international mobility. Therefore, in order to raise SSS students' achievements in the English language and achieve the ultimate goal of the prescribed English Language curriculum at the secondary school level, teachers need to engage their students in language activities that will make them competent in social contexts beyond the school environment.

Sung (2014) carried out a qualitative study on a group of advanced L2 learners of English from a Hong Kong university according to their desired identities as global citizens and their preferred accents. Data was gathered using in-depth interviews. Her findings indicated that while the participants implied a desire to create a global identity which goes beyond linguistic and social constraints, they however have different perceptions about their identities as global citizens in an EFL context. For example, two of the participants wanted to state that they are members of the global community but wishes not to reveal their Hong Kong identities; while the other two were comfortable expressing both their global and local identities at the same time. The same conclusion was also reached according to their preferred accents. While one of the participants desires his English to be spoken with a

native-like accent, another desires the exact opposite seeing no reason why she should modify her accent in order to create a 'global' identity. What the findings suggest therefore, is that the desire to embrace a global image has nothing to do with any particular accents, as such the relationship between accent and identity in ELF communication is not as straightforward as it is suggested in most EFL literature.

Although research on identity, imagined community and second language teaching is broader than what this chapter provides, these literatures have however demonstrated how imagined communities and identities can be looked at from different contexts and in different perspectives. Some of the studies have also been able to move from the concept of looking at imagined communities solely as an individual construct to looking at it from the angle of a joint/sociocultural venture. However, what is most intriguing is the fact that imaginations can be related to social/language ideologies and hegemony. What this hints at therefore is that beyond the linguistic expressions learners use to portray their imagined communities/identities, there may also be hidden ideological meanings that influence how their future identity and affiliations develop. From the foregoing it becomes important to explore the social context, which according to Cutting (2002) embodies the relevant aspects of the sociocultural, religious and historical features of an interaction, from which students imagined communities emerge from. This context which is Nigeria will be discussed in the next section, in line with an examination on how the strategies undertaken to enforce the acquisition of the language has introduced a range of language attitudes, ideologies and stratification modes which still have a bearing on the socio-linguistic challenges of the country.

Chapter 3

Socio-historical background, language policies and language ideologies of English in Nigeria

3.1   Introduction

Nigeria, the largest country in West Africa covers about 356,669 square miles, bordering the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa (Grimes, 1998). It is an entity named by Flora Shaw in 1897 after the 'Niger area' and joined by Lord Lugard in 1914 when he amalgamated the Northern and Southern protectorates (Adeyanju, 2012). Even though Lugard has often been accused of destabilizing the geopolitical terrain by arbitrarily merging a once autonomous, monolingual and monocultural society into a single entity, he has also been applauded for respecting the different component parts that make up the uniqueness of the country. The process of amalgamation according to David-West (2012) bound the different ethnic groups together, however it also recognises each ethno-linguistic groups as distinct entities that can stand on its own, thereby none loses its identity.

The country is populated with over 150 million people of whom 29% of its inhabitants are the Hausa speaking nation located in the Northern region, 21% are the Yorubas who live in the Western region, and 18% are the Igbo people located in the Eastern part of the country, and particular regions speak different languages (Danladi, 2013). Based on the geographical spread and numerical strength of these three tribes, Akande and Salami (2010) assert that their languages which is widely spoken in their various regions are recognised as the national/major languages while the over 400 others spoken throughout the country are seen as ‗minority‘ languages and given little or no recognition.

To further complicate this multilingual setting, most of the languages have different identifiable dialects, and as such the languages spoken by people living within a 25 kilometre radius can be hugely different and unintelligible even amongst one another (Danladi, 2013). The implication of this complex language situation is the absence of an established effective communications between the ethnic groups, which becomes the basis for resorting to English as a language of unity. Today, English has risen in the linguistic rank scale to become, arguably, the most important language in the country as it serves primarily as the linguistic bridge that links the various ethno-linguistic groups.

3.2   Historical background

It is important to note that even though Nigeria as a political entity dates back to 1914, Enudi, Okagbare and Esemedafe (2012) assert that the learning of English predates the birth of this geographical entity. Banjo (1996) declares that the English Language had, in fact, been taught institutionally in the area now known as Nigeria from about the middle of the 19th century in such institutions as The Hope Waddell Institute in Calabar, C.M.S Grammar school in Lagos and St. Andrews College, Oyo. Though the exact date of the introduction of the English Language to the country is not known, the propagation and institutionalisation of the language can be explained with respect to three major periods identified by Udey, Ebuara, Ekpoh and Edet (1999) as the missionary, pre- independence (colonial) and post-independence period.

3.2.1   The missionary period

The missionaries introduced Western education in 1842 when they arrived at the Southern part of Nigeria (Ibiwumi, 2011). Prior to this time, there exist a traditional form of education based on each of the ethnic group's culture and tradition, but with similar aims and objectives (Taiwo, 1980). The curriculum was informal and entails developing an understanding and appreciation of the society's cultural heritage, physical and intellectual skills, character, sense of belonging to the community, giving specific vocational training as well as inculcating respect for elders (Fafunwa, 2004). In the North, there was also a uniform Qur'anic education policy, with Islam deeply planted both in the religious belief and educational orientation of the people (Ozigi and Ocho, 1981). As a result, there was general apathy towards western education by the people who mostly preferred to send their children to the Qur'anic schools.

The missionaries in their effort to reach out to people established schools where children were trained and the basic subject was English language. Banjo (1996) declares that there was no laid down language policy and the approach was not rigid. Adetugbo (1979) says that the English language dominated the curriculum under various sub-headings such as reading, writing, dictation, composition and grammar. The aims of education as given by the missionaries according to Ibiwumi (2011) were to enable recipients to learn to read the bible in English and the local languages, as well as train local school masters, catechists and clergymen. Banjo (1996) explains that every church built by the missionaries had a primary school attached to it, and pupils were awarded with a primary school certificate after 10 years. This certificate provided the holders with access to jobs not only in churches and schools but also in commerce and later the public service.

The missionaries went on to build secondary schools based on the demands of local adherents of the various Christian denominations, which led to the establishment of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S) Grammar School, in June 1859 (Ibiwumi, 2011). Later, the Methodist Boys' High School, the Methodist Girls' High School and the Baptist Academy were established. The Hope Waddell Institution was set up in Calabar by the Presbyterian church of Scotland in 1895. But much of the missionary activities in which the Anglican and Methodist churches participated were concentrated in the South-Western parts of the country, with the Roman Catholic Church coming in afterwards to establish schools in the South-Eastern parts (Imam, 2012). The Baptists and other American denominations later came to the Northern parts with the hopes of introducing a new religion and met with limited success. The British policy of indirect rule and the fact that Western education was viewed with suspicion by the people restricted such activities in the Northern protectorate thereby, curtailing the spread of Christianity and Western education (Fabumi, 2005). This led to a considerable educational gap between the Northern and the Southern parts of Nigeria (Ogunsola, 1982).

The missionary activities were therefore extended beyond their initial focus on the provision of primary education alone. The Education Ordinance which was introduced in 1882 and later amended in 1883 indicated that incentives be given to teachers of English, many hours be assigned to English per week in the school curriculum, and there should be the practical necessity to know how to read and write English for economic advantage and increased status (Fabunmi, 2005). The curriculum and subjects offered in the secondary schools were selected from the list of subjects taught in British Grammar schools, and this had a major impact on the development of Secondary Grammar School Curriculum in Nigeria.

For more than a century according to Banjo (1996), the missionaries held sway over these formal educational systems in areas under their influence. They encouraged the teaching of the indigenous languages and, even supervised the publication of textbooks in these languages because they believed that the African child was best taught in his/her native language (Hair, 1967), and that the interest of Christianity was best served by propagating the religion in indigenous languages. But, they also saw to it that English became the language of instruction not later than the third year of a six and sometimes eight-year primary education programme (Adegbija, 1994). Imam (2012) asserts that their language policy was in a general kind of way, bilingualism in English and the Mother Tongue, with English being dominant. As such (Banjo, 1996) argues that the products of their Secondary schools were able to

receive education in Britain itself without any apparent special difficulty, linguistic or otherwise.

3.2.2 The pre-independence period

With the coming of the Europeans, schools began to be established by both the colonial administrators and the missionaries, even though the former seemed unwilling to interfere or compete with the missionaries on the establishment and management of schools early because of the cost effect (Amaele, 2003). Most times, all they did with regard to education was to appoint a Director as well as make grant-in-aids available to schools (Udey, Ebuara, Ekpoh and Edet 1999). However, it was with the inauguration of Nigeria as a single political entity in 1914, as Banjo (1996) explained that the new government began to really take an interest in education ―as they also needed local personnel to fill the middle and lower rungs of the civil service...” (p.17). Thus, they became preoccupied with the training of ―core clerks, accounting officers, assistants, copyists, messengers, interpreters…to assist the colonial administration” Enudi, Okugbare and Esenudafe (2012 cited inUzoezie, 1992, p.165).

In these schools, the English Language was officially declared the language of instruction as a result of the proclamation of the 1882 Education Ordinance, and government grants were made conditional on the teaching of English (Adegbija, 1994). This status was even raised higher with the 1926 Education Ordinance which made certification in English a prerequisite for jobs in government offices and many commercial firms (Adewumi, 2012). In this era, the colonial administration's attitude towards the use of indigenous languages for trade, education or administration was negative, as the English Language was superimposed on the vernaculars. It was not until 1922 with the intervention of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, an independent body affiliated with the British Colonial Government and later reinforced in 1927 by The British Advisory Committee on native education in Tropical Africa according to Jummai (2012) that the use of the indigenous languages in the school system was recommended, especially as the medium of instruction in the lower years of primary and in the secondary education. This view received further support when it was perceived that the learning of the vernacular languages could, after all, aid the learning of English Spencer (1971cited in Adegbija, 1994).

However, the fact that the British encouraged the use of such languages only at the primary levels denied the languages any form of development beyond that level (Akindele and Adegbite, 1999). This singular action is chiefly responsible for the fact that up till the present, indigenous languages are not used for education beyond the lower grades of the

primary school in virtually all parts of the country Adegbija (1994), that is if they are even used at all. As such, many Nigerians have grown to equate the English language with civilization, as a report by the Advisory Committee as far back as 1927 emphasised that the ‒learning of English was one of the major reasons children were sent to school and any form of delay in its learning will be seen as an attempt by the government to hold back the people from legitimate advance in civilisation" (Adegbija 1994, p. 33).

This supremacy of English in the school curriculum, along with the policies and educational codes of the colonial administration, which obviously favoured the language, began to affect attitudes negatively towards the indigenous languages. This is because according to Adegbija (1994) attitudes toward languages are crucially influenced by the education functions they perform. And in this case, since those who were able to communicate in English were appointed as clerks, interpreters, cooks, teachers etc., and were able to share at least some of the prestige, power, position and status accompanied by the colonizers, attitudes towards the English language therefore, tend to be highly positive. Adegbija (1994) asserts

> naturally, other Africans who could not participate in this privilege of the command of the master's language envied their fellow compatriots. Essentially, then, language became the basis for the creation of an elite group, a political and social oligarchy which enjoyed the privileges of power and prestige, especially by courtesy of its command of the imposed language. (p.31)

Consequently, an elite-class, demarcated from the non-elite class principally on the basis of competence in English emerged. Knowledge of the English language was therefore instrumental in gaining material rewards and in boosting the ego of the Western-oriented elite class involved, as they have a greater potential to acquire national political power than those who are not.

Invariably, English began to fill the vacuum created by the inadequate use of the indigenous languages, since they have been stigmatised in the educational domain as being incapable of functioning beyond the low levels or during the first few years of primary education (Banjo, 1996). Lack of use of the indigenous languages meant lack of growth, development and challenges; thus making attitudes toward the language to be mostly negative. Such negative attitudes towards the indigenous languages in the domain of education would have changed drastically had the educational policy makers after

independence insisted on the use of the vernaculars in the educational domain in general and higher levels of education, in particular. As will be seen in the next sections, post-colonial policy makers have largely and eventually stamped or toed the line of language and educational policies handed over to them by the colonial masters.

3.2.3 The post-independence period

After Nigeria got her independence in 1960, the government exerted influence on education, and their first impulse was to downgrade the English Language within the educational system, and by implication in the Nigerian life as part of the new self-assertion (Banjo, 1996). He further explained that such a decision was fuelled by the agitation of some of the steady stream of Nigerians returning home after studies in the USA and UK, and Nigerian scholars who were against the use of English in the capacity of the national language in Nigeria.

The national language as defined by Holmes (1992) is a language ―generally developed and used as a symbol of unity and nationhood" (p.105). It is thus a language of national cohesion and unity. To help understand its importance, let us imagine why people stand in attention when their country's National Anthem is recited, or why anti-US protesters express their grievances by burning the country's flag. The reasons can be traced to the value placed on these things as symbols of banal nationalism and a country's existence, sovereignty and unity. The same can be said about the national language; as its main function is to ensure the unity of the state while also asserting its independence. Thus, according to Holmes (1992), the national language not only unifies the state, but also separates it from other like entities.

The symbolic value placed on the national language according to Adegbija (1994) suggests that the English language cannot serve such a purpose, as it cannot keep the state united and at the same time promote the richness of its diversity. This is because, being a foreign language, it has almost no linguistic relations to any of the indigenous languages spoken in the country. Based on this, Ajulo (2000) decries the elevation of English to a prestigious status at the expense of the indigenous languages. According to him the need to accelerate the ‗decolonisation of the mind' makes it imperative that English be brought down from its pedestal. He advocates the translation of European literary works into Nigerian languages. He also frowns at the ideology which keeps writers of indigenous literature from being internationally recognised and awarded for their talents. What he however does not state is which of the Nigerian languages will be most suitable as a national language in a linguistically dense country as Nigeria. Adegbija (1994) also observed that the English

language is a language of imposition, which has led to the underuse of indigenous languages. He questions and disapproves of the use of English as the language of education and administration at the expense of the indigenous languages. He illustrates this point by referring to the information dissemination system in the country, which is dominated by English. According to him, even though ―each of the state publishes a daily newspaper in English, not even five states can boast of daily newspapers published in the indigenous languages...‖ (p.19). Olaoye (2010) also observed that the production of textbooks and literature in the languages are grossly inadequate for their effective utilisation as media of acquiring education.

Oyetade (2001) thereby argues that proper language planning could place Nigeria on the same linguistic map as Tanzania–a country that has successfully formulated language policies enthroning Swahili, an African language as its national language. He however, fails to reveal that the possibilities of this happening are remote and far-fetched, as the socio-cultural, political and linguistic factors that characterise this country are different from those peculiar to Nigeria. According to Abdullaziz (1971), Tanzania‘s language policy owes its success to ―various historical, political, religious and socio-cultural factors‖ (p.160), which made it a culture everyone could identify with, as it had something from every culture in it. This existence of ―an over-arching socio-cultural past, or a useable political past‖ (Fishman 1971, p. 50) that the people can rally around is what Fishman (1971) referred to as a ―Great Tradition‘, an important determinant of the language policy adopted by a state. Thus when a language was needed, it only made sense to choose the language of the ―Great Tradition‘- Kiswahili (also known as Swahili). Fishman (1971) however classifies Nigeria as a country with more than one ―Great Tradition‘ vying for dominance and assertion. Nigeria is made up of autonomous, well-defined nations- Oyo Kingdom (Yoruba), the Hausa-Fulani Empire, the Igbo Republican system and the Benin Empire. These nations all have distinguishable cultural and administrative systems, systems that have survived the amalgamation and subsequent creation of Nigeria, which made it impossible to choose one of these as representative of the entire country.

Tanzania‘s choice of Swahili was also influenced by its role in Tanzania‘s political landscapes. Abdullaziz (1971) reports that Swahili was the language of nationalism and mobilisation during the quest for political independence, and was therefore favoured because it was not ―associated with any single politically powerful group‖ (p.175). After independence, the use of the language as a symbol of inter-ethnic unity and nationalism paved the way as an acceptable national language. In Nigeria, however, English was the

language of nationalism before independence and, after independence, it served (and still does) as the thread that has held the fragile states together. Its importance is made more obvious by the fact that no indigenous language in Nigeria is without political affiliations; the first political parties were formed along ethnic lines, engraving in the people's consciousness the need for ethnic loyalty rather than loyalty to the state.

Linguistic relatedness also influenced the Tanzania language policy because the Bantu languages according to Abdullaziz (1971) are so closely related at all linguistic levels that speakers of these languages can understand one another with ease. Abdullaziz (1971) refers to this phenomenon as linguistic continuum- ―whereby languages with different names are so mutually intelligible that they could pass for dialects" (p.160-161). It is clear from the explanations how the socio-cultural, political and linguistic make up of Tanzania has helped facilitate its national language policy. Unlike Tanzania which has only one Great Tradition, Nigeria has at least three: Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo, while an indigenous language served as the vehicle for the realisation of political independence and nationalism in Tanzania, a foreign language played that part in Nigeria. Also, in Nigeria, most of the languages spoken are linguistically unrelated as the cultures they reflect. Thus, while Tanzania could choose an endoglossic language as its national language, Nigeria may find such a decision extremely unwise. In Tanzania, Swahili according to Adegbija (1994) is one of Africa's most ‗developed' languages and

> …many of the occasions in which English would formerly have
> been used, are now perfectly adequately served by Swahili.
> Swahili is widely used in administration, the Party, the Trade
> Unions, the lower Courts and on the radio. It is the language of
> the National Assembly and of Town Councils. It is used as a
> medium throughout the primary school and is taken as a subject
> at the school certificate level (Whitley 1971, p. 554)

Arguments of this nature, according to Banjo (1996) are responsible for the degrading of the standard of English within the educational system. In defence of the nationalist stance, he explains that

> it is understandable that some of the Nigerian nationalists should
> look upon the English Language as the symbol of colonialism.
> To such nationalists, the indigenous cultures could not possibly
> come back into their own unless the English Language, together
> with its cultural baggage was if not totally eliminated, at least

considerably reduced in importance in the national scheme of

things (p.18)

He however explains that these advocates fail to acknowledge that the promotion of any indigenous language will inevitably lead to the promotion of the cultural and ethnic awareness of its speakers. And the language with such symbolic value will have an advantage over others; an advantage (e.g. political, economic) that will be enjoyed by its speakers. Therefore, in the same vein, the process of choosing a national language will be hampered by the same factors that have led to the need for one.

This campaign against the English Language in Nigerian education- and by implication, in Nigerian life - reached a climax in the early 1960s when the government was persuaded to prevail on WAEC (West African Examination Council) not to make the award of the school certificate conditional on a pass in the English Language paper (Banjo, 1996). Some Nigerians counselled caution, pointing out the load that the language carried both within and outside the educational system. However, in spite of the new policy, the universities continued to demand a pass at credit level as a condition for admission to any of their departments, though occasionally this condition was waived in favour of candidates presenting very good grades in the science subjects.

Nevertheless, within 20 years, there was a nation-wide outcry over fallen standards, not only in English Language but also in education and there were those who believed that there was a connection between the fall in English standards and in education generally. Banjo (1996) asserts that the change in attitude and even to the teaching of the language might be one of the factors responsible for the fallen standards in English competence. This is because a pass in the language no longer affects university admission, and almost anybody is allowed to teach the language, which came in the wake of the population explosion in schools after independence (Adegbija, 1994). This attitude took its toll on the general standard of education, to which standards in the English Language were inextricably linked.

After a decade or so of independence, Banjo (1996) asserts that realism and a greater sense of proportion returned to the consideration of the position of the language in the country, and thus a *universalist* attitude has been ushered in. This is an attitude which encourages an instrumental motivation for learning the language and excelling in it; an attitude which recognizes English as the most important international language spoken in practically every corner of the world as mother tongue, a second language or foreign language. This attitude has encouraged an adaptation and appropriation of the language for

the country's practical and aesthetic needs. That being the case, the country now turned its attention to the important task of fashioning out a policy of language in education.

3.3   The National Policy on Education

After winning the battle against colonialism, the new leaders were by no means about to enthrone the language of the erstwhile colonizers. As earlier mentioned, to emphasize the end of an era, voices had started to be raised in the call of a lingua franca or a national language which would take over from the English Language. Yet the only option open to the country was an English-medium education because of the linguistic diversity existing in the country. Here was a language which provided a window to the world and made rapid development a feasible proposition. At the same time, it was a reminder of a discomfiting period in the nation's history. This development was to be expected, but the problem was daunting.

The only language policy that touched or partly addressed this issue was the 1977 National Policy on Education (NPE) brought up by the then Military Government, tagged 'Federal Republic of Nigeria National Policy on Education' (Udofot, 2010). According to the (NPE, 2004), this policy was not a comprehensive language policy organised to find solutions to the language problems in the country but one ―geared towards self-realization, individual and national efficiency, national unity etc. aimed at achieving social, cultural, economic, political, scientific and technological development" (Amaghionyeodiwe and Osinubi, 2006, p.32). Therefore, it is in connection with the National Policy on Education and the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria that any reference to language policy and planning in Nigeria can be made (Oyetade, 2003). As noted by Ogboru (2008), this policy has been reviewed from time to time (revised 1981, 1985, 1998 and 2004) to make it more relevant to the development needs of the country.

The language provisions pertaining to education are contained in several sections of the NPE, and the ones relevant to this discussion will be presented below

- Government appreciates the importance of language as a means of promoting social interaction and national cohesion; and preserving cultures. Thus, every child shall learn the language of the immediate environment. Furthermore, in the interest of national unity, it is expedient that every child shall be required to learn one of the 3 Nigerian languages, Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba.

<p align="center">(NPE, 2004, Para. 10a)</p>

- Government shall ensure that the medium of instruction is principally the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community...

<div align="center">Early childhood/pre-primary Education (NPE Para. 14c)</div>

- The medium of instruction in the primary school shall be the language of the environment for the first 3 years. During this period, English will be taught as a subject. From the 4th year, English shall progressively be used as the medium of instruction, and the language of the environment and French shall be taught as subjects

<div align="center">Primary Education (NPE Para. 19e and 19f)</div>

- Junior secondary school (NPE Para. 24a)

  Core subjects (Languages): English, French and language of the immediate environment.

  (The language of the immediate environment shall be taught as L1 where it has orthography and literature. Where it does not have, it shall be taught with emphasis on oracy as L2)

- Senior Secondary school (NPE Para. 25c)

  Core subjects (Languages): English Language, a major Nigerian language

From the above, one can infer that the policy seems to favour the growth and development of the indigenous languages as well as the teaching and learning of the English language. What therefore emerges is an educational policy which promotes the spread of European knowledge via English in higher education and vernacular in primary education. The policy can then be said to rest on two main principles: the mother tongue principle and the multilingual principle.

3.3.1 The mother tongue principle

An inclusion of the mother tongue principle in the NPE not only acknowledges the importance of the indigenous languages, especially at the early stage of education but it is also believed that it facilitates learning. The policy stipulates that the ―government will see to it that the medium of instruction (in pre-primary and lower level of primary) is initially the mother tongue (which is usually one of the languages of the larger ethnic groups in Nigeria; Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) and, at a later stage, English" (p.13). It thus subscribes to the view

that initial education is best conducted in the learner's mother tongue, and therefore provides for education to be conducted in such languages. But recognising the multilingual nature of the country's population, the policy however provides for only the major languages to be taught in these schools and therefore constitutes an admission that some Nigerian children will never receive education at any level in their mother tongues.

At the secondary level, the document elevates these three Nigerian languages to the status of core subjects alongside Mathematics and English. The most important aspect of this policy according to Ibekwe (2006) is that it addresses the issue of a more balanced bilingualism that would ensure the use of the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community at critical stages in the process of education. This mandate is in agreement with UNESCO's demand that the mother tongue is to be the medium of instruction in early childhood. According to Adegbija (1994), The Primary Education Improvement Programme, the Six Year Primary Project, have at least convincingly demonstrated the psychological and cultural advantages of using the indigenous languages in education. It is believed that psychologically, this would enhance the proper development of the child as s/he is made to move from the known to the unknown; and according to Olagoke (1979), this method affords the child the opportunity to avoid expressing himself/herself in a language that s/he is ill-equipped to function in. Learning in one's mother tongue at the beginning of one's education thus gives the impression that it has the advantage of promoting independence of thought, greater creativity, and greater speed in learning the subject matter (Omamor, 1989).

In order to use the mother tongue (MT) policy as a medium of instruction in the first 3 years, the NPE states that the government will: ―(a) develop the orthography for many more Nigerian languages, and (b) produce textbooks in the Nigerian language" (NPE, 2004 section 2:11(3)). Its implementation has however been problematic even when provisions has been made for the language of the immediate community to be used as an alternative to the mother tongue. For example, the decisions as to which language to be used in schools have been left to the various institutions running the school or to the classroom teacher. Also, most of the indigenous languages have no written form, and adequate arrangements have not been made to teach these languages (Udofot, 2010). Therefore, the learning of another Nigerian language in addition to the mother tongue hardly operates even in most Government schools. As a result, Ikiddeh (1986) states that this policy is unrealistic, and betrays a certain lack of conviction on the part of the government.

Furthermore, the policy ignores the fears of the minority groups. In an attempt not to be socially, economically and politically subservient to the speakers of the dominant

languages, the minority language speakers might not be motivated to learn Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba. As a result, the desired goals of the NPE might not be achieved. Oyetade (2001) thus believed that non-implementation is also a way for the speakers of the minority languages to assert their opposition to the recommendation made by the national assembly to adopt and teach just the three main languages in all primary and secondary schools within the country.

3.3.2 The multilingual principle

The importance of the multilingual principle on the other hand is seen in its attempt to establish national unity. The policy offers the Nigerian child an opportunity to learn one of the major Nigerian languages (i.e. one of Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba), French and English. The learning of these languages could also be done alongside the Arabic and Pidgin English, which a child may find necessary to use by virtue of his/her religion or place of birth. Therefore, by the end of secondary school education, a child is expected to have learnt three or four languages, if his or her mother tongue is different from a major language.

Thus the products of the policy will be, in majority of cases, trilingual or quadrilingual individuals as these children would be able to speak English, one of the three major languages, another indigenous language, and Pidgin/Arabic/French. According to Udofot (2010), the implications of this imposed bilingualism, trilingualism or even quadrilingualism on the Nigerian child and society was overlooked because for the first time, the country now had a government policy that spells out the position of the English language and the indigenous languages within the educational system. And the fact that in the mind of policy makers, this principle represents a sound method to the possibility of strengthening the society's domestic conversation, thus freely allowing the people a more open interaction among the populace Ibekwe (2006).

The multilingual principle cannot also be said to be fully in operation as there were no adequate arrangements to translate it into a workable blue print and developed programmes to ensure compliance with its content. The languages listed to be learnt could only boast of few qualified teachers and no indications made on how to provide the teaching staff and the teaching materials necessary. This situation was a contrast to the teaching and learning of English, as there were enough materials to assist teachers during lessons. Non-implementation could also be placed at the feet of politics and frequent changes in government. Odukoya (2009) buttresses this point with the words of a Provost of one of the Colleges of Education in Nigeria, who claims that within the eight years he served as a provost,

the nation passed through five different regimes ... within this period I had operated under eight different ministers of education. The same thing happened at the state level. Each of the Presidents, Ministers, Governors, and Commissioners had their own different conceptions and policies on education that they tried to implement during their tenure..., with such instability in the government coupled with constant changes in _ministers of', _ministers for' and _commissioners for'... it's one step forward and two steps backward (p.12)

This assertion echoes Oladejo's (1991) view that the likely language planning policies in Nigeria have been tainted with political and ethnic undertones, rather than linguistic or demographic. The statement given by the provost alludes to the political issues as regards language policy in Nigeria. Those in government views the policy as a political opportunity, thereby placing it on their political agenda as an effective mobilizing tool to serve their own political ends. It is for this reason that Cooper (1989) argued that most language planning and policies are done typically for non-linguistic purposes - such as political control.

The two principles on which the policy rests is seen clearly to lack clear-cut objectives and orientations. It fails to promote the indigenous languages and does not guarantee the appropriate implementation of being bilingual. The Educational systems which have widened and extended beyond what they were in colonial days according to Adegbija (1994) have widened and further used to entrench the feeling of the worth of the English Language. The Nigerian educational system over the years has witnessed the establishment of elitist private _international' schools alongside the public ones. Though the public schools might try, the policy of using the mother tongue as medium of education does not apply in the private schools (Banjo, 1996).

What this translates to Schneider (2007) asserts is an educational policy which except for the first three years of primary education where vernaculars might be encouraged, calls for the English language as the medium of instruction throughout the system of education. Thus, according to Rubin (1971), if the nation were to go by ideas on what a good language policy must have which includes —rational planning model in which goals are established, means are selected and outcomes are predicted in a systematic manner" (p.218), then Nigeria has no language policy or planning; the little it had died right from birth.

3.4   The National Policy on education and Senior Secondary School in Nigeria

Since the NPE came into existence, Fafunwa (1974) explains that it has become accepted as the reference point for the development of education in Nigeria. Apart from fashioning out a language policy for the country, it has also helped in addressing the problems of ―education in terms of its relevance to the need of the individual as well as in terms of the kind of society desired in relation to the environment and realities of the modern world and rapid social changes" (NPE F.R.N. 2004, p.5).

In 1982, the policy therefore introduced the 6-3-3-4 educational system modelled after the American system of 6 years of primary education, 3 years of junior secondary school, 3 years of senior secondary school, and 4 years of post-secondary education (Nwagwu, 2007). Primary and junior secondary school (basic) education as regards this system is the elementary type of education for children between ages 6-11, and is the foundation upon which all others are built. Although primary education was free, it was not compulsory and the policy sought to make universal free primary education (UPE) compulsory for all children as soon as it is possible. The senior secondary schools which is 3 years is simply called secondary school (post-basic) and for adolescents aged between 15 and 18 years. University (tertiary) education, which is usually a 4-year programme are for students above the age of 18 years. Those studying Medicine, Law and some engineering courses usually end up spending more than 4 years.

In 2006, Uwaifo and Uddin (2009) assert that the 6-3-3-4 was replaced with the 9-3-4 system of education (Universal Basic Education). The difference between the 2 is that unlike the former where the first 6 years of education are free, the latter has its first 9 years of education up to the Junior Secondary School level to be free and compulsory. The 3 years in Secondary school and 4 years in tertiary institution, for both systems of education stay the same. This new curriculum which was designed by the National Educational Research Development Council (NERDC) is expected to meet Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Education for All (EFA) goals as well as the National Economic Enhancement Development Strategies (NEEDS) (Imam, 2012).

The SSS is the transitional stage of education (FRN, 2004), and also a period whereby the youth are streamed into science, arts or social science classes depending on their interests and performance in the Junior Secondary School Certificate Examinations (JSSCE). The primary objective of this categorisation according to Inuwa and Yusof (2012) is to produce individuals who are experts or specialists in subject areas after they might have gone through higher education in the universities, polytechnics, or colleges of education. The

broad aims of secondary education within the overall national objective as contained in section 4, subsection 18 includes the following

    a. diversify its curriculum to cater for differences in talents, opportunities and roles possessed by or open to students after their secondary school course

    b. equip students to live effectively in our modern age of science and technology…

    c. raise a generation of people who can think for themselves, respect the views and feelings of others…

    d. inspire its students with a desire for achievement and self-improvement both at school and later in life

<div align="right">NPE (1981, p.16)</div>

As such, the aims of curriculum according to Sofolahan (2012) are ‖to prepare the individual for useful living within the society and higher education" (p.5).

To achieve these objectives, the following core subjects are offered: English, mathematics, one Nigerian language, one science subject, one social science subject, and agricultural science or a vocational subject. All private and public schools offer the same curriculum but most private schools include the Cambridge International Examination curriculum, which allows students to take the IGSCE examinations during their final year in high school (Uwaifo and Uddin, 2009). Students take the West African Senior Secondary Certificate Examination (WASSCE) issued by WAEC or the National Examination Council (NECO) at the end of the secondary studies SSS 3 (last year of high school). Students register for a maximum of nine and a minimum of seven subjects, which must include mathematics and English, and an average grade of ‗credit' level (C6) or better is required for access to public universities; however some require higher grades for admission.

According to Banjo (1996), the goals of making the English Language to exist as a subject taught through the language, and the medium through which the other school subjects are taught can be seen from an education and sociological angle. For the former, the goal is to reinforce student's ability to profit from secondary education both in and out of the classroom, and to furnish them with the linguistic tools necessary for the pursuit of a tertiary education; while the latter will enable the products of the secondary education function effectively in all the situations in which the language will be used both within and outside the country. Even though such an act is made on a number of appeals, all of which are declared beneficial even for those whose languages will eventually become a victim of such verdict, Blackledge (2005) however asserts that the insistence on a mastery of English has had unintended consequences.

Owing to the supremacy of the English language in the school curriculum, as well as the policies and educational codes of the colonial and post-colonial administration which obviously favoured English, the language has over the years been associated with prestige, success, progress and achievement (Adegbija, 1994). English is not just another language available to bilinguals in Nigeria, Udofot (2010) contends, but one which guarantees social advancement both nationally and internationally. It should therefore not come as a surprise that some parents intentionally send their children to private schools where English is used as the medium of instruction right from the kindergarten, or the fact that it is gradually becoming a first language in some homes in Nigeria (Omoniyi, 2004).What this suggests therefore is that in spite of government policies and/or nationalistic feelings, the supremacy of the English language in the society as well as the curriculum of Nigerian schools is assured.

3.5 Contextualising the language policy in Nigeria

The scenario painted above provides an insight into societies that Canagarajah (1999) refers to as periphery communities that is, postcolonial communities where English is acquired alongside the indigenous languages. Post-colonial language policies in these societies have served to ensure the entrenchment of the English language, thereby individuals have become used to these policies in the educational and official domains. Even if the indigenous languages are introduced, since the frontiers of knowledge have, over the years, been expanding, these languages will have a lot of catching up to do. Such an opinion is the reason that many Nigerians according to Adegbija (1996) firmly believe that these languages can never function, for instance, in the expression of science and technology.

Language policies in Sub-Sahara Africa are therefore on a spectrum between ―the need to promote social and political cohesiveness through an African vernacular and the need for a European language to assist in the modernisation process" (Urch 1992, p.4). On one hand, their language policies reflect their desires to resist English and other colonial languages in other to construct a self-sufficient nation-state. On the other hand, globalisation through technology, pop culture and the internet has caused the borders of these nation-states to be permeable thereby reinstating the English language into these societies. The social sphere is characterised by the emergence of a global society - the so-called ‗global village‘ (McLuhan 1964) - characterised by place-less, distance-less and border-less interactions that unfold in the world as a single space. The consequence is that both individuals and societies

conceptualise themselves to a large extent as part of a world system or a world community, with the English language playing a major role in this process of conceptualisation.

However, Zimelis (2010) asserts that it is this same language with its capacity to generate imagined communities and build particular solidarity that is also used to draw distinct lines between those who belong to the nation and those who are outsiders and intruders. The language thus excludes many people by operating in what Pennycook (2003b) refers to as exclusionary class dialect as it favours particular people, countries and cultures. In light of these, we can begin to understand how the debate about the mother tongue versus English as language of instruction/language taught as a subject poses serious practical and language policy problems. It should not come as a surprise then when Brutt-Griffler (2002) asserts that researchers are starting to doubt whether a sound and comprehensive policy can be provided in these post-colonial societies. What this therefore suggests is that in order to make sense of any language policies, especially in post-colonial communities, one need to understand their location historically and contextually. Ricento (2000, p.23) argues that

> language policy research should not only be concerned with official
>
> and unofficial acts of governmental and other institutional entities
>
> but also with the social and historical events and processes that
>
> have influenced, and continue to influence societal attitudes and
>
> practices with regard to language use, acquisition and status.

Language policies should therefore not just be seen as being about language alone, but must be ―understood in connection with broad social, political and economic forces that shapes not only education, but social life generally‖ Tollefson (2002, p. ix-x). Too often, the history of colonial language policy has been seen as a victory for English, which explains the current role of English as being good (Kachru 1986) or the need to develop policies to oppose its spread (Phillipson, 1992). Yet, without a good grasp of the reasons behind the support for English or vernacular languages and other discursive forces of colonialism, there is the tendency as Pennycook (2000) asserts, to view current language policies within simple dichotomous relationship of liberalism or anti-imperialism. Therefore, embedding the language policy in Nigeria in a historical as well as contextual sense allows one not only to consider the issue as having to do with deciding on which language to use as a medium of instruction in schools and the benefits of schooling in one language or the other, but about how such policies are embedded in a range of different societal and ideological concerns.

The official institutionalisation of the English language in Nigeria as the sole medium of education from the upper primary schools upward has meant an absorption of a host of

language ideologies (i.e. the entrenched beliefs that groups have towards language and linguistic behaviour (Seargeant and Erling, 2011)) that have continued to be negotiated in a post-colonial contexts. For example, the following sample responses to the open-ended questionnaire in Adegbija (1994) on the importance of English by a primary school student points out some of these ideologies: ‗you cannot go anywhere without English‗, ‗English help my father get occupation‗. Ilori (2013) also asserts that senior secondary students believed that the language will provide them with the opportunities to remain socially, economically and internationally relevant. More of these language ideologies about English in Nigeria will be discussed at length in chapter five.

These responses pinpoints an attitude that reflects a deep-rooted evaluation of English as an investment into chances for social mobility at the national/international level. Therefore, those individuals who are competent in English are the only ones with the potential to acquire social, political and economic power. In essence, language ideologies of English thus extend from the ideas that English is important to the ideas that those who speak it are important and prestigious (Relano-Pastor, 2008). What this suggests is that learning English goes beyond learning the linguistic signs and symbols that constitute the language, fluency in English thus becomes important ―in and of itself as a means of gaining or controlling access to other resources" (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001, p.3). As a result, the forms of social organisation that shape the language policy in Nigeria are tied to the assumptions related to beliefs about the relationship between the English language and national unity and between the English language and social mobility. Taken as a whole, these beliefs constitute the ideological context in which the language policy in Nigeria is formed, and in which the English language is taught and learnt.

This focus on the wider social, economic and political contexts of language policy and language education is in line with research on the ideological influences of language policies. Wiley (1996) investigated the English-only and Standard English ideologies in the United states, and shows how these ideologies have become hegemonic, particularly with language policies in public education. Lippi-Green (1997) examined the ideologies that informed attitudes toward language and language policies in the United States, and the negative consequences of such policies for marginalised groups in the education system, media, workplace and judicial systems. In the same vein, Ricento (1998) argues that the evaluation of the relative effectiveness of bilingual educational policies in the U.S. public education reflects ideologies of language and American identity that have become hegemonic, especially in the wake of the Americanization campaign.

From the foregoing, language policies not only influence pedagogical approach adopted in language education, but also tend to have real-life consequences for identities/communities whether real or imagined. Therefore, beyond the linguistic expressions use to portray imagined communities/identities, there may also be hidden ideological meanings about the English language within the society that mediate the development of visions of identity and future affiliation to communities for newcomers. In essence, the future self-expression of learners that are encoded in their imagined communities/identities are representations of the interplay between micro-level interactions and individual text and talk, on the one hand, and societal macro-structures, on the other hand. In this instance, the societal macro-structures are exemplified by the social ideologies and power positions that exist in the environment and institutionalised entities that enforce such ideologies.

In view of the foregoing, students' imagined communities/identities could be classified as a form of discourse practice or language in use. The correlation between discourse and society (language [in] use) has been established within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2001, Wodak 2007 and van Dijk, 2006). Rogers (2004) claims that ―CDA starts with the assumption that language use is always inevitably constructing and constructed by social, cultural, political and economic contexts" (p.10). Such that, there is a mode of mediation between the actual, realized text and the wider social practices in which the piece of text is embedded. This multidisciplinary approach to language studies with which this research will address its research questions will be discussed extensively in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1   Introduction

This research study is interested in analyzing SSS students' imagined community and identities against the language ideologies of English portrayed in Nigeria. As previously examined, there has been lots of research work done in the areas of identity, imagined community and L2 teaching from different perspectives and contexts. However, not many studies have under a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) angle explored how learners' identities/imagined community are constructed, and what resources or mechanisms (e.g. language ideological discourses of English) play a role in the construction of their identities/imagined community.

Until now, CDA has been highly criticised because it privileges ―a position of knowledge that is somehow able to decide for others what is true" (Pennycook 2001, p.88). The intention of this dissertation, however is to dispel such a privilege and give voice to the actual recipients of the ideologies of English that are reflected in the societal, educational/institutional and political discourses. A review on CDA will be done in order to establish its principal nature as not being a theory or model, but a programme or movement engaged in by a group of people who have a socially critical attitude towards doing discourse studies (Blommaert, 2005; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Wodak, 2001). By virtue of its multidisciplinary tendency, there are different kinds of the programme in relation to the areas of interests of its practitioners. However, only two practitioners of CDA that are useful to this research work are examined extensively, and the others mentioned briefly.

The last section will put together the theoretical framework that has been reviewed, and a model of interplay among Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2001) and van Dijk's (1990, 1993a, 2009) model of CDA and Norton's (2000) concept of imagined community/identity will then be drawn in order to provide a theoretical ground for analysis. A discussion on the technique used for data collection and analysis, research context (i.e. the secondary schools where the data for this study would be collected) and the participants (i.e. the senior secondary school students) will ensue. At this stage, any particular reasons for choosing a particular school, recruiting specific students or favouring one method of data collection procedure or analysis over another will be thoroughly justified. All this is done to give a better insight into the concerns of this study.

4.2   Historical background to CDA

CDA originated from (or better still) was a successor to an approach to the study of language that was popular in the 1970s called Critical Linguistics (CL). According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), the term 'critical' in CL appeared in Western Europe in the 1970s in the works of Fowler et al. (1979) and Kress and Hodge (1979). This assertion, they warned, should not suggest that the term is an entirely new word in research on language studies or other academic disciplines. It was just that it was during this period the word 'critical' became noticeable as a specific genre in language studies. In order to fully grasp and understand the reason(s) for this interest, a bit of historical background in the field of linguistics is needed.

When Saussure's lecture turned into a book in 1916 laying the foundation for what would later be termed modern linguistics, no one thought about the possibility of asking the question of how language structure would serve functional needs (Schiffrin, 1994). His linguistics focused mainly on the discovery of language structure so much that apart from his 'parole' (i.e. what is actually said or written (Fairclough 2001, p.17)) little was said about the relationship between language and society, and how linguistic forms fit into the demand language users make of it. By the 1950s, Schiffrin (1994) claims that linguists like Harris (1951) had started to consider the nature of language as a matter of discourse. Thereby, it became necessary to search for how language, at least structurally behaves above the level of the sentence. This desire to shift attention to the suprasentential level of grammar brought into the limelight a chain of attitudes reflecting linguists' concern about what should be the method for discovering and recovering meaning from text. The direction of this growth however took divergent orientations and led to the evolution of the structural (i.e. formalist) and functional orientations (Schiffrin, 1994). The debates leading to these opposing schools of thoughts are not our concern in this study, but rather their major points of differences in order to reveal which school is more useful to the kind of arguments that will underscore the description of the works of Critical Linguists.

Formalists (e.g. Chomsky) tend to regard language primarily as a mental phenomenon, that is the elements and structures of language are seen as innate in human beings (Schiffrin, 1994; Chilton, 2004). Chomsky's (1965) views about language distances itself from anything that could be seen as drawing upon the processes of socialisation in determining meaning. He is thus concerned with the well-formedness of syntactic structures (Fowler, 1991). On the contrary, functionalists (e.g. Halliday) sees language as a societal phenomenon (Melrose, 1995). Halliday (1973) responded to Firth's (1957) call to investigate

language within the social contexts of its use. His systemic linguistics has been found useful by researchers whose intent is to set a research agenda directed ‒towards theorising any relationship there might be between the human language faculty and the social nature of human" (Chilton 2004, p. ix). The grammar is thus concerned with viewing language as a form of social behaviour (Melrose, 1995), which points beyond what a language user says and means to what s/he does with what is being said. Form, function and behaviour are thus the key terms for this particular theory of language (Schiffrin, 1994). These two models usually provide the guidelines for linguists interested in studying the nature of language

Fowler (1991) reveals why Chomsky's (1965) competence would not work with critical thinking in language. He notes that his competence ‒includes a great deal of what is genuinely linguistic knowledge; everything that is learned... concerning the values and benefits of the culture in the lifelong process of socialisation" (p.27). From this statement, we can conclude that Chomsky's grammar is busy with an abstract system cut off from communicative interaction. This standpoint according to Fowler (1991) negates what critical linguistics is all about, which revolves around studying how language operates within communicative interaction and sees language as a tool for performing certain functions e.g. ‒... help people to sort things, encourages them to think of the world in terms of certain artificial categories tacitly felt to be 'commonsense'" (p.30). Critical linguists thus evolved from the insights provided by Halliday's systemic functional grammar on the relationship between language and society, where language is seen as an integral part of social process/practice Fairclough (1995; 1999).

Social practices according to Machin and Mayr (2012) are in part practices about discourse, in that the language we speak is connected with how we act, and how we establish, maintain and regulate our societies. As a result of the fact that it is credited with a more active role in our day-to-day construction of life, Fairclough (1999) states that any form of language activity which goes on in social contexts is not merely a reflection or expression of social processes and practices, but it is also a part of those processes and practices. So even though whatever social practise takes place outside of discourse, these practices are still in a way substantially shaped by discourse. For example, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) claimed that the term ‗flexibility' which has been introduced into the work place in recent times was put into practise by introducing new forms of dialogue introducing teamwork, thereby bringing down the divide existing between those in the upper and lower levels of an organisation. What this therefore means is that critical analysis of new economic forms needs to be in part about critical analysis of language.

Therefore, in a world where there are rapidly developing independent thoughts/conversations as regards human sexuality, identity, gender, race etc., there is the need to become aware of how, why and in what ways these ideas have been ―talked into being" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, p.4). Language, Machin and Mayr (2012) explained, is part of the way by which people promote particular ideas about the world and make them appear as if they were natural, which is why the ‗how', ‗why' and ‗what' of any discourse are underlying assumptions and taken-for granted concepts that are communicated but which are not directly stated in a text. For example, the statement ‗Oh, no! You burnt the food' has no ideological basis when said to a man, but this is often not the case when it is uttered to the woman. Even though the lines are blurring about what role men and women should pick up in the public and private sphere, there might be assumptions or ‗presupposition' by the sender that the woman is unable to carry out her ‗natural' function as a cook. None of this is specified in the text, but this underlying assumption about the relation between gender and kitchen accomplishment might be present. Issues such as these have fed critical linguist with the materials to investigate the relationship language has with the various intricate workings of society.

This statement brings us close to the connection between critical views and linguistics, in that ―critical interest so far has been largely centred on ideological functions which are most widely mapped by observable and well-described linguistic forms namely vocabulary, structure and the structure of the clause" (Fowler 1996, p. 10). There is a special way the human mind operates to bring into existence sensibilities that are non-linguistic but whose existence, capture and sustenance depend largely on linguistic manipulations within some social contexts. The systemic functional grammar‘s exhibition of the three metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal and textual) of language that recognizes the general functions human beings use language for has helped in the discovery of critical methods of investigating these features of human existence.

The ideational metafunction points to those instances in the natural world that represents our consciousness and experiences to each other. According to Halliday and Matthiessien (2004), it creates the means by which we, as language users ―construe our experience of the world around us and inside us" (p.15). The interpersonal makes references to the social world, especially the relationship between speaker and hearer, as such social roles are enacted in dialogic interactions and are useful for establishing, changing and maintaining interpersonal relations Halliday and Matthiessien (2004). The textual metafunction refers to the verbal world, especially how information flows in a text. Here, the

ideational and interpersonal meanings a discourse text is liable to carry are rendered as information that can be shared and negotiated between speaker and hearer, thereby providing the speaker with the strategies for guiding the hearer to reach the appropriate interpretations of the text Halliday and Matthiessien (2004). These metafunctions thus handle the ways of relating form to context to discover meaning. Therefore, the assumption is that speakers of a language make choices regarding their vocabulary and grammar, which are consciously or unconsciously ‑principled and systematic" (Fowler et al., 1979, p.188).

What this notion suggests is that a language user first conceives of an idea and takes time to think of how such an idea will be perceived by the hearer/listener before constructing a linguistic form that represents all the details in actual speaking. Thus, choices are ideologically based, and the main job of critical linguistics is one of studying how these ideological functions are performed in language within social context. Some conclusions about CL could be reached at this point. CL is a field of language study that investigates language as a tool for ensuring social order. It helps to connect language forms with those social circumstances that are a part of human communication. Therefore, reference to concepts such as ideology, social order, power, dominance etc. forms some of its underlying concerns. Today, CDA has originated from CL, and the next section will examine the claims made by critical discourse analysts in order to foreground the origin and existence of the field.

4.3   Critical discourse analysis

As explained in the last section, CL has influenced the ways in which researchers approach the investigation of language as a social phenomenon. The outcome has resulted in the approach becoming a cornerstone into what is now referred to as CDA (Rogers, 2011). The evolution of CDA has been traced to the Frankfurt School, in particular, to the works of Adorno and Horkheimer, Foucault and Habermas (Hart and Lukes, 2007). In the 1990s, a group of scholars known to associate themselves with the label of CDA found themselves drawn to a common orientation in the interpretation of such concepts like 'critical', 'discourse' and the range of descriptive methods borrowed from various linguistic theories. However, as much as this common core that links these scholars to CDA is recognised, they vary in terms of the social issues they tackle and the social theory and methodology adopted in the interpretation and explanation of discourse.   A point that practitioners of CDA do not hesitate to emphasize therefore borders on the general misconception in this area of language study, that CDA is a theory or method of analysis or research.

Van Dijk (1993a, 1993b, 1995) explains that it is an academic movement or group of socially and politically committed scholars, or a socially critical attitude or position of studying text and talk. It is thus an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse, which views language as a form of social practise —i.e. social action constitutive of and constituted in discourse via investigating how institutional and organisational circumstances of discursive events shape the process, production and interpretation of discourse" (Fairclough 1992, p.4) and focuses on the ways social and political domination is reproduced by text and talk. This definition may appear conclusive in itself in the sense that the assumption may arise that critical analysis of discourse is solely a venture into investigating how discourse can be used as a tool for both social and political domination. There are however instances where discourse has been seen to accommodate individual and personal ideologies without any connection to domination or subversion of any kind. The emphases on these two concepts that are found within the society are pronounced due to the social nature of CDA. Any study that is social in its concerns may however not necessarily concentrate on the individual entity in society (although, explanations may progress from an individualistic point), rather the focus usually is on social issues that deal with how language is used to express and sustain superiority by a group over another (van Dijk, 1991, 1993c; Fairclough, 1995).

Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p.271-280) put together a set of principle that serve as the platform upon which any critical analysis of discourse is carried out. The eight tenets are listed below:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. power relations are discursive
3. discourse constitutes society and culture
4. discourse does ideological work
5. discourse is historical
6. the link between text and society is mediated
7. discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8. discourse is a form of social action

The first of the eight tenets which states that CDA addresses social problems is culminated in the last principle- discourse itself, is a form of social change. This conclusion follows from the reasoning that society is laden with problems which are not necessarily environmental, but stems from individuals that form a particular social group in society. Racism (which is particularly van Dijk's (1984, 1987, 1991, 1993c) point of interest), political subversion, and gender inequality appear to be social issues that have gained centre-stage in various

investigations that have been carried out in CDA. These issues are thereby raised in order to achieve the change necessary for a better and more liveable society for every member of the society.

It is important to state here, though, that these social issues are not usually explicitly tagged as such in discourse texts, even more interesting is the fact that text producers do not usually consider themselves as racist, gender/racial biased or politically domineering. They are, nevertheless interpreted and explained by critical discourse analysts who have envisioned the potentiality of such discursive texts as carrying or embodying these social prejudices. This is where the seventh tenet comes in- discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. Apart from this, there is the fact that most of these social issues are not innate i.e. nobody is biogenetically prewired to be racist or gender-biased, rather ―they learn within and through the society within which these problems emanate and exist" (van Dijk 1994, p. 24).

Therefore, there is a justification for the fifth and sixth tenet that states that CDA is historical and serves as the link between text and society. Discourse are taken to be determined and shaped by context. The full meaning of utterances can be realized only when the contextual indices are factored in. Wodak (1996, p.18) states

> utterances are only meaningful if we consider their use in a specific situation, if we recognise their embedding in a certain culture and ideology, and most importantly, if we know what the discourse relates to in the past...

The link between text and society is, therefore mediated as the enactment of reality in texts is not direct. This is because, analysts take a mode of mediation to espouse the relationship between actual texts, realized text and the wider social practices in which the text is located. As a result, texts that are produced and consequently serve as materials for critical analysis are placed within certain social contexts in order to achieve social change.

The four remaining principles serve to corroborate what is being said about CDA in that, for instance, the statement about the discursivity of power relations is seen in the interest CDA has in social problems. Wodak (2001) explains that although researchers interested in the critical study of language have found the set of principles mentioned above rather relatable and useful, there have been changes made to them over the years as new discoveries continue to emerge for socially driven explorations. This to say that CDA allows for heterogeneity, and the different and distinct schools arising from the programme are allowed to make changes to its aims and goals. Deducible from the understanding of these eight principles is that CDA tries to establish the link among three levels of analysis: the actual

text, discursive practices and the social context that influences the discursive practices (Fairclough, 2000). Discursive practices are seen to denote the rules, norms, and mental models of socially sanctioned behaviour in specific contexts used to produce, receive and interpret texts. They are the spoken and unspoken conventions that guide an individual's thinking, verbal actions and actions in any sphere of social life (Blommaert, 2005). Social context is construed to mean clearly defined settings where discourse take place, with definitive set of conventions that prescribe the rights and obligations of participants in discourse (Fowler, 1996). CDA also highlights the factors (e.g. gender, class, identity status, age, and ethnicity) that shape discourse and takes them into cognisance when analysing texts. CDA is thus concerned with studying and analysing written texts and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts (van Dijk, 1990, 1998).

Laudable as the methodological consideration of CDA might be, a number of criticisms have been levied against it, especially in terms of its aims and goals. Martin's (2004) criticism is based on the view that CDA concentrates on the interrogation of the predominant negative issues in the society. This point of view stems out from the general sense the term 'critical' carries in itself. Usually, any critical comments about a concept is set to emphasize its negative attributes. And in this case, the negativity takes centre-stage since most of the issues of particular interest to the practitioners of CDA are those that are expected to be changed. For instance, van Dijk (2001, p.5) claims that CDA is

> a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the
> way social power, abuse and dominance, and inequality are
> enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social
> and political context. With such dissident research, critical
> discourse analysts take explicit position and thus want to
> understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

Perhaps, the negativity is made obvious by the choice of certain lexical items in the definition e.g. 'enact', 'resist' 'expose', which appears to present the practitioners of CDA as a set of researchers engaged in protest movements. However, Wodak (2007) succeeds in dousing this seemingly intense protest tradition by explaining that the term 'critical' does not suggest the commonsense meaning of 'being negative' but 'skeptical'. It implies showing ―connections and causes which are hidden" (Atkins 2002, p.3). This exposure of things hidden is important as they might not be obvious for the people involved, and therefore will not be resisted. The

term 'critical' therefore means —not taking things for granted, opening up complexities, challenging dogmatism, being self-reflexive, making opaque structures of power relations and ideologies" (Wodak 2007, p.3).

Chilton (2005) raised another criticism against CDA on the basis of its failure to engage with developments in cognitive linguistics and evolutionary psychology. His arguments are hinged on the possibility of the existence of a universal critical capacity, which puts CDA in a position that makes it appear to excessively exaggerate the power of discourse; discourse being one of the significant materials for the programme's analytical explorations. Although researchers such as van Dijk (1990, 1993a, 1998, 2009) have thriven in the more cognitive aspect of discourse analysis, there is no doubt that there still exist a sense of abstraction about venturing into an exercise that goes beyond the concreteness of actual language use to the ideology and knowledge that feeds such constructions. The terms 'ideology' and 'knowledge' being intangible concepts that can only be inferred or deduced from the way and manner in which language is used.

Another criticism levied upon CDA is on the position of the analyst in the explanation and interpretation of texts. Towing the path of doing CDA can lead a researcher to categorically state that his/her interpretation is the only valid one (Widdowson, 1995) or start analysing from a biased ideological position (Schegloff, 1997; Toolan, 1997; Widdowson, 1996). Fairclough (1996) firmly rejects the first criticism by pointing out that CDA is not a political party, and strategies of interpretation do vary as is seen from separate views of the practise from Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model of CDA characterized as a social theory that gives full recognition to the constitutive role of language in society, with emphasis on power and ideology; Wodak's (2001) based on discourse-historical approach which is committed to a social-philosophical approach of public discourses; Dijk's (2001) rooted in formal discourse analysis with a cognitive tendency that is based on the cognitive view of language; Leeuwen's (1993) description of discourse as social practise and a way of representing social practise to mention but a few. Wodak (2007, p.5) thus stresses that

> CDA approaches have their own theoretical position combined
> with a specific methodology and methods ... every theoretical
> position combined in CDA is inherently interdisciplinary
> because it aims at investigating complex social phenomena
> which are inherently inter- or transdisciplinary and certainly not
> to be studied by linguistics alone.

For the second criticism, (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999) asserts that it is indeed practical to carry out research which is free from pre-conceived ideological value judgement. If it were not possible, then Gouveia (2003) asserts that ‒ultimately, there is no value-free science" (p.57). Also what an analysts does in CDA is informed by social and critical theories giving him or her a deeper understanding of linguistic analysis, which I believe is the reason for the existence of different approaches to doing CDA. In general, CDA provides more like a social than a linguistic theory that aims at answering questions relating to the links between discourse, power, dominance, social inequality and the position of the discourse analysts in the link (i.e. social relationships). It centres on how social relations, identity, knowledge, and power are constructed through written and spoken texts in diverse social contexts.

It is therefore clear from this explanation that there is a plethora of beliefs about what should constitute the procedures for CDA. However, CDA is a multidisciplinary approach to language study that any analysts could approach provided that the analysis considers discourse as social practice. The analysts draw on linguistic analysis in order to study language in use. Two of these practitioners will be reviewed in subsequent sections with the intention of highlighting their peculiar notions of what CDA does, their individual interests in one or more of the barrage of social problems existent in society, and finally, the contributions their critical interpretations and explanations have made to social change.

4.3.1 Fairclough's model of CDA

His model draws heavily from the analytical framework of Systemic Functional Grammar (Blommaert 2005, Wodak 2007). He thus views language as a form of functional behaviour which is related to the social situation in which it occurs. He called his approach *critical language study* (Fairclough, 1989) and its aim is to correct the vast negligence in relation to the significance of language in creating, maintaining and changing the social relations of power. This is why his concerns revolve round recent and contemporary processes of social transformation, which have been couched in such terms as neo-liberalism, globalisation, society and information-based economy and learning. His approach thus sees discourse as a form social practice (Fairclough, 1995) that cannot be prised away from its context of production.

Describing discourse as social practice implies that language and society bears a kind of dialectal relationship. This means that the relationship between language and society is two-way: on the one hand, language is influenced by society; on the other hand, society is shaped by language. In this way, language use is both socially shaped and socially shaping. Fairclough's 1995) belief in CDA as a social practise is justifiable considering his background

is in the social sciences. In broad terms, he examines the distinction or relation between text and language, genre and orders of discourse and society and culture. Keeping this in mind and their influence on his practise, he describes CDA as

> a three-dimensional framework where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of socio-cultural practice (1995, p.2).

From the above, he sketches a three-tier model for conceiving of, and analysing discourse which informs the present study as it incorporates textual processing and social levels of discourse analysis
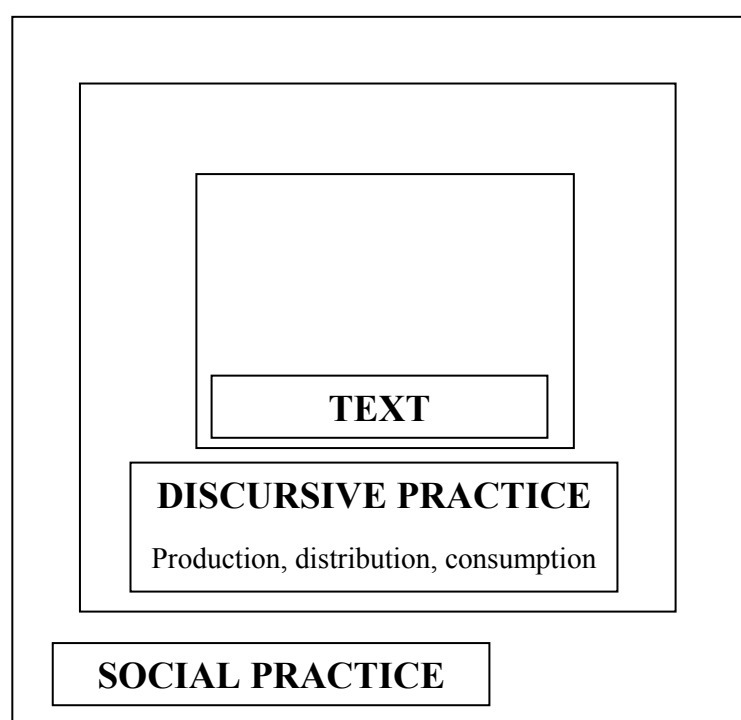
Fig. 4.1 Three-dimensional conception of discourse (Fairclough 1992, p.73)

The first compartment – discourse as text – denotes the linguistic features and organisation of discourse which can be subsumed under these headings: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. ‒Vocabulary deals mainly with individual words, grammar deals with words combined into clauses, and sentences, cohesion deals with how clauses and sentences are linked together and text structure deals with large-scale

organisational properties of text" (Fairclough 1992, p.75). The second step is discourse as discursive practice. This involves processes of text production, distribution and consumption. The examination of discourse and discursive practice succeeds the analysis of the linguistic features of discourse. Thus, speech acts, intertextuality and coherence, ―the three aspects that link a text to its wider social context" are discussed (Blommaert 2005, p.29). The third step is discourse as social practice. This entails, essentially what we do that involves text production.

The three tiers are connected in that the connection between text and social practice is understood to be mediated by discourse practice. Fairclough, however, is of the opinion that it is not imperative for one to examine all three tiers of analysis. Going further, Fairclough (1995) establishes a correlation between the three levels of analysis in his framework on the one hand and three stages of CDA; description, interpretation and explanation on the other hand. Description stage deals with the formal properties of a text; interpretation stage deals with the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation stage centres on the relationship between interaction and social context. Critical Discourse Analysis should, thus, make a progression from *description,* to *interpretation,* to *explanation*. It is at the level of explanation that the analyst draws on social theory to reveal the ideological underpinnings of the interpretative procedures.

These insights lend a socio-political configuration to his concept of CDA, and the breakdown of its goals which can be found in the treatment he gives to concepts such as ideology, power, status, social and institutional discourse. He asserts that the exercise of power in modern society is increasingly achieved through ideological workings of language and this is insidiously conveyed through social practices and language use. Those who control the discourse of a society (primarily through language) have the power to sustain their ideological leanings and those of the society, thereby legitimising their agendas which then become part of the social setup or structure. His framework thus shows clearly the relationship between discourse and society and the institutions that contribute towards its production, which therefore makes it clearer to see how and why discourse is used to oppress certain groups, or to justify claims made.

Widdowson (1995; 1996) firmly rejects this approach to critically analyzing discourse. He claims that by looking at both linguistic data and social practice, too little or too much attention is paid to either the data or to the sociological interpretation of the results. Fairclough (1996) refutes such an allegation by stating that one cannot seal off linguistics from a social scientific analysis as the study of linguistics plays a very important part in discerning society's power structures and the effect they have on linguistic behaviour. Even

though Widdowson (1995) has a point, however there is the need to give recognition to the constitutive role of language in society in the form of related and interconnected discursive practices (Chilton, 2005).

4.3.2   van Dijk's CDA

van Dijk's CDA is broadly cognitive (Dijk 2001, Wodak 2006a). He explains that in order to provide an adequate account of discourse, it is essential to combine the social and the cognitive components as they mediate discourse practice and social practice thus, the socio-cognitive approach to discourse ―offers a unique and necessary interface between the macro aspects of society and the micro aspects of discourse and interaction" (Dijk 2006b, p.10). The macro level of analysis account for how a discourse text can be enacted or is a constituent part of a social issue or a social institution. The micro level is rendered in discourses that are situated in specific contexts which are realised as language use, interaction or communication. Therefore, his explanations and interpretations are rooted both in formal discourse analysis and the social aspect to it, but bridged together by some intermediate elements that allow for the interaction of discourse as language use and discourse as a reproduction of a particular social issue.

Dijk began his exploration by experimenting with Chomsky's Generative Grammar. He was however faced with the problem of the inadequacy of the model to account for 'text' structures as against 'sentence' structures. He, therefore had to devise a means of accounting for the structure of texts from a generative view point; hence, his generative text grammar (van Dijk, 1997). The social aspect to discourse analysis features in the form of a new theory of text grammar, which incorporates within it an extension of formal discourse analysis called macro-structures. As such, the idea of macrostructures lies in the point that the senses that reside in texts are not solely within the relation one sentence has with another, but also in the possible senses they could carry beyond and outside the world of the text.

His approach thus explores the interface between discourse structures, cognition and local and global social context which other models of CDA rarely made explicit (van Dijk, 2009; Chilton, 2005). Thus, he advocates for a sociocognitive approach. His sociocognitive approach favours the explication of the ways in which cognitive phenomena are related to discourse structures, communicative events, verbal interactions and situations, as well as ‗societal structures, such as those of domination and social inequality' (van Dijk 2009, p. 64). He believes that his approach to CDA helps in the exploration of the interplay between language, cognition and society. He represents this idea with the diagram:
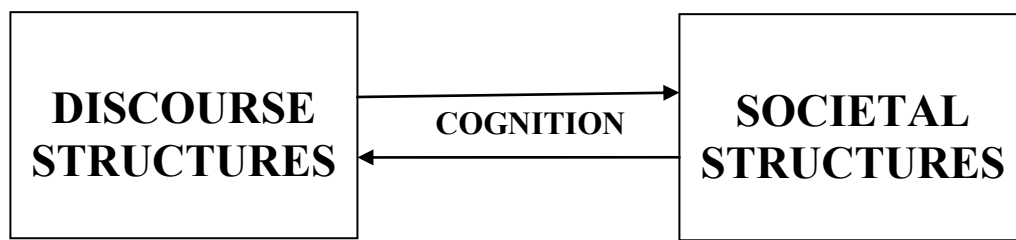
Fig 4.2 the link between structures of discourse and structures of society

From the diagram above, it could be deduced that the relationship between the structures of discourse and that of the society is mediated by cognition, which Dijk (1993a) asserts could either be personal or social.

Personal cognition (or mental models), according to van Dijk (1993a) embodies the general sense, personal values, personal ideologies, personal attitudes and personal knowledge, which he went on to say are located in the episodic memory. These models thus stands for the interpretations individuals make of other individuals, of particular events, actions and discourse. Dijk (1993a), however went on to say that these Models do not simply represent 'the facts', but characteristically represent 'the facts as individuals define them'. What this means, therefore is that these models are bridged and expressed by the knowledge, opinions and beliefs held by individuals. It then follows from van Dijk's argument that what shapes or direct discursive structures and practices in a society is not social constraints like race, gender, or power but the interpretations of and what people make of the constraints in situated interactional context.

However, the beliefs people hold, which are peculiar to them are the personal selections made from existing societal values, hence the term social cognition. In more general terms, social cognition is conceived to be the subfield of social psychology that studies the mental representations and processes that underlie social perceptions, social judgement and social influence (Farr and Moscovici, 1984 cited in van Dijk, 1990). For this study's purpose, van Dijk's (1993a, p. 257) concept of the term will be used. He defines it as

> socially shared representations of social arrangements, groups
> and relations, as well as mental operations such as interpretation,
> thinking and arguing, inferencing and learning among others,
> which together define what we understand by social cognition

The term can be said to monitor constructions of discourse, communications and the forms of interactions and the actions that accompany them take. Hence, it mediates between

the micro-levels and the macro-levels of discourse, that is, the forms discourse take and the functions they perform in varying contexts. In sum, individuals translate their opinions and values into the knowledge and beliefs that sum up the concrete models of their everyday living by striking a balance between personal cognitions and those made available by their society.

However, van Dijk (2009) warns of the reductionist nature of the term *sociocognitive*, which he notes reveals less than what CDA encompasses. He says

> the label of the `sociocognitive' approach does not mean that I think that CDS [CDA] should be *limited* to the social and cognitive study of discourse, or to some combination of these dimensions. It only means that (at present) I am personally most interested in the fascinating sociocognitive interface of discourse, that is, the relations between mind, discursive interaction and society (p.65).

Even with this explanation, some critical discourse analysts explicitly disapprove of the concept itself. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) claim that cognitive phenomena cannot be dealt with directly, as researchers do not have access to states of mind. Wodak (2006c), however, disagrees based on the premise that ―even though cognitive processes cannot be studied directly, the same seems to be true for ideologies" (p.2). However, ―if CDA is to be a research enterprise… that enhances human understanding and knowledge, then what goes on inside people‗s heads must become a prime concern" Chilton (2005, p.23).

Van Dijk‗s model, which is capable of bringing together sociological, cognitive and linguistic categories has its positive side because in order to produce and comprehend texts that cover phenomena such as stereotypes and prejudices, one has to deal with perceptions, beliefs, and opinions which are all cognitive notions. But the truth is that exploring the human faculty has not yet proven to be an objective endeavour, since the question of what the human mind conceives per time as placed against what is expressed in actual language use has not been fully answered. Since that is the case, researchers need to be content with these mental processes or cognitions because they are useful in creating a link or an intermediate step between discourse and society, between the personal and the social, and between the micro and the macro analysis of the society.

4.3.3   Methodological considerations

Within this study, Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2003) as well as Van Dijk's (1993a, 1995, 2001) approach to CDA will examine the imagined community/identity of SSS students in Nigeria. The imagined community/identity that Nigerian students hope to identify with and belong to one day in the process of learning a L2 (English language) is regarded as a social problem with a discursive dimension. Though, applying the theoretical concept of ‗imagined community' (Anderson, 1991; Norton, 2000) into an ESL context like Nigeria reveal how SSS students construct and negotiate their identities between the cultures and languages they live with, imagine being part of and invest in the English language (Ilori, 2013), however the study is of the opinion that the ideological discourses of English inherent within the society form the basis of the construction of their future self-expressions. Thus, the methodological and theoretical frameworks employed in this study provide a critical discursive approach to the study of imagined community/identity.

Methodology is one of the most complex issues within the field of CDA. Wodak and Meyer (2001), for instance, claims that there is no such thing as a common methodology or theoretical viewpoint, which is the reason CDA theoreticians draw on a number of theoretical levels in their analyses ranging from epistemology, general social theories, microsociological theories, socio-psychological theories, discourse theories to linguistic theories. Even Fairclough (2001) admits that a single and applicable methodology simply does not exist. CDA, he asserts ―is not a technique, nor a tool from a toolbox; it is as much theory as method" (p. 121). Wodak (2001) points out that CDA has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory, and the reason she points out is because relationships between language and society are so complex and multifaceted that interdisciplinary research is necessary. However, the aim of CDA is clear: It can only make a significant and specific contribution if it is able to provide an account of the role of language, language use, discourse or communicative events in the (re)production of dominance and inequality (Dijk 1993).

Fairclough and van Dijk's method of CDA are compatible in the sense that both have been developed to examine uneven power relations and the presence of dominant ideologies within texts. The need to integrate this approaches arise from the fact that Fairclough's CDA allows for the examination of the linguistic and interdiscursive features of text(s) in context, and establishes a systematic method of exploring the relationship between text and its social context, and Dijk's socio-cognitive approach moves beyond textual analysis to the cognitive interface of mental knowledge, attitudes and ideologies and other social representatives of the social mind. In other words, while Dijk's socio-cognitive approach will reveal the ideological

discourses of English present within the society, and also provide an explanation for their existence, Fairclough's CDA will focus on how societal structures, through language have been able to sustain such ideological leanings and ultimately influencing SSS students imagined community/identity.

The connection between Fairclough's socio-cultural, Dijk's socio-cognitive and SSS students' imagined community/identity is seen in the diagram below

S: MACRO SOCIETY

s: micro society

Societal discourse

socio-educational

Educational/ institutional discourse

SSS students

socio-political

IC/ID

educational/ political

Political discourse
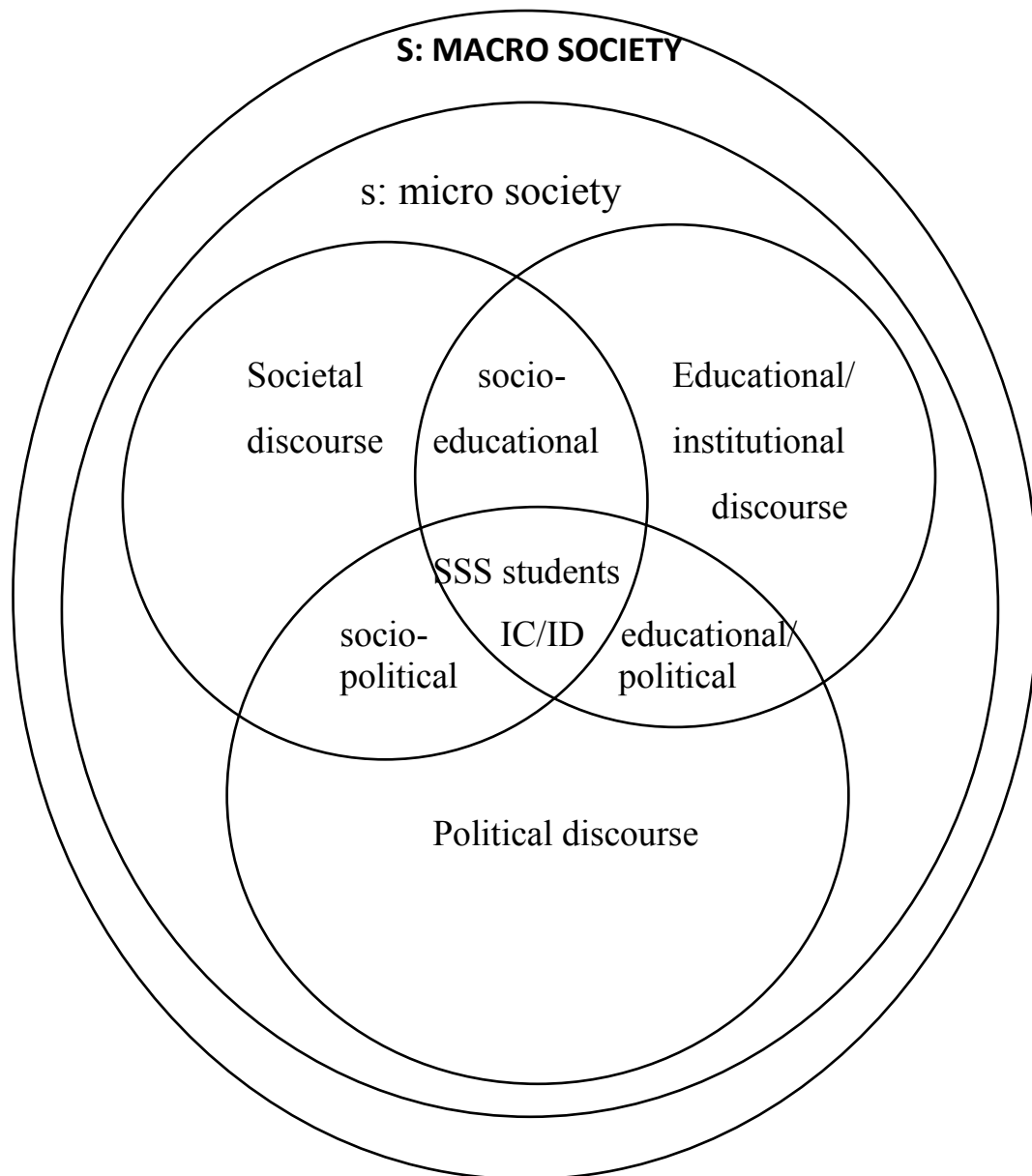
4.3   Model for analysis

The first circle (**S**) represents the global (macro) society, which is exemplified by the ideological discourses of English that has been emphasized in recent years as a result of globalisation, (neo) colonisation, and knowledge-based economy and learning. The second circle (**s**) represents the micro society subsumed under the global society. In this society, which is Nigeria there are three intersecting circles denoting societal micro-structures (i.e. social, educational and political discourses), each with their own ideological discourses of English. The first circle in the venn diagram represents the societal discourses exemplified by the family (i.e. parents) and media (newspaper articles) discourses; the second circle signifying the educational institution illustrates the discourses of the English language teachers, principals and senior secondary school students; while the political discourse in the last circle denotes discourses on government policies on English as seen in the National Policy on Education. Locating SSS students' identities and imagined communities at the intersection of the societal, political and educational discourses acknowledges and responds to the demands and realities of the various sectors that supply educational needs to students in Lagos. As such, students who wish to attend private or public schools might have their imagined identities/communities influenced by the ideological orientations either (social, political or educational) that are exclusive to those educational establishments. Therefore, in order to fully understand the identity/imagined community claimed by SSS students in Nigeria, this study had not only to spell out the cognitive and contextual conditions of such imagination/identity, but also the broader societal structures on which such cognitions and contexts are based and which at the same time they enable, sustain and reproduce. This bottom-up and top-down approach will thus focus on the role ideological discourses of English at the micro and macro society play to produce visions of potential identities and their respective imagined communities in which newcomers get socialized.

4.4   Research Setting and participants

The research setting for this study is Lagos, Nigeria. This does not however mean that the findings will be representative of the country as a whole. Instead, the restriction was to explore hidden ideological meanings that may influence the construction of future identities/communities for students in a setting that was relatively convenient for the researcher. More research might be needed to explore this theme somewhere else in the country. Nonetheless, the choice of Lagos State can be validated due to its importance within the Nigerian and global context. Despite its geographical size as the smallest of the 36 states of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, in terms of population it is considered large with an

estimated population of around 15 million (Tooley, Dixon and Olaniyan, 2005). It is also the 6th largest global city which according to the (Lagos State Economic and Empowerment Development Strategy (LASEEDS) 2004 as cited in Tooley, Dixon and Olaniyan, 2005) was estimated to rise to 24.6 million by 2015, making it the 2nd or 3rd largest urban city in the world.

Due to this population, it can be estimated that about 500 indigenous languages Schneider (2007) will be represented within this state. And as a result of this linguistically pluralistic nature of the country, we can assume that any secondary school setting in Lagos will represent a wide range of social and cultural identities. One of the serious gaps in literature according Tooley and Dixon (2006) is the lack of reliable data on the number of public and private primary and secondary schools, as well as the distribution of students in these schools in Nigeria. As a result, most of what will be discussed below on private and public secondary schools are extrapolations from research conducted on public and private primary schools in Lagos Nigeria.

The study's population would, therefore comprise of SSS students in classes 1 - 3 from both the government/public and private secondary schools in Lagos. Government/public schools in Nigeria are owned and funded by the state. In line with the Universal Basic Education law, government schools are supposedly free (with some costs levied on students for parent-teacher association, school uniforms and textbooks). The way the schools are built vary greatly from large open-sided structures with low walls and corrugated iron roofs resting on metal pillars, to impressive story building blocks. They were established to serve families from all socioeconomic levels, however in reality most parents are no longer interested in them due to frequent strikes by the teachers, poor teaching and infrastructure, thereby creating a demand for private schools (Umar, 2008).

The alternative to these government schools is the private schools, which are privately managed and funded, by a wide variety of sectors including ‒NGOs, faith-based organisations, communities and commercially-oriented private entrepreneurs, each with different motives for their involvement in education" (Rose and Adelabu 2007, p.3). According to Tooley, Dixon and Olaniyan (2005), these schools can be classified into two: registered and unregistered. The former schools are those that have, supposedly, registered and met state guidelines, while the latter have either not applied to be registered or have not (yet) met these regulations. A census and survey of schools in Lagos State estimated that there are about 71% private schools with more unregistered/unapproved private schools than registered and public ones (Tooley, Dixon and Olaniyan, 2005). Even though this figure

applies to the primary schools, the unapproved schools with 33% of school children enrolled can be said to provide schooling opportunities to a significant number of students in the secondary school as well. Thus, the private sector in Nigeria is heterogeneous and varies significantly in scope and quality, comprising of the elite and low-income households (Adelabu and Rose, 2004).

The unregistered/unapproved private schools are in business because they are priced lower than the registered/approved ones. Even though the former is expensive to some within the society, it is still able to meet the demand of low income households (Rose and Adelabu, 2007). Parents in this low income household in mostly urban and semi-urban areas would rather have their children attend the unapproved schools than any fee-free public education due to ―…state failure to provide …schooling which is both accessible and of appropriate quality" (Rose 2002, p. 63). The fear of withdrawal of students by fee-paying parents without any notice, Tooley and Dixon (2006) has led unregistered private school managers to make sure that their teachers provide the requisite services to both parents and students. This accountability track seem to lead to more teaching activity as teachers in the low-income schools appear to be imparting more learning to their pupils/students than government school teachers despite the fact that they are paid extremely low wages (Adelabu and Rose, 2004; Härmä, 2011).

There are concerns raised as to the quality of education in the low-paying private schools, and Adelabu and Rose (2004) argue that the kind of education offered is unacceptable, and are ―a low cost, low-quality substitute" (p.74) for public education. However, despite the validity of the question as to what quality of education the low-fee paying/unregistered schools are providing, this thesis does not address this as the researcher did not go to any unregistered/unapproved private schools to gather data. I however went to some low-paying registered private schools which are often referred to as 'glorified secondary schools' as they are often regarded as the same in terms of the structure and quality of learning as the private schools I visited. I could not access the very expensive private schools or even some of the public schools (e.g. Federal and Model colleges) that deliver good quality teaching and cater for the elites as a result of the limited time I had to gather data. Although there is disagreement in the literature on the quality of provision that these private schools provide, parents however perceive them to be working harder and delivering more teaching (of whatever quality) than government schools (Tooley and Dixon, 2006). So because the private and public schools that I gathered data from cater to students from low-income household and have almost the same quality of teaching, there were no remarkable

differences in terms of the imagined identities/communities of SSS students. Research however still needs to be conducted on the students that attend unregistered public schools or even the public or private secondary schools that cater for low-income households and the elites in order to find out the kinds of imagined identities and communities they are being prepared for, since the kinds of teaching going on within the public/private secondary schools that cater for low-income households according to Watkins (2000) are of ―inferior quality…that will restrict children's future opportunities" (p.230) and those that address students from elite public or private secondary schools are superior and increase chances for students future. In essence, are students being prepared for a future identity that will fit into the kinds of education they are receiving or are they taught with the belief that the learning resources at their disposal is able to let them acquire membership of any community they wish to belong to? Answering these questions would give a better explanation on whether the teaching and learning in these schools will actually restrict or enhance students' future opportunities.

Research participants for this study were grouped into SSS students, English language teachers, administrators (e.g. principals, Heads of Departments) and parents. The following criteria were set to limit the boundaries of the participants at the outset of recruiting. The SSS students in classes 1-3 in public and private schools should be between the ages of 16-20 years old and be willing to reflect on their experiences as L2 speakers/learners of English. Parents had to have children were in either a public or private senior secondary school, and be willing to reflect on their beliefs about English, especially as regards the role of the language in the world and in their daily lives. Teachers had to teach in any of the senior secondary school classes in Lagos, have an experience in the English teaching profession, adults at least above 18 and be willing to reflect on their own personal experiences with English and also describe the link between experiences within and outside the English language curriculum/textbooks that can provide for possibilities of identity/imagined community for SSS. Individuals who function as school administrators in any of the senior secondary schools in Lagos, have to be willing to reflect on their own personal experiences with English, and discuss larger discourses regarding the role of English in the world and in the educational institutions. All participants would represent both sexes equally or near equally, and had to be available to meet with me and participate in the interview on at least two separate occasions; of which the 2nd interview is for the researcher to clarify a response, ask further questions and give room for participants to state their approval or disapproval concerning what is on record.

The first set of participants that is, SSS were picked from eight secondary schools representing four public and private schools respectively. These schools were taken from four Local Governments (Ifako-Ijaiye, Amuwo-Odofin, Alimosho and Agege) in Lagos State and they include Meiran Community Senior High School, Imoye Senior High School, Ijaiye Housing Estate Senior Grammar School and Festac Senior College (public schools) and St. Anthony's International School, The Ambassadors Schools, Sapphire Stones Schools, and Durable Comprehensive High School (private schools). I purposively selected these schools based on convenience, referrals from friends and the social networks I had gathered while I was an English language home tutor and a teacher before I came to the UK.

It is in the Senior Secondary Schools that students are split based on their performances at the Junior Secondary examination into the science, commercial or arts classes. In all of these classes, the English language is a medium of instruction and also one of the compulsory subjects that must be passed before being promoted to the next class (Adegbite, 2008; Ogunsiji, 2004). Students representing each of these classes from SSS 1-3 would be interviewed; thereby in a school nine students will represent the whole Senior Secondary School class. 24 students will therefore represent each of the Science, Commercial or Arts classes from SSS1-3.These schools were mixed gender, and students' ages range from between 14 - 21 years. Most of the learners are multilinguals, with English serving as their second language and their various Mother Tongue as the first language; however for some especially those in the private schools English is their first language and they have no knowledge of their mother tongue. The investment that these group of participants have in the English language learning endeavour now and in the future makes them ideal candidates for this study.

The second sets of participants (i.e. one English language teacher and the principal or vice principal) were selected from each of these eight schools. Teachers are qualified when they have any of these degrees: National Certificate of Education (NCE), Post-graduate Diploma in Education (PGDE), Bachelors of Education (B.Ed) or Masters of Education (M.Ed) as their highest qualification. However, not all the teachers especially the ones in the private schools had degrees in education, most however have a degree in English language (pure English). Teachers in the public schools have more experience teaching than those in the private schools, and these experiences range from between 10 − 30 years for the former and 5- 25 years for the latter.

It was difficult to get the third sets of participants representing the parents. What helped was that we had lived in a Federal Government Estate for the past 27 years with over a

thousand residents, and my parents knew a few parents with children in the senior secondary schools. They were either friends of theirs or friends of friends, and coupled with the fact that I had taught home/private lessons in this same estate for more than 10 years on various subjects including English, verbal, literature-in-English and government; it became fairly easy to use my connection and that of my parent's to get these third set of participants. I then used the snowball sampling method (Patton, 1990) in which I and my parents asked parents who responded positively when asked to be interviewed to introduce me to other parents who might be interested to partake in my study. I approached ten parents, and eight were willing to take part in the study. Their professions range from banker, teacher, lecturer, pastor, stay-at-home mum, medical doctor, chef and market woman (she sells foodstuff at the local market).

With these participants, I would be examining a topic that is important in the lives of students and the country as a whole, but do not occur in daily conversations or interactions. I am able to know this because of the dismissive responses I get anytime I am asked about the topic of my thesis (Why am I learning *dis* language *sef*...). Once participants get to know that _this language' refers to the English language, they immediately tell me that reasons for learning English should not be worth doing a PhD on since they have the answers. The interesting thing is that once the interview begin, and I ask them _what are the advantages of learning English in Nigeria?' they immediately tell me that the usefulness of the language lies in accessing education, social and professional status and national/international society. With this perspective, the English language is primarily seen like Crystal's (1997, 2003) view on the spread of English as a neutral tool, available to be chosen freely and use for any purposes participants deem fit. While their point of view or what (Pennycook, 2001) refers to as laissez-faire liberalism itself is likely to be a valid one, can it however be seen as ideological? Can their conceptualisation of how English indexes social and economic participation be that simple, automatic and straightforward? The answers to the questions, which are discussed in chapter five will show how ideologies that frame English in such a manner becomes naturalised without any direct act of coercion.

4.5   Method for data collection

Data collection for this study began in November, 2014 and was completed in March, 2015. Given the inquiry and the goal of this study, which include second language learning, learners and the construction of their imagined identities, a qualitative approach was employed. Although, research on language and identity has grown significantly over the

years, there have been few attempts at exploring it and the fundamental ideological discourses of English that is likely to influence it in post-colonial contexts such as the one in this study. Creswell (2003) asserts that when a topic has not been addressed from a certain perspective, and the researcher is therefore not aware of any variable that might influence the study, a qualitative inquiry will be useful. Since this study falls into Creswell's (2013) category, a qualitative research approach is therefore the most appropriate strategy to follow. Also, the qualitative approach's strength in accessing areas of reality that would otherwise remain inaccessible such as people's subjective experiences and attitudes (Parakyla and Ruusuvuori, 2012) – aspects that cannot be adequately captured by numbers and statistical analysis- suits my research as I am able to better explain how the societal, educational and political variables condition SSS students' imagined communities and identities. The nature of a qualitative study therefore allowed me to pay attention to nuances of meaning and expression that could be lost in a qualitative study.

Wodak and Meyer (2001) claims that because of CDA's lack of a well-defined empirical methodology, there is no specific way of gathering data. However, they assert that linguists working within the field of critical language study e.g. Fowler (1991), Fairclough (1992, 1994, and 2003), Dijk (2001), Wodak (2001) have approached the study of discourse by relying on traditions based outside the sociolinguistic field, which according to (Burgoyne, 1994) includes finding solutions regarding the research question to be answered, the analysis that will provide a useful response to the question, the data needed to conduct the analysis and the practical steps that should be taken to obtain and record the data.

The above inventory hints at the fact that the choice of appropriate methods (data collection, selection and analysis) depends on the objectives of the research. Given its explicit socio-political agenda, critical discourse analysts are interested in issues bordering on race, gender and politics (in the broadest sense) because they testify to more or less overt relations of struggle and conflict (Bell and Garrett, 1998; Wodak, 2001). As such, their data mostly comes from pre-existing discriminatory discourses in the mass media communication or documents (e.g. Dijk 1993, 2001; Fairclough 1998, 2000; Wodak, 2001). On the other hand, researchers (e.g. Martinez-Roldan and Malave, 2004; Blackledge, 2003; Cortez, 2008) interested in using CDA to investigate how the perceived benefits of the spread of English influences second language learning and the formation of global and local identities makes use of stimulated data via interviews or responses to open-ended questions. Therefore, the body of data analyzed in the present study comes chiefly from using face-to-face semi-structured interview (stimulated data) with a set of guided questions—which gives room for

improvisation, and allow the interview… to follow whatever course it takes" Edley and Litosseliti (2010, p.158) and document review (pre-existing texts) so as to capture students' detailed historical and background information on their L2 learning.

4.5.1   Interview

In order to understand the lived experience and the meaning people make out of those experiences (Seidman, 2013), or in this case to gain an understanding of the rationale behind SSS student's imagined identity and community, face-to-face interview provides the necessary mode of inquiry. However, in studies such as this, especially in the field of Second language acquisition, participants are usually asked to write about their learning experiences in diaries and journals (Norton 2000; 2001) or language memoirs (Kinginger, 2004) over a period of years. However, due to time constraint, which is also a limitation for this study, recollections (in the form of interview or language essays) are now used as a means of exploring the ―longer – term experiences of language learning in more ‗authentic‘ settings" (Benson, 2004 p.12). The problems associated with using one's recollections is that the memory of the learner can be distorted or deteriorate. However Benson (2004, p.14) says that this ―tends to be counterbalanced by the researchers‘ intimate knowledge of the contexts of their own learning and by the insights that are gained from a longer term term view of the learning process." For me to be able to gather data directly from participants in their own words, another desirable advantage of the interview, I created an open-ended questionnaire but included a few structured questions for personal/educational background knowledge (see appendix for interview questions). Interview sessions took place twice for each participants, with the students‘ sessions lasting for 40 minutes (break/lunch time is 45 minutes) and 1 hour for the parents, teachers and principals. I conducted a pilot study on student 'S' , parent ‗A‘, teacher ‗T‘ (a friend, who is also an English language teacher) and principal ‗P‘, and this took place three days after my arrival in Lagos. There were breaks/interruptions during the interviews, often as a result of participants being needed elsewhere (e.g. students might be summoned by a teacher, teachers summoned by students or colleagues etc.)

The pilot study conducted with student ‗S‘ made me realise the dilemma I would face as regards interviewing teenagers. One important reason for interviewing students was that I wanted them to give voice to their own interpretation and thoughts about the ideological discourses on English, especially as regards the role of English in the world and in their daily lives. Such that, instead of relying on their parents, principals and teachers‘ view about why they should not be exposed to their mother tongues at home or school because of the perceived disadvantages of those languages, I would rather find out how students interpret the

ideological discourse on English inherent in the society, and its implication on the formation of their identities/imagined communities. During the course of the pilot study, which was done in the principal's office in one of the schools because that was the only room available, student _S' was not comfortable being in such a place. Even though the principal was not in the room with us, she kept glancing at the door, was fidgety and her answers were short and brief. To make matters worse, the teacher was within earshot and kept interrupting me to talk to the student to either speak up or think before she says anything. I eventually had to change rooms, and excused the teacher from the room. This situation also did not help the power dynamics that existed between me and the student as a result of my status as a researcher from the UK, and our age differences. The damage had already been done though as I had created a situation that reminded the student of a classroom setting, a state of affairs that Elder and Fingerson (2002) asserted should be avoided at all cost because respondents may ─seek to provide the answers they feel are expected of them rather than stating what they actually think or feel" (p.6).

For subsequent interviews, I made use of an empty classroom, lab or library. Instead of teachers being in the room with us, I let in other students to sit a little distance away as this according to (Dixon, 2015) will get them to relax and be comfortable knowing they outnumber the adults. Teachers were made to sit out of ear-shot or excused from the room and only come in to check on us occasionally so that their presence will not influence students' responses. I deconstructed my position as a UK researcher by telling students a bit about myself, where I lived and schooled (primary, secondary and tertiary). Even though I did not visit any unregistered/unaccredited schools with shanty structures and buildings, the private schools I went to cannot be compared in terms of fees, teaching and curriculum to some schools located in Ikeja, Lekki, Ajah, Magodo etc. The schools in the latter are attended by children of the wealthy, while those in the former are for parents who are middle class and low-income households. Though this demarcation of children that attend which school is not rigid and set in concrete, however there are really expensive private schools in the country that only the very rich can afford them. Bringing up my background as a past SSS student in a public school, speaking a little Pidgin English or my native tongue (Yoruba) and highlighting some of the challenges they face, especially as regards learning English endeared students to me as I was able to engage with them on their ─discourse style and peer culture" (Elder and Fingerson 2002, p.25).

I interviewed 80 students from all the schools I visited. My contact in each of the schools would have informed the students and principal/ vice principal/ Head of Department

about my intention to visit the school and carry out research. Once I get to the school, I am taken to the principal/ vice principal/ Head of Department's office to further explain my thesis and how I would like the interview to be done. The English teacher would be summoned, and then told to randomly pick students from the science, arts or commercial classes in SSS 1- 3. While this is being done, an empty classroom, library or lab would be prepared to use for the interview. While waiting for a free period or break time, I would use the opportunity to ask the principals, English language teachers, and vice principals if they would also be interested in an interview with me. Once they have shown an interest, after taking a look at the questions I intend to ask that is, we then set a day and time to come back to the school for their interviews. However, a few of them were willing for me to conduct the interview on the same day, but usually after school. Before conducting any interview, I described both the purpose of my research and interview process to participants, and then invite them to ask any questions they might have about the study. What participants were most concerned about was their anonymity, and I allayed their fears by explaining that, I would not ask for their names during the course of the interview and would be using pseudonyms during my analysis, therefore no possibility of identification would occur. If they then decide to go ahead with the interview, I presented them with the informed consent form, and tell them that they can withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. However, none chose to do so.

With the pilot study done on teacher _T', I noticed that he was very happy to tell me about the number of years he had been in the teaching profession, but not too comfortable releasing information on the kind of degree he had. He later told me, but after asking repeatedly what I intend to use the information for, and if it would not cost him his job. In subsequent interviews, I was hoping to be flexible with teachers' replies based on whether they wanted to answer the question or not. However, after the 2nd teacher I interviewed was concerned also about why I wanted to know about her qualifications, I had to omit that particular question outrightly from other interview sessions. The principals/vice principal on the other hand had no problem answering this question, often time giving me a detailed biography of their career path. Interviews for the teachers and principals were conducted in their respective offices. The pilot interview with parent _P' made me realise that I needed to be flexible with time, especially in terms of when the interview would be over. And that there is the likely possibility that I would interview more female than male parents, which was what happened. Because no matter how hard I tried, I just never seem to get the male parent at home.

The questions for students' participants revolved around their personal and educational background, the benefits of learning English in Nigeria and in today's world, experiences they are having as students learning the English language as a subject and their expectations for the future in relation to their competence with the language. An adapted version was used to interview parents, teachers and principals, and they were clustered around their personal and educational background, the language they would prefer their children to be taught with as well as the role of English in the world and their career. The interview process drew out an explanation on how SSS students imagined identity/community make them passive rather than active agents (Weedon, 1997) of their own learning as they are positioned by the social, educational and political environment.

During the interview process, I found myself in a hybrid position (insider/outsider) which provided me with certain advantages. As an ethnic insider, the shared sociocultural contexts between participants and me, common language (Pidgin English), culture, similar student and teaching experiences as second language users of English facilitated my access to participants and information that might have been difficult to obtain. However, even though this position functioned as an advantage in understanding and describing participants' experiences thoroughly in terms of accuracy and depth, my outsider position made me come to terms with the fact that I might impose my background as a past SSS student in a public school and a public and private SSS English language teacher upon the study, and bring in these experiences to shape the interpretation of my data. In order to preserve the validity of the research process as much as I could, I made sure I did not prompt students into answering questions my way and conducted member-checks with participants at various stages of the interview process to ensure that participants' responses had been represented accurately.

Both positions (i.e. insider and outsider) also acted as incentives to carry out this study. My objective was to examine the influence of language ideologies of English on students' identities/imagined communities. However, the study was also a part of a journey to understand my own experiences as a second language user of English. Much of what I took for granted as a past SSS student and a language teacher in Nigeria (e.g. reasons I needed a credit or distinction in English language examinations to get into the next class or gain admission into university while a pass or failure in my mother tongue would have no effect whatsoever on whether I get promoted or not; reasons English is given primacy on the timetable (more hours allocated to its teaching) and the mother tongues are not and why I had to intentionally look for friends who do not speak my mother tongue so that I can speak English with them and improve on my speaking skills in the language without thinking for a

moment the effect of my action on my mother tongue) has now become a source of inner struggle as a PhD student in the UK when I began to frame them within the larger and unproblematic ideological discourses of English taking place in the world.

I had believed that without the tenacity and hard work I put into learning English, I would not have gained the privileges I now have, which include an opportunity to study and teach in the university both in Nigeria and UK. Nonetheless, the increased awareness I have gained while studying for my B.A. and M.A. in English language in Nigeria, and an M.A. in applied linguistics and TESOL in the UK made me come to terms with the fact that I would have been able to achieve all of that without having to sacrifice fluency in my mother tongue on the altar of the benefits the English language is perceived to give- in my case being a PhD student/associate lecturer in the United Kingdom. Throughout the writing of this research, I found myself constantly negotiating this tension and contradiction, as my desire for the language coexisted with resistance towards English. Part of my challenge was not to close myself to this contradiction or conflict but rather to find ways in which to appropriate these experiences and make the most of them.

4.5.2 Document review

As another method of data collection and source, I reviewed relevant documents in the form of policies on education, which could be found in the National Policy on Education. The existence of English with other languages, and the ideologies that underlie responses to such existence have been central for language policy and planning in Nigeria, and a topic that has been researched in detail by linguists (e.g. Bamgbose 2001). According to Wodak (2006b), politicians rarely mention language and language policies in their speeches, however written documents (e.g. treaties, constitution) of various kinds contain such statements. The situation is even dire in most African countries as these policies are rarely documented, but according to Bamgbose (2001) ―its effects can be seen in action in various domains such as the use of English as official language, medium of instruction in schools, language use in the media and in the legislature" (p.1). As such, these policies can then be said to be explicitly motivated and contested based on socially dominant language ideologies about English (Cummins, 2000, Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, Bamgbose, 2001)- English is the language of the media, legislation and education while the mother tongue is not. Although, this ideology does not quite represent the current reality in some states of the federation- especially in the Southwest.

Therefore, this study will examine the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, where there are propositions regarding the English language in the educational system. The

political empowering or disempowering of languages by the Nigerian government because of their perceived benefits in the grand scheme of things (global world) might influence the pedagogical approach adopted in language education, thereby having real-world consequences for the construction and adoption of identities/imagined communities. Since such policies can be seen as salient identity markers, this study will reveal the implications that such political documents have on policy consumers (i.e. SSS in Nigeria).

While doing CDA, data collection according to Wodak and Meyer (2001) is an ongoing process and therefore, not a phase that must be completed before analysis starts. In light of this, other sources of data in the form of media discourses, especially newspaper articles, and documents from popular media sources with high circulation rate such as The Guardian and Punch, newsletters etc. that might be used to complement the previous data during the course of analysis were incorporated. This data allowed the researcher to examine how the ideological discourses of English present in these medium shapes educational processes and practices. This study therefore relied on existing discourses to draw conclusion exclusively from it, the stimulated discourses gathered via the questionnaires provides statements about the students especially as they recount their past, present and future in terms of their experiences as second language learners of English.

In line with practice in qualitative research, data analysis was inductive and interpretative (Patton, 1990). Interviews were audio taped and transcribed verbatim for analysis. Even though transcribing verbatim was a tedious process, and ―...it will never fully encompass all that takes place during an interview‖ (McLellan, MacQueen and Neidig 2003, p.65), it however helped to make sure what was on record was accurate during the follow-up interview. The transcribed data were coded to identify specific themes that emerge in the light of the framework of identity, language and imagined community. However, coding narratives with reference to emerging themes according to Pavlenko (2007) is just a preliminary analytical step, and cannot count as doing an analysis. Using Pavlenko's (2007) recommendations on how to go about doing an analysis that has to do with bi- and multilinguals‘ narratives, data were analyzed in three different though interrelated ways: content, context and form.With regards to content analysis, the researcher will need to reflect on not just what the learners‘ said, but also what they omitted and reasons for the omissions. Context analysis will help to identify factors either at the global or local level in the construction of identity and imagined communties. How these factors reflect on the ways in which individuals give meaning and structure to their stories will be an analysis of the form. These narratives are then treated ―as discursive constructions, and subject to analysis that

considers their linguistic, rhetorical, and interactional properties, as well as the cultural, historic, political, and social contexts in which they were produced and that shape both the tellings and the omissions" (Pavlenko 2007, pp.180-181).This will enable the researcher to focus on the description and analysis of students' language learning experiences and their non-linguistic outcomes, and at the same time give room for students/teachers/parents/school administrators to begin to reflect on how the societal/educational and political ideological discourses of English interact with and influence the construction of possible imagined community/identities students might adopt and adapt for themselves.

4.6   Ethical considerations

Any research that involves human participants always raise ethical concerns, and this is because the researcher according to Miller and Glassner (1997) needs to respect the rights, needs, desires and values of the participants. In view of this, the research proposal and the protocols to interview participants (SSS students, parents, and teachers) had to be submitted to Anglia Ruskin University's Research Ethics Committee to be approved. Participants' anonymity was protected by replacing their names with pseudonyms and all recorded and transcribed data placed in a secure place. Before the interviews, I stated verbally and in writing the research objectives, and obtained participants' permission by asking them to sign the consent forms. Since no monetary compensation was provided, the briefing highlighted that this interview would create an opportunity for them to have a deeper understanding of themselves as English language speakers and learners.

Chapter 5

Language ideologies of English in the Nigerian society

5.1   Introduction

Following the claim that there are hidden ideological meanings about the English language within the Nigerian society that may mediate the development of visions of identity and future affiliation to SSS students, this chapter will analyse the socio-cognitive (societal, educational and political) processes by which the status and importance of English is constructed and has come to be accepted within local discourses.

People feel that when you don't know English you are not living, you're dead! [student1; SSS3] says a 16 year old girl in a private secondary school in Lagos. This statement is an indicator to the fact that as food and water is a prerequisite to the survival of the human race so also is English a necessary requirement to function within a post-colonial society like Nigeria. Such a response coming from a teenage girl as to the perceived benefit of English might seem overblown and therefore not taken seriously. However, when one begins to put into consideration the affordances that communication skill in English allow within local and globalised societies, her perspective on how important it is to learn the English language will then be fully understood.

It is no wonder then that the language is the medium through which other subjects are taught from as early as the nursery schools even when linguists (e.g. Adegbija, 1994; Oyetade, 2001; Mustapha, 2014) continue to disapprove of its use and individuals are aware of the impact that such a decision will have on the various indigenous languages. However, to explicitly state that the continued dominance of the English language in the Nigerian educational system, and in extension the society is the natural accompaniment of colonisation or globalisation is overly simplistic, as it does not explain how English comes to claim such a status in the context of such a complex relationship that Nigerians hold with the language. On one hand, there is the need to fully embrace the language and all its benefits; on the other hand, there is this nagging sense of betrayal and erosion of one's cultural heritage and identity as two SSS3 student in public and private schools put it

at times if you speak English all the time you can forget your mother tongue or become a stranger to your relatives in your hometown [student 2; SSS3]

a person that does not know how to speak their native language is a curse to the parents [student 3; SSS3]

In order to fully understand these complex responses to English, it becomes pertinent to begin to describe the processes by which students come to accept the social meaning of English as a language imbued with the capacity to determine whether one lives or dies. As Pennycook (2001) points out, what is needed is an account of ―how English is taken up, how people use English, why people choose to use English" (p.62).

The primary claim that will be made in this chapter is that in line with Saville-Troike (2012), there are two levels of contexts that affect language learning: macro-social and micro-social context. The former has to do with explaining second language learning in terms of broader cultural, political and educational environments; while the latter involves potential effects of surrounding circumstances in relation to learning. These two contexts will therefore give us an insight into how language ideologies surrounding English language learning in Nigeria are locally produced and also contribute to the reinforcement of the hegemony of English. The conceptualisation of English that are reproduced within these two contexts consist of four ideologies: ideology of internationalisation, unification, economic participation and language education which operates as a process, rather than a static belief.

5.2 Ideological discourses of English at the macro-societal level: Ideology of internationalisation

In this section, we turn to an examination of the ideologies and beliefs within the Nigerian society that structure the discourses of English at the macro-societal level. This macro-level, which is exemplified by concepts such as ‗global' or ‗world', calls for an analysis of how the benefits that the English language can provide access to because of its status as a ‗global' language is constructed within the society. An identification of these ideologies of English will reveal the complex nature of local imaginations of English as focus is on the agency of individuals, while also not losing sight of the social and discursive constraints that surrounds them. Engaging with this perspective therefore provides an important vantage point to understand how the hegemony of English is not merely an outcome of global forces but also mediated by practices on the grassroots level. The macro-level ideology (that is, the ideology of internationalisation) about the English language and its learning will be discussed in relation to the views stated in experiences of respondents (students, teachers, school administrators and parents).

The ideology of internationalisation constructs English as the leading international language. This term, which has been abbreviated as EIL has been used in a variety of ways which includes Global English, World English, World Standard English, Global Englishes

and World Englishes (Pennycook, 2007; Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Crystal, 1997; Kachru, 1992). It is worthy of note that the use of the singular versus the plural term often relates to an ideological stance that focuses on convergence versus divergence, and advocates for a diversity of different languages or varieties of English as the best answer to questions relating to international communication rather than a single unified code. However, the emphasis in this thesis will be on functional uses of English rather than geographical varieties.

An international language according to Smith (1976), the proponent of this term is one ‒which is used by people of different nations to communicate with one another'' (p.38). It is in this sense, as a language of wider communication between individuals from different countries that the language is seen by the Nigerian society as an international language. This point of view is seen from the responses given below as to the status of English in today's world

Most widespread language in the world [student 1; SSS3]

It is a general language … [student 3; SSS3]

English is a universal language. Mostly used as a means of communication … [student 4; SSS1]

English is everywhere- you speak with everybody [student 5; SSS2]

the leading international language by which we connect with the outside world [teacher 1]

These students and teacher used words such as *most widespread*, *general*, *universal*, *everywhere*, *leading international language* as qualifiers of the English language, and to also further the case that it is one of the most widely used for purposes of international communication. Even though most of these respondents have never left the shores of Africa or even Nigeria, their perceptions resonate with the understanding that the English language is used by virtually everyone and every country of the world. These are the kind of statements which seems so obvious that it has been mostly accepted as a mainstream feature of the 21st century (Graddol, 2006). For this reason, teachers, parents and

principals/vice principals that students ought to be able to use English since it puts them in touch with more people in the world than any other language. Such an interpretation comes from the idea that English shares a predominant space in an abstract and ideologically constructed hierarchy of language use.

According to Crystal (2012), there are no accurate accounts of the current number of English users in the world, therefore the perception that English is used by everyone and can be found everywhere is likely not to be correct. Despite the remarkable growth in the use of English, Crystal (2012) explains that in certain parts of the world, for example in most of the states of the former Soviet Union, English still has a very limited presence. And in some countries, resources are being devoted to maintaining the role of other languages (such as the use of French in several countries of Africa). Through a more critical interpretation, Pennycook (2004) reminds us that because of tightly controlled access to quality English as a Foreign Language education, English is limited to certain individuals and it is used in very specific spheres of interaction, thus contradicting the very idea of English as an international language. How is it possible then that the language has acquired this international status in the minds of Nigerians?

One answer that readily comes to mind is its predominance over other languages in the world today. For instance, Mandarin, Spanish, English, Hindi and Arabic according to Mckay (2002) are the most widely spoken mother tongues, but English is the only language conferred with the title of an international language. Therefore, in numerical terms, it is not used by everyone, rather, its importance rests on what it is used for. Therefore, the advantages of learning English in today's world according to the respondents are that the language serves as the means by which anybody can communicate with people outside their country.

English… makes you speak to other people cus I think most people outside the country speak English also. So it makes you communicate with other people [student 5; SSS2]

English makes me communicate with people outside the country… interact with them freely [student 6; SSS1]

If I travelled abroad, I… will be able to communicate with other people [student 2; SSS3]

When you go out of the country, in case you don't know their language, you can use the English to communicate with them [student 4; SSS1]

If they decide to leave the country tomorrow, they can also make use of it outside [teacher 2]

In future, when they travel abroad they will be able to communicate with the people there [vice principal 1]

When she goes outside, she can communicate with people, with anybody [parent 1]

These responses suggest that it is a given that anybody students come in contact with anywhere outside Nigeria would necessarily be able to speak English. Once they so much as step beyond the borders of the country, the language according to an SSS2 student in a public school would give them the *pass to understand what other people are saying without them talking to you directly*. As such, the language is enough to gain them entry into any society they intend to travel to or settle in. The fact that these students, teachers, parent and school administrators see themselves as non-native speakers of English, and are still able to communicate with the language suggests to them that those whose native tongue might not be English will also have a good grasp of the language. It is therefore from this perspective alludes Mckay (2002); in the fact that the language is spoken by a large number of native speakers of other languages that English becomes ‗the' leading international language.

This single code, which is available to all humanity, would therefore allow for uninhibited communication between two or more people from different cultural backgrounds. Thus, having a single common language for the world offers fascinating possibility for mutual communication. As such, Crystal (2012) asserts that the world has ‗moved from a situation where a world language was a theoretical possibility to one where it is an evident reality" (p.28), and students' responses as to the benefits of English also affirms this perspective

English is the language most people understand [Student 3; SSS3]

You can communicate with anybody you see anywhere in the whole wide world [Student 1; SSS3]

It is a general language and without it you can't communicate because it's a language that everybody understands [student 7; SSS3]

Everywhere I go, and most places in the part of the world speak English. And without English, you can't communicate with anybody [student 6; SSS1]

Student 1:   Most places you go to … erm most people speak English and it would be bad if you don't understand
Researcher: Why do you think it would be bad?
Student 1:   cus if you don't hear English you can't go there and start speaking your language to them. It has to be English; it's compulsory … erm or else nobody would understand you

[student 1; SSS3]

These students believe that in order to be understood at the local and global level, knowledge of English is very important. They are of the opinion that the inter-ethnic communication function that English performs within Nigeria is also what it does in the international community. Their assertions about the language; about it being *...being bad if you don't understand, ...a general language, ...a language that everybody understands* should therefore be seen in the light of their perception of the way they have been able to come to terms with and navigate the complex linguistic diversity inherent in Nigeria. What they have therefore, done is to reinforce the benefits of having one linguistic code to function at the international level based on the linguistic situation of their country.

Arguments of this nature are what Pennycook (1994; 1996) refers to as rationalist ontological arguments which are based on rational rather than empirical grounds. This private school teacher's statement as to the global spread of English sheds more light on this issue

> I think it is also the leading international language probably followed by French and German. I am not good at analysing the..the..the level of importance at the international level. I know English is a leading world language [teacher 2]

Words like ‗I think‘, ‗probably‘ reveals that this teacher is not really sure about the status of the English language, a point of view he confirmed in the next sentence. However, his last sentence with the words ‗I know‘ seem to negate this assertion. The question however is how did he know? By what means was this revealed to him? On what empirical ground is this knowledge based?

Pennycook (2006) explains that the common sense argument is premised on the belief that if people all over the world claim to use English, then that claim should be accepted. Appealing to majority belief about the English language is also what students and this teacher seem to have done because based on their responses one would imagine that they had travelled far and wide and spoken with different people from different nationalities. However, this seem not to be the case as majority of the students and teachers the researcher came in contact with said they had never travelled outside the shores of the country. This discourse is thus related to the commonsensical approach that a ―truly effective use of language should allow all peoples to communicate freely‖ (Pennycook 2008, p. 227), a characteristic that the English language seem to share.

Therefore, since the language is seen in this light, there is the rationale that being able to communicate in one language may lead to better cooperation. This discourse expands on the biblical story about the tower of Babel whereby linguistic diversity was used by God as a punishment for over-ambitious human beings. There is however, a corresponding point of view that contemporary approaches lean towards in relation to this discourse. In the same way that language differences could result in division and confusion, the proponent of the universalist hypothesis asserts that reconciliation and peace would be the consequences of linguistic harmony. In other words, ―the better we understand ourselves, the more peaceful our lives would be‖ (Monbiot 1995, p.2).

> … the world would be at peace with the knowledge of English [student 8; SSS3]

> There would be improvement in international trade [student 9; SSS1]

It would encourage international relationships since everybody would understand each other [student 10; SSS2]

Speaking English brings unity in the world   [student 11; SSS2]

In essence, what students are saying is that in order for there to be *peace, improvement international trade and relationships and unity in the world,* there is the need for a common language- the English language. On the flip side, if individuals do not understand each other, it must be because they are using different languages, and as such English is positioned as the pre-eminent language of international communication and a ‖distinct entity that facilitate or hinder communication" (Pennycook 2006, p. 91).

One could easily imagine where such an assumption comes from as the peaceful coexistence of over 500 tribes (Schneider, 2007) and cultures boils down to one being able to communicate in a neutral language, which is English. However, does this scenario also play itself out at the international arena? Even though there are no direct correlation between English language proficiency and international cooperation and one cannot categorically state that disagreements between nations are linguistically provoked as Seargeant (2008) asserts, yet this assumption is often articulated in favour of this universalist claim. Since the language is perceived as playing a unifying/integrative/peaceful role as a result of its global status, what it therefore entails for its users around the world is that it becomes mandatory for them to be able to speak it

English is a universal language which everybody has to know
[Student 2; SSS3]

As such, the emergence of English as a global or universal language is not the end of the story for international communication problems, because if *everybody has to know* the language because of its universal status as this student is suggesting, then there is no denying the ideological implications of the global spread of English. This is because such a view according to Dua (1994) immediately condemns other languages to a less significant role (that is, for local uses) which Hogben (1963) claims ‖…have little or no relevance to the exacting semantic demands of science" (p.28-29), thereby implying that these languages do not have to be known or learnt.

However, according to Ndebele (1987), the ⎯very concept of an international language/ *universal language (my emphasis)* was an invention of Western imperialism" (p.3-4), and hiding behind such a claim are opinions similar to Phillipson's (1992) description on the spread of English. He coined the term *linguistic imperialism* to describe a situation in which the notion of English as an international language was established, promoted and maintained by the Western and developed world to their benefit. What this translates into, he went on to say, is the post-colonial effort of core English-speaking countries to continuously maintain linguistic, cultural and economic domination over periphery (in most cases, developing) countries. So students' replies about one not being able to communicate or understand others without English and teachers' responses about English being the leading world language simply boil down to the relentless repetition of the stories and tales by the West about the natural and neutral identity of English, and a lingua franca needed to facilitate the work of international communication.

Even though this claim has a modicum of truth in it, issues concerning how such a discourse has managed to find its way into local discourses to become naturalised has not been discussed in details (Pennycook, 2001, 2006; Park, 2009). Therefore, what if we begin to focus on the idea of this _shared common code' within the Nigerian society and begin to question the underlying assumptions and implications behind it. What if we begin to analyse the strategies that constantly keep the claim that just that one linguistic code in the world is central to international communication and unity? I do not want to believe that students, teachers, parents and school administrators wake up one day with these answers already formed in their heads, or that they have all been schooled to reply in the ways listed below whenever questions pertaining to the benefits of English are posed to them.

There is nobody that can live without speaking English [student 7; SSS3]

English language is a license for you to live… [student 6; SSS1]

This belief about English thus typifies Bourdieu's (1991) notion of symbolic domination, whereby legitimacy is given to institutions and their representatives through structured dispositions that the linguistic market inculcates in subjects rather than forced impositions. As a result, it is not enough to point out the power of institutions behind the internationalisation of English, it also becomes necessary to learn how such

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internationalisation is reproduced and naturalised through everyday manifestations of that ideology. The ideological discourses of English at the micro-societal level would therefore help develop links between the global hegemony of English and micro-level practices of individual speakers.

5.3   Ideological discourses of English at the micro-societal level

In order to fully understand the emergence of the macro-societal ideologies, it is imperative to deal with the social account of ideologies at the micro-level. While an awareness of the responses in the previous section helps us describe the benefits of the English language at the macro level of society, there is the need to understand how local perspectives interact with such beliefs to produce a system of valorisation that contributes to the global hegemony of English. This section intends to analyse ideological discourses of English at the micro-level (ideology of unification, economic participation and language education) in order to reveal the underlying beliefs relating to the macro ideologies of English.

5.3.1   socio-political level: Ideology of unification

One of the dominant and pervasive problems in Nigeria is the language question. The primary reason for this is due to the arbitrary merging of once autonomous, monolingual and monocultural societies into a political entity (Uchendu, 1988). As a result, the geo-political entity now known as a country encompasses people with varying languages ranging from between 200 (Jibril, 1982), 400 (Bamgbose, 1971), 450 (Jowitt, 1991) and 521 (Ulrich, 2012). Irrespective of the number of languages, the fact remains that there are several hundreds of languages in the country with over 250 ethnic groups. The national constitution also lends credence to the fact that the country is pluralized along linguistic, ethnic and cultural lines

> National integration shall be actively encouraged whilst discrimination on the grounds of … ethnic or linguistic association or ties shall be prohibited (section 15, sub-section 2)

The above implies that the government recognizes the ethno-linguistic diversity in the country and how it pervades the fabric of the society. This means that the linguistic picture is one of bilingualism or multilingualism, a fact that has been attested to by various researchers (Bamgbose 2001; Adekunle, 1976) and respondents

I speak Yoruba and a little bit of Arabic [student 1; SSS3]

I speak Igbo   [student 4; SSS1]

I can speak Hausa and Yoruba [vice principal 1]

I can speak Egun and Yoruba [teacher 2]

I speak Junkun and Hausa[Parent 1]

All of the above respondents could speak English, but their answers are replies to the question ‗what other languages can you speak apart from English?' Apart from English, these respondents also speak another language which is their indigenous languages. The norm therefore is that individuals in this society have one or more languages in their linguistic repertoire signaling the language of their tribe or their ability to pick up another language in their immediate environment which might necessarily not be their mother tongue. With this in mind, the advantages of being able to speak the English language in Nigeria is that it allows them to

communicate with anyone be it Yoruba, Hausa or Igbo… express your opinions everywhere you go… [student 1; SSS3]

communicate with anybody not of my ethnic group [student 3; SSS3]

communicate with different ethnic groups [student 2; SSS3]

communicate with people not speaking your language [student 4; SSS1]

used as a medium of communication among the different ethnic groups [teacher 2]

In societies where more than one language is spoken, the need for a common language is keenly felt. So students' and teachers' responses as to the benefits of English within Nigeria suggest that the language bridges the gap in communication among the various ethno-linguistic groups that make up Nigeria as this respondent suggests

> I schooled in the North so I am more conversant with Hausa. When
> I come across someone speaking Yoruba for example, I will speak
> English cus that is the language we both understand (parent 2)

> My daddy is Hausa, since I speak Yoruba my mum's language
> and he doesn't understand Yoruba, English is the only way I can
> connect with him [student 1; SSS3]

However, we are left wondering as to why the English language is made to fill this gap? We cannot really state that it is due to lack of languages that the English language has been made to function in this position? Why then, out of the numerous languages in the country is the language allowed to perform such a role?

Like most African countries, Nigeria's composition is courtesy of colonization. This led to the arbitrary merging of once autonomous, monolingual and monocultural societies into a political entity thereby creating a country rich in diversity but in dire need of a language of unity. The English language has however been given the task of bringing ‖under one umbrella people from diverse languages and ethnic groups…" (Njoku and Izuagba 2004, p.5). Answers to the questions posed above about why English has been given the role of a unifying language within the country are therefore usually based on the premise that the language is seen as politically and culturally neutral as the National Policy on Education (NPE) implicitly suggests

> Government appreciates the importance of language as a means
> of promoting social interaction and national cohesion… [9]

The statement from the NPE does not explicitly refer to the English language, however whether it is assumed or implied, as far as ‗promoting social interaction and national cohesion' is concerned, no other Nigerian language possesses the capacity and neutrality to achieve the stated objectives except the English language. The language has no ethnic

affiliation, and as such does not provoke any ethnic hostility. This is the reason Schneider (2007) concludes that ‒Nigeria counts as the most strongly Anglicized country in sub-Saharan Africa and has fully embraced the English language as an ethnically neutral tool for everyday formal communication" (p.204). Respondents are also of this opinion as they assert that the language could do the following

> There would be easy communication, not hiding anything…
> [student 1; SSS3]

> We would understand ourselves better [student 4; SSS1]

Not hiding anything and *understanding ourselves better* is an important feature in this mulita-lingual, multi-ethnic and pluralistic nation because according to Echezona (2013), there would be gross insecurity if there is no common language that each of the divergent linguistic/cultural groups can speak and write. The consequences of a country speaking with over 500 different voices with gaps in communication coming up intermittently is misunderstanding and misinterpretation which often breeds suspicion, bitterness and hostility (Olagoke, 1979; Njoku and Udeh 2013). The responses below suggests this assertion

> Nigeria is a multilingual society, and the only way we can get ourself connected together is to take the colonial language introduced to us [student 1; SSS3]

> English is the language keeping the country together. Even though most people speak pidgin but it has been stigmatized. Some people are not favourably disposed to it. I am not either so I don't encourage it on the school premises [Principal 1]

> student: The only way we can work together and not quarrel is to accept English as our lingua franca. For example now when I am with my friends, and anyone of them is speaking their mother tongue maybe Hausa or Yoruba I erm.. feel..will feel that she is talking about me to that other person and that is why she is speaking her language

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<pre>
        researcher: so what will you do when you feel that way
        student: of course, I will fight with her and tell her to stop it.
                       And if she refuses, maybe I will stop talking to her
                                                          [student 4; SSS1]
</pre>

These participants know that the linguistic diversity in Nigeria is a reality which cannot be ignored. As long as Nigeria wishes to exist as a nation, and does not want to witness another civil war it has no choice but to hold its more than 500 component nationalities together through the English Language. The English language, according to Achebe (2009) is therefore ─not marginal to Nigerian affairs, it is quite central as individual can use it to speak across more than 500 linguistic frontiers to fellow Nigerians" (p.100). As such, in order to prevent inter-ethnic conflicts which the use of the mother tongues might create, a trans-ethnic language, which is English is chosen.

There are however linguists (Agundu, 2009; Olaoye, 2010) who believe that any of the mother tongues could be made to serve this purpose. They are of the belief that it is impossible to regard the English language as politically and culturally neutral, stating as some of its negative influences the devastating effect it has had on the self-actualization ethos of the Nigerian nation. To them, the indigenous languages are symbols of national identity, national pride and national independence, and platform for the expressions of the culture that the invasion of Western cultural forms has distorted.

However, even though the clamor for the promotion of the indigenous languages is motivated by the need to have a sense of belonging, group identity and to finally break free from the shackles of any form of colonialism which is understandable, the ethno-linguistic configuration of Nigeria and its attendant problems might make this unrealizable as this respondent suggest

<pre>
        Not that I am condemning any mother tongue but cus we seem to
        pick any of these local languages from the environment; you pick
        yours I pick mine the diversity and conflict will be too much (HOD
        Art class 1)
</pre>

From this statement, what these linguists fail to acknowledge is the fact that no ethnic group is ready and willing to accept one indigenous language over theirs because the promotion of any indigenous language will inevitably lead to the promotion of the cultural and ethnic awareness

of its speaker. For example, some Nigerians according to Achebe (2009) vehemently oppose the token respect accorded to the three major languages (Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) when newscasters say ‗good night' in them after reading a half-hour bulletin in English. Such resentment could quickly escalate into social upheaval if such respect is taken beyond saying just ‗good night'. These respondents are of the opinion that war, disunity and conflict would be the consequences if any of the indigenous languages are made to replace English in terms of its unifying functions.

> It will create tribal war if you choose any mother tongue (Vice principal 1)

> There won't be unity if we speak any of the mother tongue. There would be conflict because everyone would want their language to be spoken [student 4; SSS1]

> If we all speak our mother tongues… we wouldn't be having a focus, oneness, unism (Parent 1)

From the above, one can conclude that the acceptance of English is because of its unifying role such that diverse people with diverse languages scattered all around the country could come together to discuss in a common language, thereby resulting in a stronger and united Nigeria. With this one could infer that national integration involves the emergence of a nation-state with one common language. This informs the submission of Isayev (1977, p. 92) that ―language is a nation's most obvious and most important attribute. There is no such thing as a nation without a common linguistic basis." The inference from Isayev's observation is that for national integration, cohesion and development, there must be a language acceptable to all in running a nation's affairs.

Therefore, because of Nigeria's colonial past and her linguistic diversity the choice of English as a symbol of national unity has become a predictable outcome.

> Being able to communicate with one another is why we have accepted English leaving our L1. The amalgamation that took place in 1914, that is, the bringing together of the Northern and Southern protectorate wasn't just a political amalgamation of people but a

cultural one too. So that amalgamation necessitated the use of the

English Language as the only language that unites all the diverse

cultural groups and it still remains at that level up till this moment

(parent 3)

The only reason this language is still lurking about and will continue to lurk about is that it serves an actual need like the ones stated below

I can communicate with everybody wherever I go even though they

are not from my erm… erm tribe; they are not speaking my mother

tongue, I will be able to communicate with them [student 8; SSS3]

Help me to communicate fluently with other people in Nigeria that

do not speak my mother tongue [student 6; SSS1]

I like English cus everybody understand English especially in this

Lagos where everybody understands English [student 9; SSS1]

I can communicate with everyonein naija [student 11; SSS2]

However, it would be relatively simple if the choice of English as a neutral language were merely one of pragmatic convenience since its use would boil down to facilitating inter-ethnic communication as respondents have claimed. The issue here involves much more than the fact that neutrality of the English language engenders no ethnic hostility or that it bridges the communication gap amongst a people with diverse languages. According to Achebe (2009), the real point in all this is that ―language is a handy whipping boy to summon and belabor when we have failed in some serious way" (p.102). In other words, individuals play politics with language, and in so doing conceal the reality and the complexity of their situation from themselves and from those naïve enough to put their trust in them.

The fact that language conflict amongst ethnic groups exist or linguistic nationalism – *the pride one takes in belonging to a particular language community*[principal 2] seems to be lacking in Nigeria are pointers to issues that Hobsbawm (1990) claims have to do with power, status, politics and ideology. This respondent explains

> history reveals the dynamism that is in culture and emerging trends. Usually stronger cultures seem to swallow smaller ones eventually. The solution is to get the best of the emerging cultures and work out how it can be a blessing to the nation and to the world. We should not be lazy to adapt and keep moving [parent 2]

What this parent is therefore saying is that any time there is a situation whereby two or more languages and cultures come into contact, the stronger culture will eventually subsume the lesser ones. The word _stronger' here does not imply numerical strength rather it has to do with the idea of who the speakers of that particular language are as he went on to explain

> my wife is from Gora Bafai, while my hometown is Zonkwa. I am Bajju, while she is Atyap. I do not speak my native language but I speak fluent Hausa because that was what people around me spoke as a child [Parent 2]

For this parent, his language and culture was swallowed up by the Hausa community because that language and its people have the most influence in the Northern part of Nigeria, thus his inability to speak his native language.

The reason it seems that there is the belief in the discourse of one language, one nation is because participants are aware of what would happen if any of the indigenous languages is made to function in the capacity of a neutral language. From their perspective, the international status of the English language gives it an advantage over other languages; an advantage (e.g. political, economic) that is also enjoyed by its speakers. What this scenario captures for them is that choosing any indigenous language to act as a symbol of national unity would also mean that such a language and its people would not only have the social, economic and political wealth in their favour but their own language and culture might end up being subsumed by that language. Hence, the _tribal war' and the _conflict' that the society would face if it decides to revise the role and status of English vis-à-vis any of the indigenous languages.

Therefore, can we say categorically that Nigeria being a multi-ethnic nation cannot achieve social, political and economic unity without the English language bearing in mind the hostility and resentment that would arise with the use of the mother tongues in this capacity and the planning and logistics needed for the replacement of English? Banjo (1996) explains that

if a target date was to be set, it would be necessary to ensure that the entire load borne by the language was effectively shifted on to another language. This would in particular, include the use of English as the language of government, legislature and the judiciary (p.28)

Direct answers to this question posed may not be immediately available and may still not be available in a long time given that whatever answers given in terms of whether national unity can or cannot be achieved with or without English will only pinpoint issues pertaining to just language and not on the political, economic and social issues that serves as the spring board of such questions. Using English as a national language may not per se guarantee the unity of the country as it has not been able to do so thus far, likewise replacing it with or using it in conjunction with one of the indigenous languages may not also guarantee integrative social bond. This view is in line with the Human Development Report (2004) that it is certain that conflicts in the socio-political history of any nation emanate as a result of economic inequalities and struggles over power not as a result of any other reason. In this regard, it can be argued that language conflict or loyalty does not exist in themselves, rather they reflect conflicts at other levels over other issues related to the distribution of economic and social goods. They are therefore symbolic manifestations of other grievances on a political, economic or social level as will be discussed in the next section.

5.3.2 socio-educational level: Ideology of economic participation

The ideology here is based on the argument that supports some sort of causal relationship between competence in English and economic reward. Examples of the relationship between these two variables are seen in the statement from respondents as to the perceived benefits of learning English in Nigeria

English help in becoming a doctor; they cannot give me a certificate written in Yoruba language [student 2; SSS3]

Achieve most of my dream… that of becoming an architect [student 5; SSS2]

English can help me to become a lawyer … [student 3; SSS3]

English… will make me become a nurse. My mother tongue can't make me become a nurse [student 1; SSS3]

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These examples reveal how the English language is implicated in the pursuit of the imagined identities of students (doctor, lawyer, nurse, and architect); identities that are believed to grant access to improved social opportunity which can then be transferred into economic capital. Parents, teachers and principal also have this same belief as to the economic value of English.

> If he learns to speak English properly, he can actually have advantage over others. For example, during job interviews, most companies will likely choose those that can speak English than those that can only speak the native language [parent 1]

> For you to get a job in Nigeria, at least students must understand English [teacher 1]

> They will be able to get good jobs [teacher 2]

> For future use of students, like if they want to get a job [vice principal 1]

There is therefore the awareness among Nigerians that the knowledge of English (cultural capital) can be exchanged for social (e.g. higher social status, acceptance, connections etc.) and economic capital (e.g. job, income etc.). These forms of capital coined by Bourdieu (1986) serves as a tool for social reproduction and transformation. It is as a result of an expectation of a ‗good return'‗- one that would grant students access to hitherto unattainable resources that parents, teachers, principals and even students invest (i.e. commit emotional, financial and intellectual resources) in the English language. Beliefs of this sort (i.e. the knowledge of English equals economic advancement) are thus reflected in the reasons individual demands according to Euromonitor International (2010) are the ―largest single driver of English education in Nigeria… resulting in more than 50 new private language schools opened over 2007-2009 in Lagos" (p.58).

This relationship has also been the focus of theorising for a number of scholars, who have gone so far as to adopt metaphors (e.g. Bourdieu‗s (1991) ‗linguistic capital', Kachru‗s (1986) ‗linguistic power') for their discussion on the connection between English education and economic benefits. The idea behind these metaphors, that is without English one cannot access economic possibilities are by no means surprising given that English language skills are regarded as a key requirement for individuals to obtain better-paid jobs.

There is a common requirement for individuals to have a high level of English … the section of job advertisements in newspapers and online attest to that [parent 2]

I was going through the Punch newspaper last week and saw a job position where the company … erm can't remember the name now specifically wrote that they need people with excellent command of the written and spoken English. I remembered those words exactly because I said it loud so that both my sons can hear and know why they actually need to be able to speak good English [parent 3]

Having good spoken and written English is seen as a major advantage in the job market [Teacher 2]

The common requirement for English is reflected in salary gap between English speakers and non-speakers, estimated at 25-30%, depending on position [Euromonitor International 2010, p.58]

These job advertisements mentioned by these parents and the statistics given about the salary differentiation between speakers with English skills and those lacking in such language skills buttress the recurrent belief held about the acquisition of English and economic advancement. As a result of its link with well-paid employment and social prestige, the language has thus become the socioeconomic barometer for success. Even though these parents and teachers seem to give the impression that all the requirements needed to get a (better-paying) job is English language competence, such assumptions might not be true as there are other criteria often stated in these job advertisements. However, such skills are often tethered to the whims of one's ability to also speak English since, for example, the other very important requirement (i.e. educational qualification) can only be gotten through competence in English as *they cannot give me a certificate written in Yoruba language* [student 2; SSS3]and *my mother tongue can't make me become a nurse*[student 1; SSS3]. It is therefore understandable when individuals within the society begin to believe that the link between these two variables (i.e. English language knowledge and economic value) are direct and straightforward. But the question is, are these two variables unequivocally connected?

In order to establish whether there is any kind of glaring association between competence in English and job prospects, the simple thing to do is to find out how many Nigerian graduates are actually employed, and if those with jobs were employed due to their competence in English.

> The Minister for the Economy and Minister of Finance, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala quoting figures from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) in Abuja last week stated that no fewer than 5.3 million youths are jobless in the country, while 1.8 million graduates enter the labour market every year… she further explained that the unemployment figure has been accumulating over the years. In her words, ―this did not start this year, neither did it start last year"… [This Day Newspaper, 13th April, p.2, Baobab]

> World Bank statistics, last year, put the number of Nigerians living in destitution at 100 million, while its latest report released last week put Nigeria among the five poorest countries in the world. The high rate of unemployment and low per capita income in the country are just two of the indices used by the World Bank in arriving at this assessment [This Day Newspaper, 13th April, p.2, Baobab]

What this statistics implies is that the high level of graduate unemployment in Nigeria shows that formal education, which is taught in English is no longer an immunity to unemployment. Although there might be other reasons for this misnomer like the inability of the economy to absorb the number of graduates being churned out of universities every year as explained by the Minister of Economic and Finance, however the discourse of English as a passport to economic success still reflects in the perception of individuals –both rich and poor- in discussing life chances for their children.

The surprising fact is that parents, teachers and students are aware that significant unemployment remains despite their belief.

> Having good spoken and written English is seen as a major advantage in the job market… however I am aware that many graduate from the university each year, and out of these only a few

of them get employed each year. This is a loss for the country as a whole [Teacher 2]

So many youth looking for work are actually graduates who have left the four walls of the university with very good grades but most have had to look for less than honourable jobs with very low pay to support themselves. It's sad when I see this happen … [parent 1]

My brother who finished from erm… erm UNILAG 2 years now does not have a job. I pity him because after all the wahala of WAEC, JAMB, post JAMB, 4+ years in the university and NYSC no job. He has enrolled for a computer programme now to at least keep busy… I pray that doesn't happen to me o [student 4; SSS1]

The sense of disillusionment one encounters while going through the above responses is what Pennycook (2007) refers to as the myth of English as a delusionary language. Such that, the ideological belief that competence in the English language would necessarily translate into being able to participate economically in the society only holds out few prospects for the recipients of such ideologies, as is the case with these students. Therefore, the language capital Omoniyi (2014) of English, along with the knowledge and skills acquired during education, do not necessarily translate into employment for graduates. The use of this term instead of Bourdieu's (1991) linguistic capital boils down to the fact that Omoniyi's (2014) capital better explains the competition and hierarchy that exists in a multilingual setting like Nigeria whereby, the ex-colonial language (English) competes with the local indigenous languages in terms of status and functions; while Bourdieu's (1994) capital is the characteristic of individuals and groups within a monolingual analytical framework e.g. Received Pronunciation (RP) in English and regional varieties. On the basis of this distinction, language capital will be useful to explain the fact that even though the English language is important in Nigeria because of its perceived symbolic value, it has however not yielded any economic or social benefit for these graduates.

Although parents, teachers, school authorities and even the students themselves realise that they may not have transformed lives as a result of education, yet their hopes are still engaged by this discourse. Does their hope hinges on the fact that these unemployed graduates are not competent in the language as this parent and teacher suggests

What I know is that highly competent people, especially in English get jobs all the time in Nigeria. .... I will not employ a graduate whose English, written or spoken, is prone to errors… those with a good command of English usually have more choices and chances…to get good jobs in the society. You have no chance at all if you decide not to learn English, no chance at all [parent 2]

Most Nigerian graduates are not employable. Their spoken and written English is bad. The directors don't want them [teacher 2]

Statements like this are often what is used by respondents (e.g. parents, teachers, government, school authorities and students) to go to any length to ensure mastery of the English language.

Researcher:	What language do you speak at home
Student:	English ... only
Researcher:	your parents don't speak your mother tongue with you?
Student:	no, they don't allow it
Researcher:	they don't allow it?
Student:	yeah

[student 6; SSS1]

We studied Igbo language in SSS 1, but I stopped taking it when it became optional. I didn't like it at all and when it became optional, I dropped it like hot cake. It just made more sense to learn the English language… [student 11; SSS2]

Most ethnic groups in Nigeria … see English as a status symbol, it equals economic opportunities. Because of these considerations, they prefer to teach their children how to use the language, even at the level of infancy. Instead of English becoming the second language of their children, it is therefore the first [parent 3]

What obtains in the country is a situation whereby because of the value placed on English and what is believed to lie beyond the door that it unlocks, learning the language is therefore the casting of a death sentence on the indigenous languages. Even with individual's decisions not to keep the mother tongue to work alongside with English, there are those (unemployed graduates) as implied by [parent 2] who are still yet to master the intricacies of the language, hence their inability to get jobs.

If we agree with the assertions made by [parent 2] and [teacher 2] for argument's sake then what is implied is that the total number of unemployed graduates in the country are not competent in English, a statement that is negated by the response from this parent

> People holding down competent jobs- better paying jobs may have nothing to do with the fact that they can speak English. There are people you come in contact with in some office that when they open their mouths to talk, you would wonder if they actually pass through the walls of a school talk less of graduating from one [parent 3]

The implication of the above statement is that it might be true that there are unemployed graduates with less than okay English language skills, but that cannot and should not be said for all graduates. Being able to get a job according to this parent might just simply be due to something else other than the fact that individuals have some competence in English. Whatever that is, is not hinted here and not the focus of this thesis' discussion, however it is useful to state that being employed can be correlated to other determinants in the job market. If that is the case, it would be useful then and more to the point to assert that there other forces at play as to why graduating from the university with a degree taught in English does not bring about 60% (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2011) of graduates closer to a job. We are therefore left with the nagging question that if all these number of graduates are unemployed, how did the connection between the discourse of English language education and economic benefits remain so strong?

In getting to the root of this assumption, it is pertinent to look at how the social position occupied by individuals (excluding student respondents) influences such expectations. For example,

> I am an English language teacher in a private school… a kind of high esteem is being placed on teachers that use English as we are often called upon to write letters, help to answer queries, and often act as secretaries to write down minutes during minutes [Teacher 2]

I work as a medical doctor in a government hospital. I don't think I would have been able to get the job or perform my duties without a knowledge of English. Maybe, I would have been able to get away without a knowledge of English in the villages where there are really no good hospitals only few clinics, but I don't think I would have been able to do that in Lagos. Most of my clients don't even speak my dialect anyway [parent 3]

I have been able to use English to earn my livelihood as a banker. Applications was written in the language, interview was also done in it. Now I carry out my job functions and role in it [parent 4]

I trade in market… English difficult for me. My daughter learn English.. very important… my sons too. I know want them be like me [parent 5]
(I am a trader in the market. English is very difficult for me to speak. It is important that my daughter and sons learn to speak the language so that they don't end up like me)

Their beliefs about the economic value of English is thus seen as a function of their social position based on their social experiences, which explains the desire of parents whose level of education is either very low or high, teachers, and school administrators to want their children/students to be educated in English. Respondents' expectations about the social and economic rewards that English confers are therefore to a large extent dependent on their belief that proficiency in English would grant them access to social groups, which would otherwise be closed to them.

However, what is being witnessed according to the replies by these parents below is a replay of the need for English that was evident during the British colonial administration, and even during the first decade after independence where it is assumed that if one knew English well one would get ahead in colonial economic and administrative structures

The perception used to be true… when Nigeria had at least the medium class and the lower class, the working class okay. Then the country was being run at that time ehn with the knowledge of the

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British system. The middle class was the class of the noble, the gentlemen who have access to schools, who can be civil servants, who can be teachers, who can be professors okay and they lived in the government reserved areas…they live in the main building while the lower class lives in the boys quarters okay. So the children of those in the boys' quarters want to live in the main building too and it appears that you have to speak English to belong to the main building… [Parent 3]

This statement vividly describes the reasons which underpin the contexts of English language acquisition, use and its supposedly imagined and actual social and material benefits in recent times. The centre-periphery dichotomy exemplified by the middle and lower class respectively due to the way the English language allows/prohibits an individual to gain entry into closed social formations is the major driving force for respondents desire to learn English. Literacy in English which was considered a prerequisite participate to move from the periphery (boys' quarters) to the centre (main building) therefore drives the demand for English. As a result of the fact that this scenario has panned out for most people, they have however come to believe that that would continually be the norm.

However, there is enough evidence to believe that over time, the relative value of English has progressively been eroded, a state of affair that participants might not be aware of or deem possible. Taking our analogy from the statement made by [parent 3]that the ability to be proficient in English was a major asset that gives access to a privileged socio-economic at some point in the history of Nigeria *in the mid80s towards the early 90s and late 90s*, the normal response should therefore be that the need to learn this skill has become so obvious that it is hardly relevant to use any form of theory or carve out a section in a thesis to give further explanations between English language skills and socio-economic benefit. The issue with this assumption, nevertheless is the fact that as the need or demand to learn English spreads (as it certainly will, if only because it promises economic rewards), the socioeconomic significance of the language will also increase driving upwards the remuneration or what Grin (2001) refers to as ‗premia' that accrues to proficient English language speakers.

Yet as individuals continue to learn it, the supply of English language skills will increase and ultimately becomes commonplace driving down the ‗premia' of it speakers. The answer to which of the two consequences will dominate is already reflected in some of the responses made by respondents as to the non-translation of the linguistic capital of

English, along with the knowledge and skills acquired during education into employments for graduates. In other words, the rewards of producing a symbolically valuable speech becomes less and less, and other skills (e.g. competence in languages other than English) might be required to achieve socio-economic success. The discourse on the ideology about English and its perceived economic value is therefore composed of generic societal beliefs and commonsensical assumptions. There is no doubt about the fact that English is worth learning, and _having' it allows one to realise certain ambitions and expectations, however the limitations of such beliefs are made manifest when other broader issues (for example, an increase in the supply of English or trite remunerations of its speakers) is taken into consideration.

5.3.3   Edu-political level: Ideology of language education

With the level of proficiency in English being a major indicator of social class and education, it is not surprising that for many people there is a fuzzy boundary between being educated and knowing English.

> English will make people know I am educated and if I can't speak
> English, people will think I am a quirk doctor [student 1; SSS3]

> Nowadays if you speak Yoruba around people they will ask is this
> one illiterate? [student 3; SSS3]

> If you speak your language too much and not English, people will
> think you are an illiterate [student 5; SSS2]

> If I come to school but I do not know how to speak English
> fluently, it would affect me and my classmates will laugh at me and
> think I am illiterate and from a poor family [student 6; SSS1]

> If you spoke your mother tongue, you will be seen as someone who
> wasn't educated [student 4; SSS1]

Even though there are different concepts and ways of explaining what education means (e.g. well informed, schooled, well read, knowledgeable, literate, discerning etc.), and none of these synonyms have any language preference attached to them, however there seems to be a

consensus judging from students responses that to be educated is to be competent in English. Therefore, not being able to speak in English automatically translate into one being *laughed at* [student 6; SSS1] or positioned as an *illiterate* [student 5; SSS2] [student 6; SSS1] or a *quirk doctor* [student 1; SSS3]; identities that are not in line with students' future imagined selves.

A most important factor which has amplified the emphasis on this direct correlation between the English language and education as explained by this parent is that

> most ethnic groups in Nigeria … are not proud of their languages.
> The scenario is compounded by the fact that they have an intimate
> romance with the English language and they equate education with
> the effective use of the English language… [parent 1]

This statement should not come as a surprise since the various mother tongues unexamined, undeveloped and distorted as a threat are outside the discourses of education or modernity (Adegbija, 2004), and connected with such a discourse are individuals who speak these languages. As with the students, these ethnic groups detach themselves from their various mother tongues and strike up an ‗intimate romance' with English in order not to be labelled or tagged as uneducated, or rather in the words of the students an illiterate; identity options that students and parents categorize as deficient.

Therefore, whenever formal education is mentioned in Nigeria, there is a taken-for-granted assumption that only the English language can and should serve as its vehicle; a powerful language ideology that has a profound effect on the way in which the indigenous languages are seen. However, while it might appear that this argument is not totally true since the National Policy on Education included that ―... every child shall learn the language of the immediate environment…" (NPE, 2004, Para. 10a), the reality according to Adegbija (2004) is that the mother tongues are constructed in deficit terms (that is, in the best case, they are seen as supplemental to education, and in the worst case as dangerous, a distraction or a hindrance) when it comes to the medium through which education is achieved. Since respondents want access to this legitimate language in order not to be identified as illiterates, they therefore are not interested in challenging the linguistic hegemonic structure that endorses the dominance of English and relegates the mother tongue to the margins in education. Based on this reason, it seems that respondents (e.g. teachers, parents, principals) who should implement the policies stated in the NPE have their own agendas, which conflict with state policies and reinforces patterns of privilege.

One of such cases of a divergence between what the policy says and reality is the fact that English is taught at a very early stage in the educational system. This is shown to be true as students in these various schools explain how long they have been learning the language – which often is right from pre-nursery/nursery or as a student claims right from her mother's womb.

I have been learning English all my life [student 6; SSS1]

How old I am now is exactly the number of years I have been learning English [student 1; SSS3]

I started learning English since kindergarten [student 5; SSS2]

Student: I started learning English from my mother's womb.
Researcher: Really?
Student: yes, it's true because my mum said she only spoke English to me when I was in her womb, and erm.. it continued when I got into nursery school

[student 2; SSS3]

These students' statements negate what is stated in the National Policy on Education (NPE) as to what should be the medium of education during these early years of school. The policy explicitly expresses that

Government shall ensure that the medium of instruction is principally the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community...

Early childhood/pre-primary Education (*NPE* Para. 14c)

The medium of instruction in the primary school shall be the language of the environment for the first 3 years. During this period, English will be taught as a subject…

Primary Education (*NPE* Para. 19e and 19f)

One would think that with words like _shall ensure', _principally' and _the medium of instruction in the primary school *shall be* the language of the environment for the first 3 years…' the pronouncement in this policy would at least be taken seriously and adhered to. However, this seems not to be the case judging by these students' responses as to when they

had been exposed to the learning of English. So even though the provision for language teaching and learning in the NPE as stated above is laudable, however implementing it in schools and the classroom is in doubt.

Another form of resistance to the dictates of the policies is that when students get to the class (junior and senior secondary school) where they begin to learn English side by side with the mother tongues (the core languages that should be taught in the junior and senior secondary schools are English, French and one of the major Nigerian languages, *NPE* Para. 24a and 25c), the latter language (English) always take precedence over the former (Yoruba, Igbo or Hausa) as the number of hours used to teach both languages vary significantly.

> Each class learn English for 3hours per week, and 1 hour 20 minutes per week for the mother tongue [student 1; SSS3]

> 3 hours 40 minutes in a week per class for English and 40 minutes for the mother tongue [student 9; SSS1]

> Each class has 4 periods (40 minutes per period) for English, and 1 period for the other languages [student 11; SSS2]

> 240 minutes in a week for English, 80 minutes in a week [vice principal 1]

> English is done daily (40 minutes) in all the class, and Yoruba, Hausa or Ibo is learnt just once in a week [teacher 1]

The responses to the question how many hours in the week is allocated to the teaching of the mother tongue and English shows the status and importance of both languages in the hierarchy of languages in Nigeria. Learning English *every day of the week or four periods*, and one of the dominant indigenous languages *just once a week or one period* reveals how insignificant the learning of these languages are in relation to English. It should therefore not come as a surprise when some teachers are vehemently opposed to using the mother tongues strictly as medium of instruction in school at whatever level in the educational system.

Researcher: if you had a chance to use the [MT] as medium of instruction would you go for it

Teacher: no way, it's dangerous

Researcher: what do you mean by that?

Teacher: to use the mother tongues to teach in school is dangerous; no it's dangerous because when a child is about to write his SSCE exams, the questions will not be set in the [MT] and that will be outright failure if he is not able to interpret the questions

[teacher 2]

This teacher's response indicates how the various indigenous languages are positioned and perceived in the minds of most Nigerians. The word ‗dangerous' used to describe the mother tongues if it were ever going to be used as medium of instructions not only marginalises the role of the local languages in education, but also indisputably perpetuates idealistic notions of English being the only rationale choice for education. Therefore, inasmuch as access to primary, secondary and tertiary schools is dependent on performance in national examinations written in English, there will always be strong teacher and even parental resistance to vernacular language instructions or even to the vernaculars.

Informal laws are therefore created within school premises to ensure that the mother tongues are only spoken during the *once a week or one period* time allocated to it on the school's timetable, while parents only permit their own indigenous language to be spoken occasionally or not at all within the home.

In Nigeria as a school as a person even the government as well does not make it a rule or not that the [MT] should not be spoken. You can speak it, however there are some families and schools who believe that the best way to give a child the opportunity of catching the language very well, the English language very well is to take the [MT] away from the child all the time [teacher 2]

So, even though there are statements like this in the policy stating that the ‗government appreciates the importance of language as a means of promoting social interaction and national cohesion; and preserving cultures. Thus, every child shall learn the language of the immediate environment…" (NPE, 2004, Para. 10a), there are also statements

like the ones made below by parents, teachers and students that do not acknowledge the proposition made by the government.

> My child speaks my language but not too often. If we started speaking the native dialect to them it would interfere with their knowledge of English [parent 2]

> When a student who speaks the same language with me happen to speak it to me either within or outside the school premises, I would immediately ask such student ‗why are you speaking Yoruba with me? Didn't you go to school? Can't you speak English? [vice principal 1]

> My mummy said it is English I should first focus on before I start my mother tongue [student 6; SSS1]

> I speak English at home because my parents told me that my mother tongue will affect me if I speak too much of it. It will affect me not to really know what I am saying in English [student 5; SSS2]

> I don't really speak Yoruba at home cus my parents don't allow it. They said too much of speaking Yoruba makes someone to become an illiterate outside. And if you are an illiterate, it's not going to be easy to get a job outside [student 3; SSS3]

We see from these responses how learners are exposed at an early age to the idea that English is special or of superior status early in their schooling career and at home. Despite the fact that some of the respondents are aware that literacy development is best approached by means of mother tongue instruction [e.g. *the acquisition of the mother tongue at the appropriate age also enhances the knowledge of the English language* [teacher 3], *the school should make languages compulsory for the children. They would better be able to express themselves in English writing and speaking* [parent 3]], they are still willing to do whatever it takes to insulate their children or students from the mother tongue to induce facility in the use of the English language. Therefore, the prominent role that English is playing in the educational system in Nigeria is really not about the adoption of or learning in an abstract and neutral

code, but about the values and ideologies (e.g. education is best approached when students are immersed in an English-only instruction, English language education is the only education worth anything in Nigeria, indigenous languages are useless when it comes to the educational setting etc.) that have come to be absorbed with such kind of education.

The fact that students are taught English once they are enrolled in school while the three indigenous languages are only taught from the junior secondary schools, the number of hours used to teach both languages vary significantly and also that students are barred from speaking their various indigenous languages at school or even at home suggests that learners will have their first 9/10 years of life and schooling immersed in highly monolingual practices- a stark contrast to the NPE ideals of multilingualism with its social interaction, national cohesion and cultural preservation agenda. As a result, respondents answers are not only a reflection of how these languages are perceived, but also how these perceptions mediate everyday discourses in schools and society at large.

Since competence in English language is constructed and positioned as cultural capital and having currency (Bourdieu, 1991) that could get students to be transformed into legitimate identities as literates and educated – identities that will guarantee a chance for a better educational, economic and social opportunities, individuals with authority (e.g. parents and teachers) are willing to do whatever it takes to get these students socialised (and ultimately assimilated) into the ideology of English as the language of education right from home and at the beginning of formal schooling respectively. And then through constant re-enactment of societal and institutional behaviours and practices over time, English becomes normalised and naturalised (Foucault, 1980), and the identities (e.g. ‗literate' ‗educated) that come with its learning as the only ones that counts.

The term 'competence' as used in the previous paragraph is key here because one is not expected to get the same return from possessing low level of competence in reading, speaking, writing and listening as one with high level of competence. For these students, the return for learning English is their belief that the language would take them from where they are now (SSS students) to where they want to be (e.g. doctors, lawyers, bold etc,). However, they are aware of the fact that getting to where they want to be involves their ability to be fluent in the language, for example *when you know how to speak English very well, you will not embarrass yourself in front of people...* [student 2; SSS 3]; *like being a lawyer, I have to be able to speak good English. So if I am maybe trying to defend somebody I will be able to speak very good English instead of me making mistakes and embarrassing myself or client* [student 2; SSS 3]. It is not just about being able to speak English but being able to speak it

very well and *good*. As such due to the market value of possessing very good and not so very good English language skills, the linguistic capital of English Bourdieu (1991) is manifested as there are intra-language competition and hierarchy within the English language learning continuum as well as inter-language competition that exists between the ex-colonial language (English) and the local indigenous languages within the multicultural setting that is Nigeria.

This chapter has identified specific ideologies of English in the Nigerian environment, ideologies that SSS students must embrace in order to survive in the local and global economy. Within this purview, the importance placed on English as a language of internationalisation, unification, economic participation and language education in the Nigerian society is justified, leading to heavy investments in English language learning at both governmental and individual levels. These ideologies are important because it underlines the role of English in mediating students' perception of the world in which they are located. In this sense, participants' views about English is an example of how they attribute meaning to globally circulated cultural forms to produce a local understanding, a demonstration that images of the global are not simply imposed and adopted automatically through cross-border flows of goods and ideas.

The spread of English has often been seen as a natural outcome of globalisation, as popular accounts of the phenomenon typically include descriptions of its pervasive presence and influence. However, since imperialism and colonialism were to be blamed for the presence of English in Nigeria, then the forces of globalisation signalling an increase in cross-border flow in finances, people, goods, cultural products and ideas are often taken to provide the obvious explanation for why the language is still lurking about. As goods and services, people and ideas move from one place to the other, the need for a language of communication is keenly felt, and the language that immediately comes to mind to fill in such a gap is the English language. While this conclusion is a valid one, the problem with this assumption however is that the relationship between the spread of English either through globalisation or colonisation and linguistic imperialism is considered automatic, one directly indicating the other.

Studies on the lingering presence of the English language in Nigeria (Bamgbose, 1998; Adegbija, 1994) attribute this presence to a particular large-scale social process sponsored and foisted on the people by colonialism and/or globalisation. To demonstrate how this works, de Swann (2001) explains that the spread of English is predicted by its high communication value (or Q-value) which signifies the extent to which the language is used for communication between people whose indigenous languages are mutually unintelligible.

Thus, according to this model the spread of English can be directly correlated with a particular social variable- the social distribution of language in this case. One therefore finds arguments that assumes that the spread of English, and in this case the lingering presence of English is a direct, natural outcome of such large scale macro-processes as colonialism/globalisation. However, this chapter argues that it is not the lingering presence of English itself as a result of colonialism or globalisation but language users ideological beliefs in the importance that ultimately make the language to have such a hold in the economy. If imperialism was not to blame, or not entirely to blame for the presence of English in Nigeria today, who then, is the culprit?

The history and the aura of the implantation of English in Nigeria as a coloniser's language has created a nagging sense of its inevitability in the country, especially in the minds of participants (teachers, students, parents, principals, policy makers etc.). This is because as the language of the coloniser, it was according to Adegbija (1994) dominated by the demoralising conditions of master and servant; superior and inferior and the language ―became the basis for the creation of an elite group … which enjoyed the privileges of power and prestige, essentially by courtesy of its command of the imposed language.…" (p.31). These values that came with the language continued after independence, and as such attempts to oust it from such a position of dominance have met with little success and often, stiff resistance because knowledge of the language is synonymous in varying degree with unity- *there won't be unity if we speak any of the mother tongues...* [student 4; SSS1]; power- *if he learns to speak English properly, he can actually have advantage over others...*[parent 1], prestige - *... I don't think I would have been able to get the job...without the knowledge of English…* [parent 3]; making it- *English can help me to become a lawyer...*[student 3; SSS3] and being able to achieve - *English...will make me become a nurse. My mother tongue can't make me become a nurse* [student1; SSS3].

This kind of dependency on the English language is therefore what has led students to regard the English language as inherently superior to their languages in terms of the kinds of identities it can give them. Therefore, becoming a lawyer, nurse and having an advantage over others can therefore be said to be important reasons that explains why SSS students are bent on learning the language in Nigeria. While colonialism or imperialism no doubt support the presence of the language in the country, the explanation is incomplete as it lacks an account such as the one in this chapter of how the ―forced' implantation of English by powerful individuals and institutions comes to be embraced and naturalised by the local community so that English may actually be preferred to the indigenous languages. In this

sense, the connection between globalisation/colonisation and the positive attitudes encountered with learning the language is by no means automatic, but something that is accomplished through the articulation and reproduction of the language ideologies that participants have about the importance of the English language. The international, unifying, economic participation and language education ideologies of English therefore serves as a tangible resource for students in constructing an image of the global and local society, and a reference point for making sense of their own position and identity in the world.

Chapter 6

Language ideologies of English and SSS students' identity/imagined community

6.1   Introduction

The previous chapter has shown that there is the belief among participants (parents, teachers, school administrators and SSS students) in Nigeria that English promises higher/better social and economic status to those who learn it. The language is seen, not just as a useful skill used to solve the communication problems that may arise due to multiplicity of languages at the global and local level, but one that is associated in varying degrees with learning and prestige. By virtue of this knowledge therefore, those who are competent in the language have a greater potential to acquire national and political power than those who are not. In this sense, more than opening doors to employment and education, the language also closes doors to those who do not have access to learn it (Tollefson, 2002). This is captured in the statement made by this parent

> There is a sense of generalised notion by those who regard
> themselves as the underdogs, those that have become marginalised.
> Their feeling is that their generation did not possess this ability to
> communicate and engage in global conversations. That sense of
> social exclusion leads to make them believe that, in order for their
> children to not also become disadvantaged, they need to join the
> class of elite, the speakers of the English language [parent 1]

What comes across in this statement is the feeling of helplessness and powerlessness associated with one's inability to speak this language embedded in the process of globalisation. As such, the position and power associated with the knowledge of English is admired and coveted by those who are only predominantly proficient in the indigenous languages which generally lack commensurate power and prestige. Therefore, in order not to belong to the camps of those who are _underdogs', _marginalised' or _disadvantaged', it then becomes necessary to learn the English language. Through this ideology, English is constructed as a _must-have' in order to survive and flourish in the globalising world, and is also projected to have true relevance to local (Nigerian) context.

What this demonstrates is that these students are forced to take a stance with regard to the role that English will play in their future. Even if they are not aware of it, they are caught between the choice of learning a language because it is useful and learning or maintaining another because it signifies their culture, ethnic or national identity. It is therefore within this

conflict between the utility of one language and loyalty to another that SSS students imagine and project future identities/communities for themselves. Thus, English language, more than any other language according to Pavlenko and Norton (2007) is implicated in the process of reimagination. As such, the choices students make about who they are and who they want to be are direct responses to how English is perceived in the local (socio, political and educational) and global context. It is therefore against this background that this study will examine the kinds of communities/identities that SSS learners in Nigeria imagine and desire for themselves.

6.2   Imagine professional identities/ communities

Professional identity is viewed as an on-going process of interpretation and re-interpretation of experiences (Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop, 2004; Kerby 1991). It encompasses an individual with a unique history, located within a conceptual framework and identified within a defined community or institution. These characteristics are what individuals within the context of work use to develop an understanding of their roles, relate with and compare and differentiate themselves from other professional groups. Even though this definition is given in the context of individuals who have already been identified within an area of expertise and are performing roles that have been determined by the institutions of which they are members, it is however also useful to the discussion on the professions for which SSS students are preparing themselves for in the future. As will soon be reflected in the discussion, students project the three features associated with professional identities on the kinds of identities/communities they imagine. As such their imagined identities are not static or fixed, but rather interpreted and re-interpreted as new experiences emerge. The following examples below are some of the students' imagined professional identities.

> I see myself being great, a doctor or a psychologist [student 1; SSS3]

> …working as an engineer in an international company [student 2; SSS3]

> I will be expecting myself to be an architect [student 5; SSS2]

> I think a chartered accountant [student 3; SSS 1]

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These examples are just a glimpse of the many professions that students wish to identify themselves with in future. There is nothing wrong in having future dreams and ambitions to be any of these professions. In fact, these students should be applauded on their decisions based on the number of years of diligent studying that will be required from them before they are eventually conferred with such titles. However, on a closer look, there seem to be a link between students' perceived future and the classes they are enrolled in at present, as well as the social status/standing that comes with such professions in a country like Nigeria.

Students' imagined identities/communities depend largely not only on who they imagine themselves to be, but on who they are in reality. When asked what classes they are in presently, these students reply in the following sentences

I am in SS2, art class … [student 11; SSS2]

I am in the commercial class … [student 4; SSS 1]

… SS3 science …   [student 1; SSS3]

In Nigeria, students in the secondary classes are usually streamlined through testing and most times by choice into three classes of arts, science and commercial. In the schools where the research was conducted, these divisions were enforced in a way that those subjects viewed as science subjects (e.g. physics, chemistry etc.) have nothing at all to do with the art or commercial students. And those viewed to be strictly commercial subjects (e.g. accounting) have nothing to do with art or science and vice versa. Apart from English, Mathematics, Biology and Economics, students in these different groups have no other subjects in common. Therefore, apart from students' identities as senior secondary students, they also have identities as either science, commercial or art students.

Based on their present identities, it is fairly easy to guess the kinds of imagined identities that they would construct for themselves

Researcher: What class are you?

Student: I am in SS2

Researcher: SS2 art, commercial or science

Student: Oh… SS2 science

Researcher: You would like to be a medical doctor right?

Student: (giggling) Yes, I would

[student 1; SSS2]

Student: I am in the art class. I would like to be a ⌐lawyer
Researcher: └lawyer.

                Am I correct?
Student: yes, yes you are correct

                                                    [student 11; SSS3]

Other imagined identities include civil engineers [student 8; SSS3], newscasters[student 9; SSS 1]; pilots [student 10; SSS2].What occur in these secondary schools is that students in the arts, commercial and science classes always think they have to end up as lawyers, bankers or doctors/pharmacists respectively.

These professions which successfully capture students' imaginations also transmit powerful ideas about which linguistic code is preferable. The language which is not limited, local and is useful if one wants to accomplish things on a vast scale will of course be given priority over any other language, even if it will be at the expense of that other language. It appears then the English language is the only language that is vested with the power to achieve this feat, that is move them from their present identity as senior secondary students to their imagined identities.

English help in becoming a doctor; they cannot give me a certificate written in Yoruba language. And during the course, you cannot speak Yoruba. Without English, people will think I am a quirk doctor [student 1; SSS3]

English would make me become a nurse [student 4; SSS1]

English can help me to become a lawyer by studying it, reading it [student 9; SSS1]

English helps student prepare for his/her future. For example, if the person wants to become a doctor, s/he would need to learn and speak English [parent 3]

In today's world, English would make them good in their chosen profession [teacher 2]

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English language is accepted. It will make me become a nurse. My

mother tongue can't make me become a nurse [student 11; SSS2]

From the sentences above, the ‗English language' is placed in the subject position, ‗will make/help me become' as the verb and ‗nurse', ‗doctor' as the object etc. The arrangement of these sentences in this way places the sole responsibility of the students' future in the hands of the English language. Even when students, teachers, parents, school administrators do not really mean it, what they are passing across is that students' imagined identity ceases to exist and gets stuck in the realm of the imagination without the knowledge of English. Therefore, students position themselves and are also positioned by others as passive participants in the realisation of their dreams. As such, being able to speak English is ―like possessing the fabled Aladdin's lamp, which permits one to open as it were the gates to *becoming a nurse, lawyer, doctor and achieve most of my dream*" [emphasis mine] (Kachru 1986, p.1).

One is better able to understand where this ideology of the relationship between English and professional identities is coming from since the various indigenous languages within the country have a lot of catching up to do if they ever want to be at par with the English language in Nigeria's educational system. However, what it suggests on the global level which might necessarily not be true is that doctors, lawyers, nurses in the world all gained entry into their respective professions as a result of having just a command of English. The fact is that a vast majority, in fact three-quarters of the world's population according to Kubota (2011) consists of people who are not English speakers suggesting therefore, that there are actually doctors without the knowledge of English who are not quirks as [student 1; SSS3]suggests.

At the centre of SSS students' English language learning therefore lies the imagined identities that only the English language can unlock and make possible for them. This burden and responsibility placed on the language is what compels students to invest in English, rather than their mother tongues since in the words of [student 1; SSS3] *…they cannot give me a certificate written in Yoruba language*. Since the future they imagine for themselves are associated with English, they thus invest in English because of the opportunity it gives to explore a range of professional identities. However, to outsiders and at times researchers, it may seem as if students have no clue as to the existence of other professions aside from the ones mentioned, and the provision of career or vocational counsellors according to (Kelechi and Ihuoma, 2011; Ogunlade and Akerelodu, 2012; Nneka, 2013) immediately comes up as the solution to such a dilemma. However, even though this might be true, the fact is that, and

as Adegbija (1994) observed, the prestige associated with some professions in Nigeria makes them a strong motivating factor influencing students to imagine them as career choices. There are therefore professions that do not count as ‗professional' in professional identity.

When it was suggested to students during the course of the interview if they could consider other identity options for example teaching, their answers were a definite no.

who? me? not at all. I don't like teaching. When teachers teach their saliva will finish   [student 9; SSS1]

I would like to be a teacher, but definitely not in this country
                                                        [student 11; SSS2]

Student: There are teachers in the schools because there are no jobs in the country. If there were, I don't think anybody would do it. Teachers are not happy, they are stressed; at times they are not even paid salaries. That's the little salary they even get

Researcher: Do you know how much teachers earn?

Student: (whispering) Not really, but you can guess easily how much they earn at the end of the month
                                                        [student 1; SSS3]

The perceptions regarding these occupations did not just evolve, in fact Adegbija (1994) stated that during the colonial era, individuals who learnt the colonisers tongue (i.e. English) could share in some of the position, power and prestige and take up enviable identities as cooks, clerks, teachers and interpreters. The only difference between that era and this one is that these enviable identities have metamorphosed from being ‗cooks', ‗clerks' and ‗interpreters' into ‗doctors' [student 1; SSS3], ‗lawyers' [student 9; SSS1][student 11; SSS2]and ‗architects' [student 6; SSS2].

when you asked who wants to be a teacher, nobody raised up their hands. Just imagine in their own world back then nobody too will want to raise up their hand... Later now if there is no job in Nigeria everybody will also come to the schools looking for jobs.

[student 3; SSS3]

From the above response from this student, it becomes obvious that the rules of the game have changed, and the economic and social capital that are now perceived and recognised as legitimate what Bourdieu (1991) refers to as *symbolic capital* are titles such as doctors, lawyers etc. It is through this conceptualisation that one can begin to understand how the notion of the different forms of capital are fluid and dynamic, subject to – but not completely constrained by – the dominant ideologies of the society. In essence, the imagined identities/communities of students at this moment in time represent the ingrained structure of their social world that is, ―the set of constraints inscribed in the very reality of their world…" (Bourdieu 1986, p. 46) which governs and determines what forms of capital are valuable and which are not. This fluid conception of capital according to Darvin and Norton (2015), in terms of its shifting values across space and time and measurement against a value system that reflects biases and assumptions of the larger socio-cultural context enables an understanding of why learners invest in English.

Their negative responses are therefore an issue of whether teaching enjoys, or is likely to enjoy in the foreseeable future, the prestige and privileges which are accorded in society to such high status occupations as medicine, law, engineering, etc. To the students, teachers are not happy being teachers, and if given an opportunity to work somewhere else they would gladly do so. The fact that there are some out there though few who find themselves in the profession by default, but truly love what they do is of little or no significance because through engaging in practise, they see first-hand how their world treats the likes of teachers and they do not want to be treated that way. Aptly put in the words of an SSS2 student in the public school, to be great *and respected* necessitate going to the university to study medicine and invariably become a doctor.

The pertinent issue here, however, is that what students want to be or do not want to be; the choices of professions they take up (e.g. doctor, lawyer, nurses etc.) and drop (e.g. teacher) as they explore and imagine a range of identities are not in line with what the educational sector is grooming them for. According to the NPE, SSS students are being prepared for higher education and for useful living within the society, without any identity options as a means to achieve this end. The future identities ingrained in the minds of teachers

when they teach English in the classrooms therefore have nothing to do with being a medical/law student in the universities or having careers as doctors/lawyers

> I believe they should be able to fit into the society, fit into their
> working environment and interact well with others [teacher 3]
> English would help them in their chosen career, they would be able
> to express themselves [teacher 4]

Students' expectations of fitting into the society, working environment or chosen career however goes beyond having identities as mere competent English speakers into exploring possible identities that are significant in terms of remuneration and status. Their imagined identities are thus wrapped up in what they recognise and validate as potential identities for success (e.g. doctor, lawyer, nurses etc.) even though their teachers, parents and policies are preparing them for a vast array of identity options. Since their imagined professional identities are not formed in a vacuum, where then did their sense of who they want to become or do not want to become emerge from?

The answer to this question is nowhere; nobody specifically sat these students down to make a list of professions, and told them that there are some that they could become and some that they should not think of becoming. However, over time they have consciously or unconsciously internalised the negative labels attached to certain professions, thereby imagining a world of differences between professions that would allow them to fit into the society and those that would not. Thus, identifying with professions like doctors, lawyers etc. and not identifying with the teaching profession requires the work of imagination because the kind of picture of the world they want to project their future selves into depends on the connections they can envision across history. As such they draw on past and present experiences in order to pursue future opportunities. Even though they do not belong to the practices of teachers' communities e.g. prepare lesson notes, plan for lessons, attend staff meetings, fill in report cards etc., their regular encounter with teachers inside and maybe outside the classroom made them know just enough about their practices which is mediated by institutional arrangements e.g. the low status of the job in the society, stress, meagre salary, lack of encouragement etc. to gain some sense of what they would not dream of becoming or glad not to become.

Students therefore invest in the English language because they want to appropriate identities as doctors or lawyers, professions that come with access to both symbolic and

material resources e.g. prestige, less stress and great salaries. Thus, imagination expand the self by what Wenger (1998) refers to as dissociation, a situation whereby students articulate in those imagined differences their sense of who they are and who they want to be. With their limited experiences of what goes on in the professional world, students are still able to differentiate between what kinds of identities are worth imagining and which are not. So even though there is the possibility that they might in fact overestimate the benefits of being a doctor or a lawyer, and their assessments regarding the medical profession might eventually lead to a crisis of expectation, however dominant ideologies of what it means to be a doctor/lawyer on the one hand and a teacher on the other frame the kinds of identities that students imagine for themselves, and as a result ties to the latter are discouraged and scorned because they are seen as less prestigious, less respected and low remuneration professions.

6.3   Imagine mobile identities

Imagined mobility is about the way SSS students in the present imagine themselves to be mobile in the future, with the taken-for-granted notion that it is possible to reside, visit, study or work temporarily or permanently in any country as they would in the city (Lagos) where they live as long as they are able to speak in English

> I would like to live outside the country, just for the job and come
> back. I love Nigeria [student 1; SSS3]

> I would like to live in my father's land in Nigeria. But it's not that I
> will not go to other countries, I will be there o but I will still settle
> in Nigeria. [student 5; SSS2]

> I won't be in Nigeria due to my profession, what I want to become
> in future… I will move all over the world. I don't want to stay in a
> particular place [student 6; SSS3]

Also, parents and teachers are of the opinion that SSS students can imagine themselves anywhere in the world, especially with their knowledge of English.

> They can live and work anywhere they want or like. If it is Nigeria,
> fine and if it's not, all well and good [parent 1]

I am looking forward to them studying or living abroad one day or anywhere in the world [teacher 1]

Who knows where God would lead them tomorrow. At least with their knowledge of English, if they decide to travel out of Nigeria they can go and live anywhere they want [parent 2]

This type of mobility which hinges on the imagination exemplifies the ease with which people are now able to move across the world, thereby leading to a radical shift in the understanding of space and time. It is also a kind of mobility made in response to the opportunities provided by a globalising world e.g. technological advancement allows for individuals like these participants to consider their options and make decisions within the new configurations that are no longer confined to local communities but potentially span, either directly or indirectly, national boundaries. As such, it becomes commonplace for futures to be imagined by and for these students in a different, faraway place.

It is interesting to note however that participants whose imagined mobile identities involves travelling outside the country did not consider the fact that English might not be the official or national language of some of their envisioned countries of residence, work, study or visit. Since they really did not have any country in mind until probed further, their wish is to *live outside the country*[student 1; SSS3], *studying or living abroad* [teacher 1], *travel out of Nigeria* [parent 2] and *move all over the world* [student 6; SSS3]- a form of capital and ability that Kaufmann, Bergman and Joye (2004) called motility- their ideas about English boils down to it being a cosmopolitan language whose value would be recognized worldwide; so also is the imagined identities they hope to get from investing and learning English. This lends credence to the findings by Appadurai (2001) that the instantaneous global communication of images and ideas through electronic media and the vastly increased circulation of people across borders have enabled (perhaps forced) individuals to imagine their lives in a much more global context than ever before *regardless of whether English is spoken in these contexts or not* (emphasis mine).

Appadurai's (2001) ideas illustrates the fact that as information circulates rapidly and almost without any barrier, more and more people like these students, for example, are able to imagine the possibility that they can live and work in places other than the places where they were born or had lived. Therefore, new forms of interpenetration and interaction has coloured the imaginations and consciousness of students, which are perpetually fuelled by an ever

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constant flow of mass mediated events (mediascapes ... *You know most of us have watched tv, we have families like uncles, aunties and cousins over there, and we know what they do in other countries in terms of teaching...* [student 4; SSS1]), ideas (ideascapes- ... *at least with their knowledge of English, if they decide to travel out of Nigeria they can go and live anywhere they want* [parent 2]) and migrants, tourists (ethnoscapes- *I am looking forward to them studying or living abroad...* [teacher 1]. All these 'scapes' coined by Appadurai (1990) to explain how globalisation has transformed cultural and social exchange have freed students from traditional historic and geographical boundaries thus shaping their identities as they draw on an infinite array of images, information and networks. Under these conditions, in which communication and technology have exposed students both literally and imaginatively to the full global range of ideas, images and cultures, global mobility Appadurai (1996) that were once only imaginable to a few are becoming a possibility for these students. The possibilities offered by globalisation has therefore facilitated the realisation of identities; mobile identities that students can imagine to be possible hence [student 6; SSS3] framing of his imagined identity as being multidirectional, allowing for mobility from one country to another.

Even though participants imagine mobile identities in the national and international arena, however these identities do not seem to encompass the entire globe or nation, but a well-defined portion of it. When the researcher asked which countries they have in mind, students who wish to travel abroad restricted their mobile identities to countries like the UK, America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand; while those who intend to stay in Nigeria would prefer places like Lagos (Victoria Island, Ajah, Lekki etc.), Abuja and Porthacourt.

> I would have said America, but America is a crazy place with lots
> of shooting and killing so London or Canada [student 11; SSS2]

> I would like to go overseas like maybe London because I have
> cousins, aunties and uncles there and if I can't I would stay in
> Nigeria but in VI or Ajah o [student 4; SSS1]

> I would like to be a medical doctor in Los Angeles, America
> [student 8; SSS3]

Despite the fact that technological advances in the last two decades have had significant improvement on what is possible to imagine, which is reflected in the ways students are able

to extend their imagination beyond their immediate surroundings and the borders of their country, however their imagination is still limited to specific areas of the world. The question therefore is since students believe that knowledge of English can make them to be geographically mobile, why do they limit their identities to specific places within and outside the country? Are there personal and sociocultural processes or ideologies through which student participants have come to imagine themselves as inhabiting or sojourning to certain parts of the globe or their country, but not to others?

In other to understand the movement of students across or within the Nigerian border, and the kinds of identities they wish to develop from their ability to be geographically mobile, there is the need to examine and classify students' responses on their imagined mobile identities. Based on the answers given in 6.3 regarding students' imagined future, there are two different kinds of imagined mobile identities that are portrayed in their responses. There are those who intend to stay back in Nigeria and have no intentions of travelling abroad (national mobility) e.g. [student 6; SSS3]; students who would like to limit their mobility to just visiting other countries e.g. [student 5; SSS2]; and those who envision leaving the country with the intentions of maybe coming back just for the occasional visits [student 6; SSS3]. The first type of imagined mobile identity will be classified as national mobility, while the other two will be categorised as international/transnational mobility as both encompasses the idea of travelling beyond the borders of Nigeria.

Students who limit their imagined mobile identities within the country have the following to say for themselves

> I don't want to travel. I want to be in Nigeria but in a good condition, because my mission is in Nigeria. I want to make sure I tackle the government and they stop all these bad act because I know what it takes for those who are suffering now. So I want to stop it [student 9; SSS1]

> I want to live in Nigeria in places like Lekki or the Island... there is this kind of notion I want to correct. The young people like travelling abroad... they don't want to make their home a better place . . . So if I should leave the country and others leave along with me the country will be left with oldies; old men and women

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who will not even add anything to the country. So, it's my duty as a young Nigerian [student 11; SSS2]

These students imagine life in Nigeria knowing full well the myriads of problems like lack of good roads, quality education, internet, constant power supply, health care facilities etc. that the country is facing. They are however rather adamant about staying back, but in *a good condition* [student 9; SSS1], and living in places like the *Lekki or the Island* [student 11; SSS2]. Their belief is that individuals living in such places are above such problems as the ones stated earlier, which is why [student 11; SSS2] asserts that *there is suffering in this side of town. This my community is very bad. The roads are divided into two, and there is never light...* So while living in the other part of Lagos; the part she had never been to but only hear about or seen on the television, she would ensure that the country will be a favourable place to live because *she knows what it takes for those who are suffering now. So I would like to stop it.*

For students who intend to travel outside the country just for visits or study and those who want to reside permanently in these countries, their point of destination are usually places like the USA, UK, Canada, Australia.

. . . it's true Nigeria might not be able to give me the skills I want, but I think that maybe I will go and work; as in work there in the US. So, when I work there I will get my skills there and bring it back. [student 1; SSS3]

I would love to go to the UK to maybe further my studies. 99.9% of us hate our teachers because they are so annoying and we don't really learn anything. Take for instance the English language now, throughout last term we didn't do anything just writing, writing and writing. Not even writing notes, just answering questions. You know most of us have watched tv, we have families like uncles, aunties and cousins over there, and we know what they do in other countries in terms of teaching. It's not just about writing but also speaking in groups, discussions, presentations etc. not just someone coming to class and telling us to write this or that [student 4; SSS1].

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Nigeria is not where I want to stay because of my future profession. I would like to be the best architect in Nigeria. There are buildings abroad in America and Canada with so many types of designs that I can learn unlike Nigeria that is not well-developed, and will keep me stagnant with learning old designs. Not that I don't like Nigeria, it's just that I won't learn more [student 6; SSS3]

For these students, having an internationally/transnationally mobile identities means that they must have imagined that there is a place *elsewhere* that will provide access or a different approach (*otherwise)* to quality education (e.g. *give me the skills I want*[student 1; SSS3]*, further my studies… because our teachers are so annoying and we don't really learn anything* [student 4; SSS1], *be the best architect* [student 6; SSS3]) that are not available (or not as preferable) to them in Nigeria. Their perceptions about education *otherwise* and *elsewhere* (Phelps, 2013) makes it a necessity to leave the country in order to pursue and access quality education abroad. Surprisingly, some of the students envision going to countries like India [student 9; SSS1], Saudi Arabia [student 13; SSS3] and Paris [student 5; SSS2] to *actually see women with very long hair and pretty faces like they show us in the Bollywood movies, make money because the country as I have seen in the movies is like its filled with gold or something, and everybody is rich* and *because that is where Genevieve did her wedding and there are good and kind-hearted people there* respectively. However, these students are in the minority.

SSS students imagined national mobility is therefore best understood on the basis of their desire to have identities as change agents, but with favourable living conditions. In as much as they imagined themselves as future leaders with hopes of influencing the country positively, they do intend to live in abject poverty or squalor. Even if they have no intentions to travel outside the country, that to them does not mean they cannot live in places similar to the ones abroad, thus limiting their mobile identities within the country. The desire for affiliation and identification with the rich educated elite in Nigeria, and being change agents supersedes any other kinds of identity. They are therefore satisfied with staying within the confines of the Nigerian border.

However, the reasons given by students with an international/transnational mobile identity in mind is that they imagined themselves in an environment that will allow them to

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have identities to access global job markets (including obtaining a more prestigious credential and learning in English [student 4; SSS1]), for suitable opportunity to work creatively, to *make money*[student 13; SSS3],or meet *good and kind hearted people*[student 5; SSS2],and they envision that the UK, Canada, Australia, USA, Paris, Saudi Arabia and India as countries that embody these qualities. These participants who envision these kinds of identities are therefore motivated by the desire that they will have the ability to take advantage of the best opportunities available in a globalising world, wherever they may emerge (Phelps, 2013). Having explained the nature of students' imagined mobility, it is hard not to wonder where the ideas of imagining the possibilities of a mobile identity otherwise/elsewhere come from.

The reasons for students imagined (national, international and transnational) mobility have been framed across the available literatures (Chen, 2007) as ‗push-pull factors‘, that is there are factors that push students to leave their home country, and other factors that pulls them towards a particular country. So the answer to the question, why the UK, USA or Australia?- will reveal that these students did so because of what Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) framed as the ‗push‘ factors, such as what was considered by students as poor educational, or even social, economic and/or political climate.

> I think I would live abroad because here in Nigeria, I don‘t think
> the government are doing something that will be making students
> encouraged. What they are spending money on is entertainment,
> music and I have never seen anything being done about education
> [student 3; SSS1]

> I don‘t see myself here cus this place is not moving forward and I
> can‘t step up to that place and say I want to become president cus
> I know they will just kill me one day. So I‘d rather go to another
> country [student 4; SSS1]

Even though this student has not experienced a president being killed while in service before, as the last one happened in the 80s and she had not been born then however, the escalating political tensions especially during the last 2015 presidential election and the bombings in the Northern part of the country are enough to feel ‗pushed out‘ to want to go elsewhere.

On the other side of such ‗push‘ factors are the ‗pull‘ factors i.e. images, stories, narratives and the mass media (Rizvi and Lingard, 2009) that draws students towards certain countries; or *elsewhere* (Phelps, 2013). So for [student 4; SSS1], images of pretty faces and long flowing hair drives her to India; images of gold [student 13; SSS3] compels another to

Saudi Arabia and stories told by aunties, uncles about learning in the UK drives another[student 4; SSS1] to want to go to the UK. This is why Calhoun (2002) and Bauman (1998) assert that our lives are increasingly shaped by the social imaginaries of the ‗frequently travelled' and ‗tourists' respectively. The kind of mobility (national or international) imagined by the participants brings to mind what Garcia Canclini (1999) refers to as tangential globalisation. His argument is based on the fact that even though globalization was, for much of the 1990s, thought of as the inescapable destiny of modernity, however individuals do not at all imagine globalisation in the same way. To Garcia Canclini, the politicians, financial analysts and academics are the few people who conceive of globalisation in a direct and encompassing mode; the rest of humanity are more likely to imagine a globalisation, or in this case tangential identity that may encompass vast areas or regions of the world, yet is nonetheless limited by their frames of reference. Globalisation and the identities that goes along with it thus appears in the *imaginary* as a tangential relationship.

To therefore, understand the movement of students across or within the border, and the kinds of future identities they wish to develop, Bass (2009) asserts that concepts such as imagination, desire and mobility should take centre stage as they are the important dynamics and key determinants of choice of countries for a range of international students. Even though Bass' (2009) research dwells on the uncontested linearity to the process of students choosing a destination for graduate study in a globalised world, his findings are also useful to investigate the ways students in Nigeria imagine their lives and a future. This is because it is in the realm of the imagination that students are able to express their desires, and re-envision how things are and how they want them to be. Like in Bass' (2009) study, the reasons that SSS give to be internationally mobile do not really portray a linear process of seeking information, assessing options, and coming up with a rational decision about whether to pursue study abroad, or in this case which country to go or not to go. When probed further as to the reasons for choosing these specific countries, some of the students said that

I just like it, I like Canada [student 11; SSS2]

I like England. I just like the place. I have been there before in my dreams… [student 4; SSS1]

I love Paris, I just want to stay there [student 5; SSS2]

Their love and like for these specific countries without any cogent nor tangible reasons can therefore be seen in the light of the fact that the flow of positive images, stories and impressions churned out in a globally networked social sphere are factors influencing how students imagine the possibilities of identities elsewhere. In as much as the shootings in the US is a reason for [student 11; SSS2] to not imagine a future there despite the fact that the country is one of the most sort out country for education (Marginson, 2004), so also will positive narratives like the ones stated above enhance the chances of a country to be the destination for students to study, work or live. Since students do not see themselves and their country being represented positively in the media, the variety of places the mediascape Appadurai (1990) offers therefore have an impact on their personal choices in terms of the countries they think would give them the identities they have imagined for themselves.

For example, the identities that Nigeria offers range from not being *skillful* [student 4; SSS1], *stagnant* [student 3; SSS1] to *deficient learners* [student 6; SSS3] which is in stark contrast to the identities that the places and countries of their imaginations would give them (e.g. educated [student 6; SSS3], *skillful* [student 4; SSS1], *rich* [student 13; SSS3] identities). It therefore becomes evident that by default staying back in Nigeria would mean being associated with a wide range of negative identities, but that positive identities would result from travelling outside the country. Students' preferences for international mobile identities are therefore indicative of the ways that the countries of their imaginations have been represented in terms of how they would go about acquiring their desired future identities- imagined identities that are vividly captured by various interconnected global spaces of meaning (*You know most of us have watched tv, we have families like uncles, aunties and cousins over there...* [student 4; SSS1]).

However, it is not so much that students wish to travel outside the country but that they would like to study, live and visit countries that were once exclusively former British colonies or the colony itself. According to The Guardian (2004), the UK, USA and Canada are known to be the destination of most students in Nigeria when it comes to education at the postgraduate level (The Guardian, 2014) or for tourism, and the reasons are that they are led to believe through pictures painted by advertisements, Hollywood movies or television series, agents hired by these universities to work in Nigeria on their behalf (e.g. BCIE (British Canadian International Education), PFL (Preparation for Life) Education Nigeria, UKEAS (United Kingdom Education Advisory Service) Nigeria etc.) or stories of other students shared via the internet or when they get back from studying abroad tailored that these countries are exciting, multi-cultural hubs of the knowledge economy.

Therefore, students begin to imagine that the ways of life, teaching and living in these countries supersede that of their country (e.g. *I would like to go to Paris to make money because the country as I have seen in the movies is like its filled with gold or something, and everybody is rich...* [student 5; SSS2]) and are thereby influenced to have a sense of belonging to a culture which is the 'other' to the dominant culture of Nigeria. Not only will students be ashamed to call themselves Nigerians in future due to the negative identities that they feel will be associated with being identified as one- an utterance that colonial school-generated nationalists in the 60s (e.g. Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu) promised to eradicate from the conversations of Nigerians- but their current identities/nationalities are not one they would want projected into their future. Living and studying in Nigeria has its drawbacks no doubt about that but, when students begin to think that the ways of life in their imagined countries are better and superior than the one they are living in now or would live in future lead one to begin to think that their discourses still centres on the intricate social and power structures that defines the relationship between Nigeria- a former colonised nation and its coloniser- Britain.

Thus, one can properly frame their imagined identities as being internationally mobile not just within the framework of globalisation but that of colonisation such that the western-oriented media and technology controls, shapes and creates the economic destinies of students. Thus, in the aftermath of colonisation, there is still a sense of Western domination not with "sword or a gun ... but culture, consumer products and media production" (Bateman, et.al 2010, p. 87). All the avenues in the latter are frames of references that sell mobility to a market of students who are eager to imagine new possibilities and identities for themselves. So even though students, through the various global communication technologies are able to expand their range of possible selves to include identities that encompass national/international/transnational ones, we are however dealing with "a peculiar structure of relationships of power, expectations, positioning and representation around which has developed a characteristic discourse" (Omoniyi 2009, p. 310).

So whether students intend to be nationally/internationally mobile, their imagination is populated with refined, educated, interesting people and society whose mere contact would change their identities either to be change agents or highly skilled and educated individuals. They therefore see themselves as participating in a variety of communities of practice where access to knowledge, dedicated teachers, riches, kind and loving people and relevant educational skills will be given as equal exchange within the context of higher global and educational awareness. Thus the reasons for imagining mobile identities could be explained

on the basis of the fact that SSS students have been led to believe that *elsewhere* (Phelps, 2013) framed by students in various ways including Uk, France, Canada etc. would give them an identity that cannot be gotten except in these specific places, thereby giving credence to the hegemony of these countries across most global social fields and especially in higher education.

6.4   Imagine expressive identities

The ideology that it is only the English language that can serve as the vehicle for formal education in Nigeria has led to respondents imagining future identities whereby they are able to express themselves fluently in the language.

> English will allow me to communicate my ideas in public very well. So that when everybody is speaking or listening to me, I won't just stand there and be looking at everybody…looking at their mouths like a moron or something. I would also be able to say something [student 1; SSS3]

> What I like most about English is that I can interact, hear what others are saying, laugh with others than me sitting down looking like a dummy. If they are speaking English… I will now be like ah..ah what are they saying. I will just be speaking Yoruba in my mind. I won't be able to interact with other people…. [student 4; SSS1]

> The language allows me to communicate because without English I would not be able to speak, I would just disgrace myself. It would save me from disgrace [student 5; SSS2]

Of the four language skills (i.e. reading, writing, speaking and listening), speaking according to Williams (1990) is regarded as the most crucial and central as it enables learners to establish successful communication in that language, which is one of the main aim of learning any second language. Thus, the situation which places the greatest demands on the learner's language system is that of attempting to use the spoken language for spontaneous communication. To be able to speak and interact in English is therefore a proof that the many

years spent learning and studying English in school has not been in vain. So to these SSS students, proficiency in English affords them the opportunity not only to communicate across linguistic and cultural borders, but to also showcase their knowledge, competence and mastery of the language in order not to _disgrace' themselves, or be identified as a _moron' or a _dummy' in front of their peers; thereby, being ascribed negative identities because they fail to establish a connection with the language.

In essence, speaking in English and not their mother tongues in the public and among friends is therefore not only an avenue to deemphasize ethnicity and build up a sense of nationhood; one of the reasons that Phillipson (1996) claim was a deciding factor for African leaders choosing English over the mother tongues after independence, but a means to present an identity with competence in English. Invariably, what these students are hinting at is that being able to interact and communicate effectively in public can only be done through the medium of English, as if that is the only language available within the country.

> If you speak… if you speak your erm traditional language, and you go outside among people that know much about English, when you are speaking with them, you will not feel free among them. When you see them speaking, they are interacting well with themselves, and you can't speak English the way they do... you will feel you don't belong among them[student 1; SSS3]

As is obvious from the first statement in this student's response, the English language is not the only language in the country, however if you want to belong and fit properly into the society, that is the only language that is given a stamp of approval to be used in any setting. Commenting on this superiority of English compared to the indigenous languages within the country, Bamgbose (1998) observes that

> The effects of the continued dominance can be seen in the alienation resulting in unfavourable attitudes to African languages. The attitudes may be illustrated in the preference for early acquisition of these languages … (*or in this case, its preference as a means of day-to-day interpersonal communication), taking pride in proficiency in the imported languages at the expense of a sound knowledge of one's own mother tongue… and lack of interest in, and concern for, the development of indigenous languages [italics mine] (p.9).

The dependency and function conferred on English as the language used in informal, interpersonal day-to-day interactions within the country, despite the presence of other indigenous languages implies that not many of the local languages will be used within this purview. Since not much legislation could affect language functions in such domain, and also because an effective language policy has not been formulated for the fulfilling of the function of interethnic communication, the English language then invariably competes with the indigenous languages in filling such a vacuum.

Thus Awonusi (2004) asserts that ―the notion of hegemonic English implies the perception of the English Language as a significant linguistic superstructure that has a wide usage and acceptance as well as influence" (p.97). In other words, the perceived prestige and status of English is influenced by the extent of its use in internal day-to-day communication. Consequently, students‘ emphases on using English as a means of interpersonal communication which is evidenced in statements such as *English… will allow me to say something* [student 1; SSS3], *without English…, I won't be able to interact with other people* [student 4; SSS1], *without English…I won't be able to speak* [student 5; SSS2], therefore ―…connotes an interplay of a number of variables such as … control (how the powerful users of a particular language use it as a weapon of linguistic domination of communities especially those that are multilingual or multicultural, legitimacy (the dependence on a language as the basis of social and political acceptance…" (Awonusi 2004, p.97).

For these students, investing time and effort in learning English therefore goes beyond learning how to combine grammatical structures into meaningful sentences, rather the language is made to function in the capacity to provide solutions to their daily persistent communication needs (even though other indigenous language can be made to fulfil this role). In this case, the language has been solely imbued with the capacity to express feelings, opinions and thoughts in anticipation and expectation that they would make impressions and elicit appropriate responses in the language from their listeners. It is therefore in this light, in the sense that students consider their English-speaking abilities to be an important part of their identity that one can then begin to examine what exactly students mean when they imagine having expressive identities as part of their future imagined identities.

What students infer with this imagined identity is that it is downright impossible to perform any interpersonal communication without the English language. Such that, if it so happens that they are not free to express and interact in public, and are therefore labelled negatively, then their mother tongues are at fault. What this implies is that their indigenous languages should be blamed if it interferes with the development in their capacity to use

English, and thus going with the assumption that the use of the mother tongues results in regression in the acquisition of the English language.

> My child speaks my language but not too often. If we started speaking the native dialect to them it would interfere with their knowledge of English [parent 2]

> I speak English at home because my parents told me that my MT will affect me if I speak too much of it. It will affect me not to really know what I am saying in English [student 1; SSS3]

> Because of that Yoruba, I can't speak English. I don't even think it is ideal for student my age to be speaking Yoruba; because if I am used to Yoruba language, the English language I am speaking won't be as fluent as the Yoruba language [student 11; SSS2]

> Sometimes my mummy will tell me to speak English because she used to feel that the Yoruba that I'm speaking would be affecting my English language. My daddy too said it's affecting my English language, that I should stop speaking Yoruba at home. I only speak the language in my grandma's house. What they are telling me is true because if someone is speaking Yoruba every time; if you go for a competition, you will just go and be mixing everything together. You will feel bad because people will be saying that is this girl really going to school or she is just playing in school and wasting her parent's money? [student 5; SSS2]

The concept of interference, which stems from the behaviourist theory of learning (Larsen - Freeman and Long, 1991) states that when a new habit is learned, old (already learned) habits would have some negative effect on the learning process. In the case of language learning, learners' errors are therefore seen to reflect a phenomenon that appears when they borrow or use specific patterns, for example the vocabulary and syntax which they already know from their mother tongue to express meanings in the new language Richards, Platt and Platt(1992).

Therefore, properties of the L1are thought to exercise an influence in the course of L2 learning as learners transfer sounds, structures and usages from one language to the other.

In Nigeria, where most students would have acquired a reasonable mastery of their mother tongue before coming into contact with the English language, there is the tendency for them to therefore apply the rules of the former to the latter. These rules according to Fatiloro (2015) can be applied at the syntactic (grammatical), phonological (mispronunciation), semantic or morphological. The difficulty in pronouncing certain English sounds, like the dental sounds /θ/ in thin, this and /ð/ in them, that etc. and the use of plural pronoun (they) instead of the singular (he) to replace the noun (father) in a sentence like (my father arrived yesterday) to show honour for elders are instances of transfer of skills in students' native or indigenous languages to the second language (English) (Dada, 2006). Some of these interferences, which bear tell-tale traces of students' knowledge in their mother tongue are seen from a negative perspective hence, statements like *if we started speaking the native dialect to them it would interfere with their knowledge of English*[parent 2], *my MT will affect me if I speak too much of it. It will affect me not to really know what I am saying in English*[student 1; SSS3], *because of that Yoruba, I can't speak English…*[student 11; SSS2] show how the unfavourable disposition and attitudes of Nigerians to their various local languages, mediate their everyday communicative practices.

So since to these respondents, speaking their local languages impedes the learning of or overall performance in English, only English is therefore allowed to be spoken. In the few instances where the local languages are spoken, they are restricted to the private domain (e.g. at home [student 1; SSS2] and grandma's house [student 5; SSS2]). This kind of display or what (Makoe and McKinney, 2014) refer to as *tokenistic display* of the local languages results in the devaluing and negative perceptions attached to the languages despite the rhetoric of language diversity preached in the NPE.

> In Nigeria as a school as a person even the government as well
> does not make it a rule or not that the [MT] should not be spoken.
> You can speak it, however there are some families and schools who
> believe that the best way to give a child the opportunity of catching
> the language very well, the English language very well is to take
> the [MT] away from the child all the time [teacher 2]

As a result, parents and teachers would rather their children and students respectively learn English at the cost of the loss of the indigenous languages; and if not, the consequences are that *the English language I am speaking won't be as fluent as the Yoruba language* [student

11; SSS2] or *...you will just go and be mixing everything together* [student 5; SSS2]. Multilingualism is then seen as an impediment and monolingualism as a resource for learning English contents. This highly assimilationist practices (Makoe and McKinney, 2014) evidenced here, may contribute to a decline in first-language proficiency or no exposure to the learning of the mother tongue, thus *...the overall effect of the mastery of English is the gradual death of the ethnic languages* [parent 1].

The emphasis on the lack of exposure to the mother tongue resulting in the relapse in the acquisition of the English language is with the assumption that there would be an increase in the English language proficiency of students, making them to be more competitive in the international arena. This assumption according to Wiley (2000) is ―an artefact of the ideology of monolingualism itself, which suppresses the more typical and accommodating tendency toward bilingualism or multilingualism" (p.68), such that any public or private display of the mother tongues are subject to ideological interpretations, and in the Nigerian context these ideologies work against openly demonstrating one‗s proficiency in the mother tongue. There is no doubt that there are students, who are fluent in their mother tongues as this parent asserts *my child speaks my language but not too often...*[parent 2],which in itself is a positive trait, however the more important issue is how such competence is socially viewed and accepted.

It would certainly not come as a surprise to the majority of the students if they encountered groups of students chatting away in their various mother tongues. It may even be a scene that they have seen before, but not speaking English would immediately set those speakers apart as being different from other students, thereby triggering interpretations about their state of mind (*English will allow me to communicate my ideas in public very well...so that when everybody is speaking or listening to me, I won't just stand there and be looking at everybody...looking at their mouths like a moron*[student 1; SSS3]), personality (*what I like most about English is that I can interact, hear what others are saying, laugh with others...*[student 4; SSS1]), identity (*...when you see them speaking, they are interacting well with themselves, and you can't speak English the way they do... you will feel you don't belong among them*[student 1; SSS3]), and educational background (*…if someone is speaking Yoruba every time,... you will feel bad because people will be saying that is this girl really going to school* [student 5; SSS2]).

The irony is that in spite of parents and teachers‗ good intentions and efforts to provide learners with access to English as *the* cultural capital, compromising students‗ indigenous languages also ignores their linguistic and educational needs. It might be the case

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that one of the important conditions of learning a second language is abundant exposure to the language (Vergherse, 2007), however, a number of researchers (Fafunwa, 1974; Cummins, 1993; Williams, 1996) have provided convincing explanations that projecting strong and intimidating messages to learn English at the expense of the indigenous languages will not improve the performance of second language learners of English or even their overall educational performance. The implication of these studies is that if competence in the first language is inadequate, there will be difficulty in mastering second language skills. This position, which is explained by Cummins (1984) is seen as the threshold level for second language learners and users whereby ―maximum education benefits from bilingualism are possible only when children are trained to a level where they are bilinguals, that is, where competence in the first language is comparable to that in the second language" (Kembo-Sure and Webb 2000, p. 129).

The importance of the threshold factor is linked with the importance of strengthening mother tongue education so as to provide a sturdy literacy base for subsequent education in English, and according to this parent *that is why the NPE here in Nigeria clearly specifies that instructions from the age of 0-6 years in schools must be done with the mother tongues…* [parent 1], even though such policies are not adhered to. In line with this, Cummins (1993) therefore argues that learning in general; including second language learning will occur more effectively if the required cognitive development has already occurred through the use of a first language as language of learning. So contrary to respondents belief that first language competence impedes the learning of a second language, these researches show that the opposite is actually that the literacy and cognitive skills already acquired in the first language provide easy transition to the second language.

It must however be noted that these reasons are not intended to take a stance that suggests that the English language should be disregarded or pushed aside. In fact, going by the importance of the language in the world today, it is nearly impossible to relegate it without paying the price. It has been stressed over and over again the enormous advantages that English language competence brings such as ―access to knowledge, creativity, and entertainment of the entire Western world, as well as participation in global trade and commerce" (Mustapha 2014, p.93), and such a role for the language speaks for itself so that even the most insensitive of citizens grasp the message and adjust their attitudes in line with it. The language has thus become an integral part of the lives of Nigerians, and is indeed a resource to be nurtured and developed. These advantages on the other hand should then not

be overstretched to undermine the use of the local languages and cultural identities and heritages of the people. This view is stressed by these parents, and they assert that

> No language should be allowed to die… everyone should be able to speak their language [teacher 1]

> It is ignorant for people to uphold the English language above their native languages or be embarrassed because of them. When a language dies, the culture dies. Even the insecurity in the country at present is as a result of this problem it is because they (the insurgents) have lost their sense of identity [parent 3]

As a result, Kembo-Sure and Webb (2000) is of the opinion that ―the …popularisation of the …European languages should not mean that indigenous languages are once more relegated to inferior positions" (p.122). But the fact is that these languages are pushed further aside in Nigeria as parents and teachers kill all the chances of their children and students acquiring the mother tongue by restricting students from openly communicating in them. This situation according to this parent

> is a demonstration of gross ignorance because … when a language dies, the culture dies... So even though access to the English language is access to the prestigious class, and if a child could speak English that child is educated, exposed and will be socially mobile, however whether one is old or young, grandparents or young parents, everyone should speak their languages to their children … [parent 3]

The opposite is the case in Nigeria as it is a common occurrence to believe that in order for English to flourish and survive, there must be death sentences cast on the indigenous languages because it is quite impossible to make the mother tongues to work side by side with the English language. The contention therefore, is that proficiency in English is endangered by the indigenous language, and English must be protected by any means possible. With such belief and assumption that the indigenous languages are a problem for the learning of English, and cannot grant access to ‗educated‘, ‗exposed‘ and ‗socially mobile‘ identities, it is not surprising then to see statements like these …*because of that*

Yoruba, I can't speak English[student 11; SSS2], *I prefer to be fluent in English and not Yoruba…* [student 5; SSS2], *I don't have any interest in learning or speaking any native language…*[student 5; SSS2] that comes across as students being repulsed by their mother tongues and would want to have nothing to do with such languages. Consequently, the English language would then continue to be legitimised, while multilingual practices would not be equally acknowledged as resources and rendered inadequate, deficient and ineffective for communication purposes. The tension between projecting themselves as being competent in English instead of their mother tongues therefore becomes an important window through which one can interrogate the language ideological forces that constitutes students linguistic worldview.

6.5   Imagine assertive/self-confident identities

Apart from being able to communicate, students also stated that English will be a medium for individualistic self-confidence; an affective variable that researchers (Klein and Keller, 1990; Rubio, 2007) claim can lead to more effective learning, and in fact, may be essential for learning to occur. The term self-confidence in English is defined by Pak, Dion and Dion (1985) as ―high self-ratings of English proficiency and the absence of anxiety when speaking English" (p.369), therefore it is negatively influenced when language learners think that they are deficient or limited in the target language and positively correlated with oral performance. Self-confidence is thus the measuring standard by which students determine their own language ability, and they with their parents and teachers believe the following

> When you know how to speak English very well, you will not embarrass yourself in front of people… [student 2; SSS3]

> At least when you get outside, even outside your country where they speak English you will be able to express yourself. You will not be like, as in you will have confidence in yourself [student 6; SSS1]

> It will enable me to have a say in the gathering, in the company of people that are well known; that are influential [student 11; SSS2]

If they went for an interview, they would be bold to speak English out [Teacher 2]

When my daughter learns the language well, and she is among people she feels free to talk to, to communicate and also put her own ideas to them [Parent 2]

The future that is being imagined here for students become based on these utterances are a global, situational/specific and task self-esteem as a result of their competence in English. According to Brown (2000), a global self-esteem derives from the accumulation of inter and intrapersonal experiences, and from assessments people make of the external world, situational or specific self-esteem deals with one's personal appraisals in certain life events such as traits like oral ability while task self-esteem in the language area is one's self-evaluation of a particular aspect of the acquisition process such as speaking, writing, reading etc. From this perspective, students thus have a strong mental image that competence in English will produce a future self that is able to express itself confidently both within and outside the country (global self-esteem), a self that can communicate in the gathering of influential people (situational/specific), and a self that can stand and address people anywhere without any form of embarrassment (task self-esteem). No wonder most of the students chose Wole Soyinka the Nobel Laureate as a good second language role model, and the reason for this is because *there is no where he gets to that he can't stand and say anything*[student 11; SSS2] thereby, suggesting that he is a good example of an individual that symbolises all three different self-esteems. Thus, being able to speak with confidence and boldness like Wole Soyinka in future is an outcome of how far they would have come in their language learning process.

To imagine self-confident identities in English, it is natural that participants envision some kind of social contexts, for example *in front of people* [student 11; SSS2], *outside the country* [student 6; SSS1], *interview session* [Teacher 2] in which they can participate using the language. As their current identities are situated in the classrooms, which is the reason they are being referred to as students in the first place, so also is their imagined future identities developed to function within certain contexts. For the student who envisions using English in front of people, her desire is to be able to defend her clients in court; while the student who sees himself travelling outside the country hope to communicate with confidence with his business partners

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> Like being a lawyer, I have to be able to speak good English. So if
> I am maybe trying to defend somebody I will be able to speak very
> very good English instead of me making mistakes and
> embarrassing myself or client [student 2; SSS3]

> Like when I am talking with my co-partners abroad because it is
> not all of them that will understand my native dialect. So I will be
> able to speak English with them to communicate with them better
> [student 6; SSS1]

Even though these future selves are imagined, yet they are no less significant, and in a sense, no less real than their current identities. Such that, when students memorize or learn how to speak, read, write and listen in English, they are in a way collecting vocabularies and constructing sentences in order to be able to operate truly in the reality of their imagination. Being able to perform such daunting responsibilities in future is an outcome of how far they would have come in their language learning process. Therefore, studying English generates an exchange value for an identity that requires L2 competence.

Students' imagined future self can therefore be likened to what Dornyei (2009) refers to as the ideal L2 self which ―refers to the representation of the attributes that one would ideally like to possess (i.e. representation of hopes, aspirations, or wishes)…" (p.13), and this he asserts would go a long way to reduce the discrepancy between one's actual and ideal self. The actual self is what students see themselves as at present; incompetent and anxiety-ridden users of the English language, for example they have this to say about why they at times dislike the language

> English is a language I really don't feel confident speaking. I have
> a problem with the oral English … there are some words I don't
> know how to pronounce and there is no way you won't make
> mistakes [student 6; SSS1]

> …those grammar like parts of speech, all this simile,
> metaphors…those that, those kind of English that you will be
> speaking somehow like a proverb like her father kicked the
> bucket… are somehow difficult to learn to use because you won't

quickly understand it unless you know the meaning [student 11; SSS2]

Meanwhile the future self is the picture they construct, of how they would speak (i.e. with boldness, freedom and confidence) within the parameters of the learnt language. Therefore, they have imagined a future self that would embody their aspirations, hopes, desires and accomplishment in terms of their language learning experience. Their ideal L2 self, which in this case represents assertive and confident identities is thus represented in their minds as the opposite of their here-and-now self. English language learning to these students thus implies becoming someone different from the present self, moving towards an ideal self.

Drawing on this theory of possible L2 selves by Dornyei (2009), it is possible to argue that when students visualise themselves speaking English boldly and confidently in future, they actually see themselves performing accordingly. Their certainty about the disappearance of any communication apprehension (e.g. embarrassing oneself, being able to express oneself confidently, boldness and freedom to communicate in English) suggests that their imaged identities are a reality to them, which further sheds light on Ruvolo and Markus' (1992) assertion that people can see and hear their possible future self. How learners feel about themselves and their future selves therefore reveals that learning a language successfully according to Stevick (1980) depends ―less on materials, techniques and linguistic analysis and more on what goes on inside and between the people in the classroom" (p. 4).

Even though they transcended time and space to present such versions of their English using selves, it is their present selves as teenagers that came up with the idea that being self-conscious and embarrassed will be the consequences of presenting an inadequate version in terms of linguistic incompetence of their L2 Self. This suggests that self-confidence which is tied with their ability to speak good English is an important identity marker of this particular age group as they are involved in a critical period in the construction of their identity (Harklau, 2007). Therefore, their present-day self-confidence will also be prone to vulnerability when they perceive that they might embarrass themselves among peers who are more competent in the English Language.

If you don't know how to speak English, some of your classmates they will laugh at you and some will think that this boy or girl is from a bush or from a poor family [student 6; SSS1]

If I do speak Yoruba at home fluently and I came to school but I do not know how to speak English fluently, it would affect me and my classmates may be laughing at me and I don't want that to happen [student 11; SSS2]

as in, when sometimes if I speak the English, as in if I am not very good in it as in if I say something that is wrong, as in they do make jest of me … [student 2; SSS3]

I would like to speak English well among my mates and peers because I would not be made jest of and be confident of what I am saying. I would be able to stand out in their midst and I would be proud of myself too [student 3; SSS3]

Or go into what Arnold and Brown (1999) refers to as language shock that is, ―fear that their words in the target language do not reflect their ideas adequately, perhaps making them appear ridiculous or infantile" (pp.21-22) which was the case with this student in a public school.

Student:	at times, I kind of make some mistakes while speaking to my friends. Use the wrong words when I am supposed to use the right words
Researcher:	How do you know you are using the wrong words?
Student:	My friends would laugh at me (head bowed and in a low voice). They would laugh at me very well and I would just keep quiet after that

[student 3; SSS3]

Even though these students did not say it explicitly, it is obvious that both are not comfortable with being laughed at or judged as a result of their English language abilities. Hence, the many reports that the student in the first example made to the principal, and the bowed head and low voice used by the student in the second example. This shows that student confidence level decreases with the lack of self-confidence to use English.

Norton (2000) claims that exposure to English is made possible through the classroom context and that the opportunity to practise is dependent largely on the access to anglophone social networks like social outings, work place, restaurants etc.; fluency is thus dependent on this kind of social networks. In an L2 context like Nigeria, social networks can be found amongst students since English is mostly the medium of communication in a country with speakers of diverse languages and without a national language. However, because students laugh and make jest of one another within such networks; such that those at the end of such jokes are made to feel bad and insecure and others do not wish to trade places with the ones being laughed at, is it no wonder then that these students are aware that as an exclusive performative resource, English works effectively to allow one claim a right to speak.

Student: in our classroom, if you speak English and it's not
                correct they will laugh at you ... I don't like it cus
                they won't tell you the correct English and that's
                why I don't really like talking in class
Researcher: because if it was you too, you will laugh
Student: weel, yes, it's true I will laugh
                                    [student 3; SSS3]

Linking competence in English language with confidence and boldness suggests that being anxious and embarrassed are traits that comes with one's inability to speak English, thereby reducing other factors (e.g. lack of knowledge of the subject matter) that might bring about anxiety and apprehension during communication into one's inability to speak English. However, since language learning is like a journey Horwitz (2009), at what time during the language learning process would students say that they have learnt enough English to be bold and confident? Is it when they can communicate without being laughed at or when they have attained the fluency of the Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka, who according to them is a role model in terms of his spoken English abilities because *there is no where he gets to that he can't stand and say anything* [student 3; SSS3] and *he speaks English just like those white men too. He doesn't use past tense for present tense, or present tense for past tense...* [student 2; SSS3].

In reality, students are not confident in their English speaking abilities, and as such are not bold or free to pass across their ideas in particular contexts. They have therefore imagined an identity or an ought-to L2 self (Dornyei, 2009) that would have the attributes

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they believe they ought to possess to avoid possible negative outcome like being embarrassed or laughed at in front of people or their peers. These attributes range from knowing when to use the right words [student 3; SSS3], mastering pronunciation [student 6; SSS1] and …those grammar like parts of speech, all these simile, metaphors… [student 11; SSS2].

Puchta (1999) has stressed the importance of beliefs to any language learning experience, that they ―are strong perceptual filters, that … give us a basis for future behaviour‖ (p.66), and since in this case these beliefs operate at the level of students‗ identities, in that they feel that when they speak English they are still unable to express themselves fluently, their present selves are therefore seen as limited versions of their future self. If the learning environment is not also supportive, it would be more difficult for students to take the necessary risks involved in attempting to communicate, thus their identity and self-esteem may be compromised and they then become unwilling to try again and make themselves vulnerable

Student:	in our classroom, if you speak English and it's not correct they will laugh at you ... as in, when sometimes if I speak the English, as in if I am not very good in it as in if I say something that is wrong, as in they do make jest of me. Anytime I tell my principal and teachers they would say if they are making jest of me that that will improve it…
Researcher:	and has that helped you?
Student:	I don‗t know, but it is just scary to open one‗s mouth to speak English…

[student 3; SSS3]

Teachers and principals‗ insistence to continue to speak the language in front of their peers despite students‗ claim that they are being laughed at only increases their feeling of self-consciousness and inadequacy, since communication during the language learning process has been shown to be especially anxiety provoking (Horwitz et al. 1991). This does not mean however that students should not be encouraged to speak in English, but Arnold (2009) claims that one cannot get the best from students if there are affective interference e.g. labelling, criticism and sarcasms (Hoffman, 1999) in their cognitive processing some of which can be seen in some of these utterances

If you don't know how to speak English, some of your classmates they will laugh at you and some will think that this boy or girl is from a bush or from a poor family **[**student 6; SSS1]

If I do speak Yoruba at home fluently and I came to school but I do not know how to speak English fluently, it would affect me and my classmates may be laughing at me and I don't want that to happen … [student 11; SSS2]

Their imaginations concerning having a future self with confidence in English is not bad in and of itself; however the issue is that it creates an impression that they have to learn enough English before they can be bold and confident to express their ideas in public. This belief that a standard of correctness lies outside their pattern of language use has real life consequences on their present selves, some of which are tied to the way they are perceived by the society

… I would like to be able to speak English very well among my mates or peers cus it would make me stand out in their midst and I would be proud of myself [student 11; SSS2]

English is the official language in this country, so me being able to speak the language well would mean so much. I would really really love it; people will look at me and they would talk about me in a good way. So I will be very proud to speak English [student 3; SSS3]

English makes you a different person among your friends; now imagine if you can speak it well. You will be very very bold [student 6; SSS1]

When you are speaking English, you will be confident on what you are saying that is if you know what to say o. you will be proud of yourself that at least, this is not my mother tongue and I can speak it this well [student 2; SSS3]

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According to Horwitz (2009), it is not necessarily the case that more advanced learners will have higher levels of self-esteem, though (McCroskey et al. 1977) argued that oral communication apprehension can be associated with low self-esteem. However, it is entirely also possible according to Horwitz (2009) that how learners feel about themselves and the language they are learning is likely to be different at different points in the language learning process. It is not that this is their first or second year learning English; in fact as I had already explained in 5.3.3, some of these students have been learning the language all their lives or as some claimed right in their mother's womb

I have been learning English all my life [student 6; SSS1]

Student: I started learning English from my mother's womb.
Researcher: Really?
Student: yes, it's true because my mum said she only spoke English to me when I was in her womb, and erm.. it continued when I got into nursery school [student 2; SSS3]

So whatever self-consciousness students' feel should have been dispensed with at this stage of their learning. But as I have mentioned earlier, adolescence is regarded as a particular difficult age in the development of social identity and conception of self, and is even more problematic for multilingual and multi-ethnic English learners (Harklau, 2007) as failure to acquire a language successfully according to monolingual standards is perceived as bad and unacceptable. In order for students to be *talked about in a good way*[student 3; SSS3], *to stand out* [student 11; SSS2], *to be bold*[student 6; SSS1] and *confident* [student 2; SSS3], *speaking English well* [student 6; SSS1] is portrayed as only one of an array of symbolic resources through which these identities can be forged.

This chapter has examined how SSS students' imagined identities/communities is mediated by the ideologies of English in the society. Such that, securing a place and being able to participate fully within their imagined professional, mobile, assertive and expressive identities depends on the mastery of English, thereby communicating the idea that students understands what it takes to gain access to and fulfil the language demands and practise of

their imagined future identities. Thus, the possibilities offered by the English language means that students are able to imagine what is socially imaginable.

However, even though students have gone through a culturally valid process that is supposed to produce valuable results- *I will be expecting myself to be an architect* [student 5; SSS2]; *I would like to be a medical doctor in Los Angeles, America* [student 4; SSS1]; *...without English, I would not be able to speak, I would just disgrace myself...* [student 5; SSS2]; *English makes you... very very bold* [student 2; SSS3]- yet none of these might translate into material benefits for them. This is because the larger socioeconomic contexts in which students live might not change their position on the periphery of the economy simply because of their production of symbolically valuable speech. Structural inequalities come with students to school and also affect the schools they attend such that socio-economic disparities, among others are reproduced in the educational system. Although these disparities do not prevent learning, there will be striking inequalities in facilities, resources and infrastructure (e.g. internet access, libraries, teaching style etc.) between schools, which can then have an impact on whether students' imagined identities would come true. I cannot really assert that students who attend schools where there are good structural and learning facilities would have their imagined identities come true (that is, if the imagined identities explained in this chapter is what they would also imagine themselves) as there are exceptions, however the likelihood for the students in this high-paying fee schools is high. So even though education in English allows student to ‒reposition themselves within the dominant market, to bring to that market linguistic resources that have value there, and that therefore increase the chances of achieving their goals" (Heller 1999, p.271), it might really not be an important player in the levelling of socio-economic and political differences in the society.

Pennycook (2006) therefore asserts that the promises surrounding English as a language that will better people's lives, or in this case fulfil students' imagined identities might be a myth. Such that, in as much as the language holds out promises for social and material gain, there is the need to get beyond liberal and straightforward arguments for access into certain social privileges, and look instead at the broad effects of the language's provision in all of its complexity e.g. symbol of power (privileging certain identities above others), disparity (indexing inequality and the need for access into particular identities) and desire (understanding the relationship between identity and agency). Without such an analysis, Pennycook (2006) claims that the myth of English as a language of opportunity will make the language a delusionary language.

Even though parent 3 and 4 claim *...I don't think I would have been able to get the job or perform my duties without a knowledge of English....; I have been able to use English to earn my livelihood as a banker....* respectively, however the belief that if everybody learned English, they would all be better off might actually not be true. It might be that in the past, knowledge of English is what one needs to succeed however, in recent times the language cannot be stated categorically as the only mechanism that makes one succeed in life. Granted the English language is important, however political and institutional institutions have operated to transform the idea that linguistic capital will translate to material capital into a dominant way of thinking. As a result, students' imagined identities/communities at even the most personal level can then be said to be related to social ideologies and hegemonies of English. The analysis in this chapter thus reveals some of the beliefs that construct the global hegemony of English and forces us to locate those beliefs within the context of local culture rather than a single coherent conceptualisation of global culture available throughout the world.

When students mention that they would like to have professional, mobile, expressive and assertive identities, these future identities emerge from their desires to function within these particular imagined communities, thereby resulting in their imagined identities to be mediated by the perception of what they should be aiming for as students with the knowledge of English in the local and global world. Students' identities are therefore a struggle of what Bourdieu (1987) refer to as habitus -"an internalised system by which people make sense of the world..." (Davin and Norton 2015, p. 45) - and desire, of opposing ideologies and imagined identities. The former provides a conceptual understanding of what is possible and affords students the tendency to think and act in ways that correspond with a prevailing ideology. The ideologies of English portrayed by powerful agents (e.g. parents, teachers, policies on education) in the society shapes their habitus and influences them to structure their attitudes and dispositions towards English and their various mother tongues. For example, their beliefs about English being a valuable language on the grounds of its economic and social advantages in terms of the identities it can give makes it appropriate for them to construct the language as one that must be acquired at whatever cost so as to survive and flourish in the society. The structured habitus led them to produce statements that embraces English and rejects the mother tongues. This belief is therefore held as a strategy for recognition and acceptance based on whatever role they imagined to play within the society.

It may therefore seem as if students' desires are shaped by habitus or prevailing ideologies which predisposes them to think, act and learn in certain ways. However, it is through desire and imagination that students are able to exercise their agency and invest in practices that transform their lives. Students imagine identities which are adjusted to the constraints of the social and linguistic environment. However, their imaginations allow them to act with some measure of freedom such that whether they imagine professional, mobile, expressive or assertive identities, they invest because there is something that they want for themselves and will allow them to re-envision how things are as how they want them to be.

Chapter 7

Conclusion, recommendations and suggestions for further research

7.1   Conclusion

It has been the aim of this thesis to explore the language ideologies of English that the Nigerian society reflect, and how SSS students in private/public schools in Nigeria conceive of their imagined communities/identities with respect to these existing societal ideological discourses of English. I also described the link between the imagined identities of SSS students and the socio-cultural context that these identities emerge from, in order to identify larger ideological discourses reflected in the identity options students take up. I have therefore sought to examine this topic based on the assumption that there is a mode of mediation between SSS students imagined identities/communities in Nigeria (Ilori, 2013) and the wider social and educational practices in which their future identities/imagined communities are embedded. Fairclough (1995, 2015) and van Dijk's (1993, 1995, 2001) CDA allowed the researcher to seek out representations of how language use and beliefs are linked to relations of power, dominance and political arrangements in societies, and to also examine how they give an insight into SSS students imagined community/identity in Nigeria.

This thesis therefore demonstrates that the imagined identities of SSS students are anything but neutral as some language and identity options are privileged above others. As a result of these ideologies of English, students seek new social and linguistic resources which allow them to resist identities (e.g. *teacher* [student 9; SSS1], [student 1; SSS3]; *quirk doctor/moron* [student 1; SSS3], *dummy* [student 4; SSS1]) that position them in undesirable ways and to also imagine and produce desirable (e.g. *doctor* [student 1; SSS3], *lawyer/bold* [student 11; SSS2], [student 9; SSS1], *confident* [student 6; SSS1] etc.) future identities for themselves. Therefore, there is an emphasis on identities that are constructed and validated through the linguistic practices which are available and authorised to students at a particular point in time and place. In this concluding chapter, I will summarise my findings by shedding more light on these discourses that are reiterated by increasingly authoritative individuals (e.g. parents, teachers, principals) and contexts (e.g. home, schools), and how they are based on the ideology that students' imagined identities need to linguistically conform in order for them to be truly accepted and successful in their imagined communities. The trajectory of this research has therefore raised some salient issues with regards to learning English in a multilingual context in Nigeria.

Due to Nigeria's colonial history and more importantly, to the beliefs held about the values of English, the language more than any other language is implicated in the process of

student's imagined identity. It is therefore through these ideological assumptions that one can begin to understand that the choices students make about the identity options they imagine are direct responses to the way the English language is perceived in the local (social, political and educational) and global context. As a result, SSS students' future identities are fashioned in relation to the ideologies of English as an international language, a language of unification, economic participation and language education. This does not mean that these beliefs about English in Nigeria are produced merely by putting sentences together or coincidental convergence of discursive patterns. On the contrary, it demonstrates at least one way through which language can intersect with social, educational and political conditions of society, and this is where one can begin to make the connection between globalisation and the local resignification of English. It therefore seems that the ideologies of English observed in the Nigerian context can be traced to discourses of English that are circulated on the global level; that is colonial and post-colonial discourse of English that deal with the dominant discourse on monolingualism.

For example, there is an underlying assumption that allowing languages other than English to flourish in the linguistic repertoire of students would result in a range of negative outcomes, and since the NPE, curriculum and the examining boards demands that a certain proficiency in English needs to be demonstrated in order to do well in examinations, which is a stepping stone for students to achieving their imagined identities (e.g. *English help in becoming a doctor; they cannot give me a certificate written in Yoruba language*[student 1; SSS3], *English would make me become a nurse* [student 4; SSS1], *English helps student prepare for his/her future. For example, if the person wants to become a doctor, s/he would need to learn and speak English* [parent 3]), even the most insensitive of citizen grasp this message and adjust their attitudes in line with it. Therefore, in the face of this hegemonic ideologies of homogenisation, it is not surprising that those who are subject to the ‗symbolic violence' (Blackledge, 2005) of monoglot standardisation comply.

This kind of reasoning, that is, *...mastery of the English language equals enlightenment* [parent3] is why respondents have their own language and education agenda (e.g. teach children English at infancy), and the policies enacted during colonialism which neglects the rich tapestry of multilingualism in Nigeria are still in place. With the mother tongues not being one of the resources that society, schools and home privilege and reward, these languages therefore lack linguistic capital in the discourses of education, economic participation and language development of students, and have negative impact on language ideologies of the mother tongue.

The danger here is that the importance of literacy development in local languages is ignored, and there is the risk that individuals are forced into choosing which language is most likely to offer the greatest opportunities. Though this language practices and resistance shows that individuals do not necessarily follow the mechanistic view of social reproduction envisioned by Bourdieu (1991), however it does not in the end transform social relations as it disempower students by limiting their linguistic and identity options instead of supporting them to make their own choices on which language and identity to learn and imagine respectively. As students imagine possible identities for themselves, the expectation from (e.g. teachers, government, parents) is that they need to linguistically conform to a certain way in order to be truly accepted and successful in their respective imagined future. When individuals are caught between two or more languages in this manner, as these students obviously are, they are most likely to go for the language that offers the greatest catch, which might or might not be the best decision to make. This is why these respondents would think that *...it would only make sense to learn English* [student 11; SSS2], ...speaking *one's mother tongue would interfere with the knowledge of English* [parent 2], *... using the mother tongues to teach in school is dangerous...* [teacher 2].

Multilingual contexts like Nigeria are therefore discursive contexts where imagined identities are constructed within the confines of value for particular identities e.g. ‗literate', ‗educated', ‗mobile', ‗expressive' etc. These imposed identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004) are not negotiable, since discourse practise of the government, institutions, schools and home positions less proficient users and non-speakers of English as inferior to the proficient ones. There might be well-meaning individuals who are strongly against this English-only education and identity like these parents: *it is unfortunate that some Yoruba make it compulsory for their children not to speak the Yoruba language but only English...*[parent 3], *it is ignorant for people to uphold the English language above one's native language...*[parent 1]. However, no amount of resistance or even self-positioning (Davies and Harre, 1999) will change the requirement that in order to gain the privilege of being welcomed in the imagined identities that students come up with, they need to be able to demonstrate proficiency in English- one that is believed to be achievable through excluding the mother tongues from the classrooms and homes. One would then begin to better understand the reason for this teacher's blatant statement that *...to use the mother tongues to teach in school is dangerous...* [teacher 2].

Since such language choices and attitudes are therefore intrinsically linked to students' imagined identities, students cannot choose to position themselves only as doctors or

lawyers or engineers etc. They would need to attach certain prefixes to such identities, which will make their imagined identities to look like this e.g. educated + expressive + self-confident + doctor = educated, expressive, self-confident doctor; educated + expressive, self-confident + engineer = educated, expressive, self-confident engineer etc. with these prefixes coming before each professional identities denoting one who is confident in his/her ability to speak and/or write in English. This is why for these students, the reasons for learning English boils down to this: *English will make people know I am educated and if I can't speak English, people will think I am a quirk doctor* [student 1; SSS3] and *like being a lawyer, ... if I am maybe trying to defend somebody I will have to speak very very good English instead of me making mistakes and embarrassing myself or client...*[student 11; SSS2].In the process of educating students, the ideology of monoligualism as a key stone to education, mobility, expression and professional identities which has dominated public discourses is thereby used as an exclusionary gate-keeping device.

So even though it seems as if students have agency and choice while imagining future identities for themselves, these identities are contested Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) by the discursive practices that insist on the kind of doctor, lawyer or engineer they can aspire to be. Education in English must therefore come first before any other identity options can follow, or before they can even dare to imagine an identity for themselves. A process of normalisation is therefore evident, whereby it seems to appear natural that one language is more legitimate, and provides access to symbolic resources. This is what Bourdieu (1998) calls the institutionalised circle of misrecognition which creates the conditions for social injustice, as those who either refuse, or are unable to conform to the dominant ideology are marginalised, denied access to symbolic resources and often, excluded. At present, the English language is the language of symbolic capital, socioeconomic status, and access to opportunities in the job market and an instrument to success. In this case, individuals (e.g. students, parents, teachers, school administrators, government etc.) have come to believe that _having' English enables them to realise certain ambitions and expectations, and a refusal to toe this particular linguistic line would result in certain negative consequences as discussed in preceding chapters.

Therefore, when legislations are put in place to ensure that the medium of communication in schools, public service, and administration should be English, when teachers assert that *...to use the mother tongues to teach in school is dangerous...* [teacher 2], when principals have this to say when students speak their mother tongues either within or outside school premises - *...why are you speaking Yoruba with me? Didn't you go to school?*

Can't you speak English? [principal 1], when parents say that *...if we started speaking the native dialect to them, it would interfere with their knowledge of English* [parent 2] and there are statistics (25-30%) documented to prove the salary gap between speakers of English and non-speakers depending on position (Euromonitor International, 2010), an ideology of assimilation or monolingualism based on the superiority of the English language speaker is established. The consequences are that two classes of students and or citizens are created; the class of the advantaged, and therefore superior, and the class of the disadvantaged, and therefore inferior. As such, the monolingual tendencies are about more than language alone, since it seeks to remove other indigenous languages from the linguistic landscape, and also act as a linguistic gate to keep out those who either refuse, or are unable to abide by the rules of monolingualism.

The union of the cultural and linguistic practices therefore contributes to a social norm or pattern that is characterised by the principles of inclusion and exclusion in terms of class, status and linguistic background. The discourse on the ideology of monolingualism which embraces only English is therefore a contest between what kinds of identities are allowed and which is not; about who is _in' and who is _out', which is why the quirk doctor - one who is not educated and cannot speak English [student 1; SSS3], the lawyer who cannot speak very good English [student 2; SSS3] are totally not _in', and not seen as identity options to be desired. Individuals who fall into the _out' category, that is those who either refuse or are unable to conform will therefore be denied access to symbolic resources e.g. employment opportunities - *if you are an illiterate, it's not going to be easy to get a job outside* [student 3; SSS3] or not welcomed in the imagined identities of their choice - *English will make me become a nurse. My MT can't make me become a nurse* [student 1; SSS3].In asking questions about who have access to symbolic and material resources in Nigeria, about who should be allowed into particular imagined identities/communities, one would therefore need to take account not only of localised linguistic behaviours, attitudes and beliefs; but also locate them in wider discourses of education, politics and society

The discourse that appears to normalise the reality that identities associated with other languages other than English are bad and unacceptable are therefore endowed with symbolic power, and is more active when supported by social, political and educational institutions. The ideological discourses of English exemplified within these three categories in the micro society thereby have the power to distribute and influence students' identities, through setting criteria for what students should be taught, what languages they should be exposed to, which languages are to be employed and legitimised in schools as … *my mother tongue can't make*

me become a nurse... [student 1; SSS3]. Any attempt to use a language other than English means that such a student would be classified or identified as the ‗other' by virtue of the language characteristics which s/he is presumed or perceived to lack – *nowadays if you speak Yoruba around people, they will ask is this one illiterate?* [student 3; SSS3], …*you will be seen as someone who wasn't educated* [student 6; SSS1], *...it would affect me and my classmates will laugh at me and think I am … from a poor family* [student 4; SSS1]. In other words, students use of their indigenous languages divides ‗them' (those who use English) from ‗us' (those who do not use English), with this division acting as symbols of difference between the literates/educated/rich and the illiterates/uneducated/poor, thereby having real life consequences on what identities students can imagine.

The ideology of English monolingualism as a basis for students' imagined identities/communities therefore emerges from chains of discourses that act hand-in-hand to create common sense realities which are held to be self-evident. It appears for instance to be common sense that since English is the *most widespread language in the world* [student 1; SSS3], then *you can communicate with anybody you see anywhere in the whole wide world* [student 3; SS3] or *communicate with anybody not of my ethnic group* [student 3; SSS3], and thus *encourage international relations...* [student 4; SSS1] or prevent *tribal wars …* [vice principal 1]. It is also self-evident that since *English help in becoming a doctor…* [student 2; SSS3], *...a lawyer…* [student 3; SSS3], *achieve most of my dream…* [student 4; SSS1], then the NPE stating that ―…*every child shall learn the language of the immediate environment …"* (2004, para. 10a) should be disregarded by parents - *parents teach their children how to use the language, even at the level of infancy…* [parent 3]; educational institution - English is *done daily (40 minutes) in all the class, and Yoruba, Hausa or Igbo is learnt just once in a week* [teacher 1] and students – *when it became optional, I dropped Igbo language like hot cake...* [student 11; SSS2].

As students imagine identities with particular focus on the role of the English language in the process, as they construct narratives in contexts where boundaries are created, maintained and reinforced between those that ‗have' English and those who do not, and in the face of this ‗us' versus ‗them' image, a process of unequal distribution of power, identities and imagined communities are produced and reproduced. Not everyone would have access to English, and not even all who attend school will learn enough English to acquire the economic and social capital (e.g. students' imagined identities) that is believed to come with the language. Yet, without an education in English, students' chances of imagining future identities are even less than with it (e.g. …*without English you are nobody, no one… you*

have no future… [student 1; SSS3], so monolingualism in English continues to be the focus and the hegemonic ideology of English as a keystone to particular identities continues to dominate public discourse. Therefore, when learners describe what English means to them, they are not only drawing on larger discourses on language ideologies, but also how they relate to others using this language, how their sense of who they are is shaped and constructed through their language use; and how their future imagination as mobile, expressive, assertive and professional identities is mediated by the kinds of practices, beliefs and experiences they have in English. The theoretical and pedagogical implications from these findings are profound.

7.2   Theoretical and pedagogical implications

Consistent with the research of scholars such as Phillipson (1992), Canagarajah (1999), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) who are interested in the linguistic hegemony of the English language as a global language and the survival of other languages of the world, it is obvious that if we wish to understand the importance of English in students' lives, we cannot ignore the ways in which the language serves to both empower and marginalise. On the one hand, the language is a coveted social or economic capital that can provide students access to social and economic rewards (e.g. *English will make me achieve most of my dream… that of becoming an architec*t [student 5; SSS2]), and on the other hand, it is very impossible to relegate the language without paying the price (e.g. *English language is a license for you to live, there is a burden on you to learn it whether you like it or not* [student 6; SSS1]). The language is thus generally positively evaluated because of what it can give, what it stands for, where it can take one and what it can make you become in life

Though some of the students feel that there are no disadvantages to learning English since …*it's a language that everybody understands* [student 7; SSS3], however most of them sense, even if it is vaguely the impositions on their value system and identity *at times if you speak English all the time you can forget your mother tongue* [student 2; SSS3]; *a person that does not know how to speak their native language is a curse to the parents* [student 3; SSS3]. This predicament helps us to understand the nature of the conflict facing students; therefore any pedagogy that is to be planned will have to take into account students' desire to master the language in order to compete for social and economic status, their fears of linguistic dominance, and suggests ways of acquiring the language with a suitable resolution of the conflicts posed.

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Even though the dominant ideologies of English are embedded within the way students, teachers, parents and language policies talk about English, and the language more than any other language as explained in chapter six is closely connected to the process of SSS student's imagined identities/communities, it should not suggest that respondents are bound to adhere to and reproduce such ideological beliefs. Certainly, the pervasiveness of the effects of the ideologies of English makes them difficult to challenge and question. Nonetheless, the fact that students, teachers, parents, principals are at the centre of this process provides them with the potential to undermine the power of global English. Suarez (2002) thereby suggests individual's awareness of, and resistance towards English language usage motivated by antihegemonic ideologies. While at first it may seem that to resist linguistic hegemony is to resist the dominant language, however this might not be a successful resistance. So instead of maintaining the view that learning the mother tongues potentially block the achievements of certain social and economic goals, and thereby contend that English needs to supplant the indigenous languages, Eriksen (1992) stresses on the usefulness of both the indigenous and English language.

> Any opposition against the dominant language is inherently paradoxical. With no knowledge of these languages, one remains parochial and powerless. The paradox, then, of linguistic hegemony is that one must buy into it, or acquiesce on some level in order to resist it. Resistance is not monolingualism in the minority *or dominant language*, but rather through bilingualism. Proficiency in both languages is the successful strategy of resistance (italicised words, mine) (p.319)

This kind of resistance mechanism is what Tsuda (1994) describes as the ecology of language whereby, more equal language opportunities are promoted based on equality in communication, multilingualism and maintenance of languages and cultures. So that while English as a global and/or local language is duly acknowledged and utilised maximally for international policy and diplomacy, administrative, intercultural and educational convenience, families and other institutions (e.g. media) can promote the learning and use of the indigenous languages. This pragmatic approach is illustrated by these parents

> …keeping the MT to work with the English language is a matter of erm…erm legislation... we can begin to create structures, policies that will compete with the English language favourably in such a way that we retain the English language and also work with the

mother tongues, the indigenous languages…such that when a child

learns the English language in school, the learning should not stop

the acquisition of the mother tongue… [parent 3]

…legislation through an enforcement of the existing language

policies, which stipulates that the indigenous languages should be

the primary language of communication in schools during the early

part of primary education, can save Nigerian languages. There is

therefore the need to agree that it is reasonable, meaningful and

helpful to sustain the growth of the indigenous languages, and this

would require a concerted effort of all strata of society, including

religious organisations, schools, community leaders, women and

youth groups [teacher 1]

An appropriate application of Suarez's (2000) paradox and Tsuda's (1992) ecology of language to Nigeria's situation may as this parent suggests lie in a blend of the indigenous language maintenance and English language learning, since research (Kembo, 2000) in language acquisition and cognitive development confirms that an in-depth understanding of one's first language increases one's chances of acquiring other languages, literacies and knowledge. This means that if competence in the first language is lacking, there will be difficulty in mastering second language skills, thereby leading to language failure. According to Essien (2006)

… Unfortunately because of the dominance of Englishand the

colonial mental hangover, most Nigerian parents do not teach

their children their respective mother tongues. Yetthe English

language eludes these children as their WAEC performance in

English and worse still their abysmal proficiency generally in

this language show. (p. 4)

In other words, promoting the learning of English at the expense of the indigenous languages, as parents in Nigeria are eager to carry out will not improve the overall performance of students who are second language learners of English.

Even though there are theories proposed (e.g. threshold factor) by linguists (e.g. Cummins, 1984) to explain the reasons for this failure, however when one is forced to learn a language with the tension of a threat of ideological domination and the promises of a socio-economic necessity, especially the latter as is the case in Nigeria, language learners'

assumption about that language acquisition process may be inaccurate. The English language is a highly valued school subject, as tests and examinations on the subject act as gatekeeping devices to move to the next class at the end of the school term or gain university admission

> If you don't pass your English, you can't go on…erm go to another class... [student 6; SSS1]

> Yoruba, Hausa or Igbo is not a compulsory subject to pass before you go to the next class, but English is… [student 1; SSS3]

A good performance on English tests therefore works as symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) that widens or limits the career options or imagined identities for students.

Placing so much emphasis on English and the identities (professional, mobile, expressive and assertive) it can give thereby, results into a situation whereby teachers teach the language and students learn as a means to an end. The scenario is such that the former is in an undue rush to cover the syllabus, and the latter is only motivated to pass examinations in the language rather than master it.

> … If I have English today and government tomorrow, instead of me reading English, I would rather read government. If I have to read, I would only cram and for the letter writing part, I will just cram the heading [student 8; SSS3]

> If I have English tomorrow and biology tomorrow, I would rather read biology than English too. You know erm erm there is nothing nothing to read in English because teachers only come inside the class to give notes and write on the board. Yes o, no explanations, and then later they come in front of the class saying it is self-explanatory that students should go and read their books… [student 9; SSS1]

> I feel like for English, you can't pick up English and say this is what you want to read because all we do is write, write, write. No practice, nothing. So I just take my text books, read some things there or just take the dictionary and cram words… [student 5; SSS2]

What the teacher and students describe as happening in the English class is a lot of pressure to teach and learn things quickly, a lot of stress to take examinations, an emphasis on decontextualized, abstract language, and a lack of real-world applicability of what has been learnt. Students then invest in the linguistic skills gotten through *cramming, reading their note books* and *dictionaries* to pass tests and examinations, which is at the expense of the real language abilities necessary to do well in their chosen subject courses and imagined future community *like being a lawyer, I have to be able to speak good English. So if I am maybe trying to defend somebody...* [student 11; SSS2], *it will play a good role, while communicating with patients, nurses, people that will come to the hospital*[student 1; SSS3].

So it is not as if students and teachers do not know that competence in English matters with regards to students' imagined identities, and represents a pre-requisite for full participation in their imagined identities. But as it is obvious from their earlier statements, they would rather invest in language skills that are examination oriented rather than communication-oriented. Teachers are therefore pressured to teach knowledge and skills without listening to what students have to say (e.g. *defend somebody* in court, *communicate with patients, nurses* in the hospital etc.) about using English. Thus, instead of students learning, they cram; instead of understanding, they master and instead of their imagined communities/identities influencing the way their language learning practices are taken up in the here and now- investing in language practices that would get them to their ideal, all it does is to encourage them practise examination-type skills.What then happens is that students are not meaningfully involved in the generation of their own knowledge resulting in lack of motivation to learning the English language.

Therefore, it is important to get learners to use the language for the purpose of true communication as against the imposition of grammatical structures and meanings abstracted from their social contexts or situations. Among other things, it is a known fact that language is more than simply a system of rules; language is now generally seen as a dynamic resource for the creation of meaning Brown and Yule (1983). This implies that in terms of learning, focus should be placed on not only knowing that- knowing and being able to regurgitate sets of grammatical rules, but also knowing how- being able to deploy this grammatical knowledge to communicate effectively Nunan (2004). Emphasis in language teaching should therefore be on using the skills that have been acquired or learnt Williams (2004).

Obanya (2002, p.212) asserts that such communicative skills cannot be acquired through textbooks, but "in a natural (special) activity and it is better taught and learned in that context." This implies that purposeful activities (such as elaborate role-plays and simulations, in which the target language situation could be brought into the classroom) will have to be planned so that the classroom would become as realistic as possible a rehearsal room for life outside. This will allow learners to be actively involved in the learning activities taking place in the classroom. In view of this, the task-based approach Nunan (2004) to learning materials, with emphasis on group work and cooperative learning seems to be the most effective methodological vehicle to achieve this goal. The learning process in the form of communicative tasks (for example open-ended, structured, teacher-fronted, small group, pair work) will help define task specific learner factors (roles, proficiency levels, styles), teacher roles, and other variables that are directly linked to the curricular goals they serve, the purposes of which extend beyond the practice of language for its own sake Brown (1994). This type of student/learner-centred teaching method would stimulate active learning, critical thinking and discussion thereby stimulating opinions and interests and promoting individual responsibility.

However, it is also important to note that English language acquisition in this context should not just be exclusively task-oriented, as if language capabilities were no more than skills or tools for passing examinations and education the transmission of such skills. Yet as we have seen in this thesis, language use- discourse – is not just a matter of performing tasks but ―also a matter of constituting and reproducing social identities and social relations, including crucially relations of power" (Fairclough 2015, p.232). This is not to say that developing students' language capabilities do not require that they have a sort of model of language, but at the same time language learning should not just boil down to the transmission of knowledge and skills, divorced of its problematic and social origins.

Therefore, parallel to changes in the conception of language, are changes in the conception of literacy in the field of education. Literacy according to Norton (2013) ―is not only a skill to be learned, but a practice that is socially constructed and locally negotiated" (p.86). Learning a language should not be seen as an ongoing process of internalizing neutral set of rules, structures, and vocabulary of a language, rather, language learners need to negotiate language as a system and as a social practice. This suggests that learning a language is not only about reading and writing, but about how such practices affect learners' sense of

who they are, how they relate within the society (e.g. home, school, classroom and community) and their place within the world.

As such, when students claim that English would help them to become medical doctors, nurses, bold, confident etc., they should in the word of reality collect vocabularies of medicine and law, construct sentences and sometimes simulate medical practices so that when they find themselves in the reality of their imagination, they can operate truly. In other words, language learners need to be aware of things they shall be doing with the language and taught accordingly, rather than just doing classroom exercises or activities. This suggestion is in line with Norton's (2013) as she asserts that students need to be engaged in their learning because it is more important for them to have experiences that allow them to —think their own English" (p.92) rather than aiming to cover a lot of materials.

In order for students to achieve this goal, such that they are able to avoid the negative or positive responses to the English language, Canagarajah (1999) insists that

> teachers must become border-crossers and practice a pedagogy
> that negotiates competing discourses and cultures. It might even
> become necessary for teachers to be researchers (at least in
> informal ways) to learn from their students and constantly
> rethink their pedagogical practise (p.194)

This teacher-fronted pedagogy would therefore compel the teacher to identify what kind of shifts his/her identity will necessitate in terms of rejecting or embracing well-intentioned practices (e.g. discouraging the use of vernaculars to inform learning and rejecting the typical position of master-apprentice/ mastery-pedagogy (Lave and Wenger, 1991) with the requisite skill and knowledge) which have come to be accepted as professional commonsense in the teaching profession. As such, rather than engaging in classroom activities through the strategies offered by ready-made methods/pedagogy, they are flexible to the realities of their educational context, as they and nobody else can understand better the linguistic needs, goals, actions and learning styles of their students.

These conclusions therefore support and contribute research (Norton 2000; 2001) in the sociological dimensions of language learning which are concerned not only with linguistic input and output in second language learning, but in the relationship between the language learner and the larger social world – between learners and their local and international sites. Such that learners are then viewed as social beings with multiple and changing identities that emerge as a result of their efforts and needs to acquire a language (Norton, 2000). Even though this relationship between identity and language learning are

now well integrated into a wider body of literature on language learning and teaching (Norton, 2013), and the construct of identity in language learning in many ways has resonated with language teachers and researchers it becomes imperative to however adopt a critical approach to this study.

While it is individuals who create and imagine identities for themselves, they cannot be viewed as sole proprietors or creators (Kanno and Norton, 2003), which implies that there are broader sociocultural influences at work (Kanno, 2003, Cobb-Roberts, Shircliffe and Dorn, 2006; Cortez, 2008; Ilori, 2013). However, the relationship between these two variables (identity and broader sociocultural influences) should not be seen as a one-way relationship; that is one leading to the other as they could be mediated by ideologies of English which must be examined in order to offer learners a more equitable and critical representations of themselves and the English language. As a result, given the push to conduct research on identity and language learning in various contexts (Yoshizawa, 2012) of larger institutional practices, whether in the home, school, community or larger society, researchers must continue to critically investigate what broader political, educational and societal ideological load might be permeating learners' imagined identities, thereby moving past their imaginations to look at broader processes ―shared across individuals and implicated in power relations" (Pormerantz 2006, p. 280).

Also, by adopting the understanding or perspective that learner's imagination are ideologically biased, researchers are forced to ask certain questions like ―where do these ideologies come from?", ―why do they persist in spite of ample evidences to disprove them?", ―what impact do they make on learners imagined identities?" and ―who benefits when learners' imagined identities are framed as a results of these beliefs?"- students themselves, institutions, society or perhaps a particular kind of language learner? An answer to these questions may therefore demand that neutrality should no longer be accepted as a concept when talking about imagination or identity. In this way, learners would no longer be viewed as social beings with multiple identities that emerge within specific learning trajectories (Norton, 2000), but as beings with deep-rooted ambiguities that must be represented in a reasonable and justifiable way.

7.3   Implications for further studies

In the previous chapter, I proposed that the construct of imagined identity/community can best be understood as a language-ideological process. I pointed out that previous studies (Deganais, 2003; Kanno, 2003, Cobb-Roberts, Shircliffe and Dorn, 2006; Cortez, 2008; Ilori, 2013) focused more on the direct relationship that exists between the society and the imagined identity/community of learners, and argued for an approach that proposes a more comprehensive and critical examination of the imagined communities/identities language learners aspire to when learning a language. By adopting this approach, I have been able to demonstrate and illuminate the question of how English not only has been able to gain hegemonic status in the Nigerian society, but also how it is implicated in the kinds of identities that students imagine for themselves. This suggests that an examination of how language ideologies mediate learners imagined identities can provide richer and subtler analyses of the process of the spread of English world-wide (that is, first, second and foreign language contexts), particularly when this kind of examination is combined with ethnographic investigations that can trace how patterns of language interactions and beliefs are linked to institutional processes that may produce more enduring consequences of identities both locally and globally. Thus this thesis challenges scholars on language and identity to take a new perspective on the phenomenon and adopt a critically analysis as a framework for research, which means not only gathering new types of data in different contexts, but also asking questions about data that have been collected and analysed according to earlier methods.

For example, one might ask how the imagined identities that were analysed as an outcome of societal and influential agents (i.e. larger society, media and government) in various contexts (e.g. Deganais, 2003; Kanno, 2003, Cobb-Roberts, Shircliffe and Dorn, 2006; Cortez, 2008) may represent particular beliefs about language- e.g. English is considered to be an international language or the language of science and media. Such that the ways learners position or will wish to position themselves and are positioned in these contexts will illuminate with greater precision not only the process of identity construction but also how identity is a struggle between competing ideologies of English and imagined identities of learners. Indeed, language is a central topic in the study of identity (e.g. Cummins, 1996; Gee, 1996; Norton, 2000), as well as the concept of imagined identity (Pavlenko and Norton, 2007), and for these reasons, critical research is in a good position to provide a view on how language works in reflecting and shaping social experiences and identities. Thus by providing the connection between macro-level social and historical forces

on the one hand and micro-level usage of English on the other, the perspective of imagined identities as ideologically based has the potential to enrich research on imagined identity and the global spread of English as we know it.

Another contribution this thesis makes towards research on English language teaching and the broader field of applied linguistics is that issues of incompetence in learning English previously treated as a psychological matter of attitudes (Gardener and Lambert, 1972) or captured in Nigeria with terms such as poor understanding and usage of the English language (WAEC, (2006), socio-economic environment (parents' income, home environment, parents' educational background and occupation, language of communication at home (Adebileje, Adeleke and Ajilore, 2012)); ESL coursebooks, methods and content (Amuseghan, 2007); Mother Tongue (Oluwole, 2008) or an inbalance between how the country's plans and implements its language policy, with reference to the various cultural and ethnic groups residing in the country(Adegbite, 2008) may actually be enmeshed within specific linguistic practices that are connected to language ideologies. Therefore, simply attributing the source of this problem to any one of these misses the complexity of how the process of learning a language is closely tied to the social construction of the meaning of languages and learners' relationship to them. For this reason, future research may benefit greatly by paying more attention to various display of incompetence and ambivalence towards English that is prevalent in many different contexts, and analyze them in terms of language ideology. The analyses presented in this thesis can provide important groundwork that will allow other researchers to investigate this problem further as it emphasizes the linguistic and social constraints of language learning, and how they relate to the reproduction of broadly circulating ideologies of English.

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Participant information sheet for students

My name is Taiwo Ilori. I am a PhD student in the Department of English, Communication, Film and Media at Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge, UK. I am presently carrying out a research for my Doctoral thesis titled <u>Why am I Learning *dis* Language *sef*? Imagined community and Language ideologies of English of Senior Secondary School students in Nigeria</u> supervised by Dr. Rasinger Sebastian and Dr. Bettina Beinhoff.

As part of my thesis, I have to conduct interviews with students in the Senior Secondary Schools in Lagos. This interview is an avenue for the researcher to investigate the language ideologies pertaining to the English language (i.e. the perceived benefits of English within the global and local society) that the Nigerian society reflect, and how Senior Secondary School students in these schools conceive of their imagined communities with respect to these existing ideologies.

You are qualified to participate because you are in the Senior Secondary School, and have also been introduced to the English Language in the early years of your education as a result of the language provisions stated in the National Policy on Education and in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Your participation, that is if you are willing will involve you answering questions about your personal and educational background with regards to when you began to acquire the language, the experiences you are having as students learning the English language as a subject in a Second Language context, your plans for the future and whether being competent in the English language may serve as a bridge to reaching those goals. This semi-structured interview will last for approximately 30-45 minutes. You may choose not to answer some or all of the questions. You can also choose not to continue your participation at any time during the recording process. This will have no effect on your status as a student in the school.

There will be no direct benefit from your participation. In addition, your participation will not cost you anything except for your time. Only the researcher will have access to answers that you provide. In order to maintain your confidentiality, your name will not be requested during the course of the interview, and any questions you have will be answered. Recorded and transcribed data will be locked in a secure place.

You can obtain further information from the Principal Investigator at **taiwo.ilori@student.anglia.ac.uk or +2348023704657**. By participating in this interview, you are giving permission to the researcher to use your information for research purposes. Thank you.

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Participant information sheet for parents

My name is Taiwo Ilori. I am a PhD student in the Department of English, Communication, Film and Media at Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge, UK. I am presently carrying out a research for my Doctoral thesis titled <u>Why am I Learning *dis* Language *sef*? Imagined community and Language ideologies of English of Senior Secondary School students in </u>Nigeria supervised by Dr. Rasinger Sebastian and Dr. Bettina Beinhoff.

As part of my thesis, I have to conduct interviews with parents who have a child/children in the Senior Secondary schools in Lagos state. This interview is an avenue for the researcher to find out what parents' ideologies about the English Language (that is, the perceived benefits of English within the global and local society) are, whether such ideologies play any role in students' construction of an identity/imagined community.

You are qualified to participate because you have a child in the Senior Secondary School, who has been introduced to the English Language in the early years of his/her education as a result of the language provisions stated in the National Policy on Education and in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Your participation, that is if you are willing will involve you answering questions about your personal and educational background with regards to when you began tolearn the language, the experiences you have had as a second language speaker of English, the benefits of the language in terms of your career, the plans you have for your child's future and whether being competent in the English language may serve as a bridge to reaching those goals. This semi-structured interview will last for approximately 30-45 minutes. You may choose not to answer some or all of the questions. You can also choose not to continue your participation at any time during the recording process.

There will be no direct benefit from your participation. In addition, your participation will not cost you anything except for your time. Only the researcher will have access to answers that you provide. In order to maintain your confidentiality, your name will not be requested during the course of the interview, and any questions you have will be answered. Recorded and transcribed data will be locked in a secure place.

You can obtain further information from the Principal Investigator at **taiwo.ilori@student.anglia.ac.uk or +2348023704657**. By participating in this interview, you are giving permission to the researcher to use your information for research purposes. Thank you.

Participant information sheet for teachers

My name is Taiwo Ilori. I am a PhD student in the Department of English, Communication, Film and Media at Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge, UK. I am presently carrying out a research for my Doctoral thesis titled<u>Why am I Learning *dis* Language *sef*? Imagined community and Language ideologies of English of Senior Secondary School students in Nigeria </u>supervised by Dr. Rasinger Sebastian and Dr. Bettina Beinhoff.

As part of my thesis, I have to conduct interviews with teachers in the Senior Secondary School. This interview is an avenue for the researcher to find out what ideologies about English (that is the perceived benefits of English within the global and local society) influence the language policies and pedagogical approach, and whether they play any role in students' construction of an identity/imagined community. You are qualified to participate because you teach in the Senior Secondary School, and your students have also been introduced to the English Language in the early years of their education as a result of the language provisions stated in the National Policy on Education and in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Your participation, that is if your willing will involve you answering questions about your personal and educational background with regards to when you began to learn the language, the experiences you are having as an English language teacher, the benefits of the language in terms of your career and your students' future career, and whether being competent in the English language may serve as a bridge to reaching those goals. This semi-structured interview writing will last for approximately 30-45 minutes. You may choose not to answer some or all of the questions. You can also choose not to continue your participation at any time during the recording process. This will have no effect on your status as a teacher in the school.

There will be no direct benefit from your participation. In addition, your participation will not cost you anything except for your time. Only the researcher will have access to answers that you provide. In order to maintain your confidentiality, your name will not be requested during the course of the interview, and any questions you have will be answered. Recorded and transcribed data will be locked in a secure place.

You can obtain further information from the Principal Investigator at **taiwo.ilori@student.anglia.ac.uk or +2348023704657**. By participating in this interview, you are giving permission to the researcher to use your information for research purposes.

Thank you.

Participant information sheet for school administrators

My name is Taiwo Ilori. I am a PhD student in the Department of English, Communication, Film and Media at Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge, UK. I am presently carrying out a research for my Doctoral thesis titled <u>Why am I Learning *dis* Language *sef*? Imagined community and Language ideologies of English of Senior Secondary School students in Nigeria</u> supervised by Dr. Rasinger Sebastian and Dr. Bettina Beinhoff.

As part of my thesis, I have to conduct interviews with school administrators in the Senior Secondary School. This interview is an avenue for the researcher to find out what ideologies about English (that is the perceived benefits of English within the global and local society) influence the language policies and the English language curriculum, and whether such ideologies play any role in students' construction of an identity/imagined community. You are qualified to participate because you are the principal/head of school in the Senior Secondary School, and your students have been introduced to the English Language in the early years of their education as a result of the language provisions stated in the National Policy on Education and in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Your participation, that is if your willing will involve you answering questions about your personal and educational background with regards to when you began to learn the language, the experiences you are having as a school administrator, the benefits of the language in terms of your career and to your students' future career, and whether being competent in the English language may serve as a bridge to reaching those goals. This semi-structured interview writing will last for approximately 30-45 minutes. You may choose not to answer some or all of the questions. You can also choose not to continue your participation at any time during the recording process.

There will be no direct benefit from your participation. In addition, your participation will not cost you anything except for your time. Only the researcher will have access to answers that you provide. In order to maintain your confidentiality, your name will not be requested during the course of the interview, and any questions you have will be answered. Recorded and transcribed data will be locked in a secure place.

You can obtain further information from the Principal Investigator at **taiwo.ilori@student.anglia.ac.uk or +2348023704657**. By participating in this interview, you are giving permission to the researcher to use your information for research purposes.

Thank you.

Participant consent form

You are being invited to take part in a research study. The information in this form is provided to help you decide whether or not to take part. Study personnel will be available to answer your questions and provide additional information. If you decide to take part in the study, a copy of this consent form will be given to you.

My name is Taiwo Ilori. I am a PhD student in the Department of Applied Linguistics and TESOL at Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge, UK. I am currently conducting research for my Doctoral Thesis titled <u>Why am I Learning *dis* Language *sef*? Imagined community and Language ideologies of English of Senior Secondary School students in </u>Nigeria supervised by Dr. Rasinger Sebastian and Dr. Bettina Beinhoff.

As part of this thesis, I am conducting interviews on students, parents, teachers and principals. The interview will be based on your personal and educational background, as well as your experience in learning the English language as a subject in a Second Language context and your expectations for the future in relation to your competence with the language. The interview sessions will be audio-recorded. Each of the sessions will take approximately 30-45 minutes. The researcher will meet with you a second time to clarify a response or ask further questions, and also to give you an opportunity to state your approval/disapproval about what is transcribed.

I am going to ask for your permission to audio record, and use the data collected during the interview as part of the study. Since there are no monetary gains involved, your participation in the study may come in the form of personal and academic benefits. It may be an avenue for you to reflect on your identity as a student, and as a Second Language learner/speaker of the English Language. It may also help you to gain an understanding of your own attitudes towards the language, and how those attitudes might come into play as you develop an identity as a Second Language speaker in English.

Your Signature

By signing this form, I affirm that I have read the information contained therein, and the study has been explained to me. In addition, my questions have been answered, therefore I agree to take part in this study. I do not give up any of my legal rights by signing this form.

_____
Name

_____
Participant's Signature/ Date

Statement by researcher obtaining consent
I certify that I have explained the research study to the person who has agreed to participate, and that he/she has been informed of the purpose, procedures, the possible risks and potential benefits associated with participation in this study. Any questions raised have been answered to the participant's satisfaction.

_____
Name of researcher

_____
Researcher's Signature/ Date

Questions for students

A. Personal Background

1. Age

2. Male   Female

B. Educational Background

3. Name and location of your school

4. What class are you?

C. Language Learning Experience

5. How many years have you been learning English?

6. Can you speak any other language apart from English?

7. What language(s) do you speak at home?

8. Why is that language the preferred language?

9. In what language(s) do you and your classmates usually communicate inside and outside the school?

10. Why is that language(s) the preferred language?

11. Do you think there are any advantages/disadvantages to learning English in Nigeria?

12. Do you think there are any advantages/disadvantages to learning English in today's world?

13. Where do you think you would most likely use English?

14. Who would you most likely communicate in English?

15. What would be the reason(s) you would use English?

16. What do you like/dislike most about learning English?

17. Do you know someone who is a role model as a second language speaker based on his/her achievements?

18. If yes, explain what makes this person a good role model

D. Students' expectations for the future

19. Where do you see yourself 10 years from now?

20. Where would you like to live in future?

21. What role do you think English would play in your future plan?

22. Do you think having a good grasp of English would help you to achieve these plans?

Questions for parents

1. How did you learn the English language?

2. How many years have you been speaking the English language?

3. Can you speak any other language apart from the English language?

4. What language(s) do you speak at home with your children?

5. Why is that language(s) the preferred language?

6. Would you consider placing your child in a school where the language of instruction is any of the indigenous languages?

7. How would you describe the role of English in Nigeria?

8. How would you describe the role of English in today's world?

9. What is the role and significance that English has had in your life?

10. Where do you see your child 5/10 years from now?

11. Where would you like him/her to live in future?

12. What role do you think English would play in his/her future?

13. Do you think having a good grasp of the English language would help him/her to achieve these plans?

Questions for teachers

1. How long have you been teaching English?

2. How long have you been teaching in this school?

3. What classes have you taught here?

4. How many hours in the week do students study English?

5. Do you think these number of hours should also be used to teach the indigenous languages?

6. How did you learn the English language?

7. How many years have you been speaking the English language?

8. What is the role and significance of English in your career?

9. How would you describe the role of English in Nigeria?

10. How would you describe the role of English in today's world?

11. What language(s) do you use to communicate with your students inside and outside the classroom?

12. In what context do you think your students would use the English language that you teach them?

13. Where do you see your students 10 years from now?

14. What role do you think English would play in their future plan?

15. Do you think having a good grasp of the English language would help them to achieve these plans?

Questions for administrators

1. How long have you been the principal of this school?
2. How many hours in the week do students study English?
3. Do you think these number of hours should also be used to teach the indigenous languages?
4. How did you learn the English language?
5. How many years have you been speaking the English language?
6. What is the role and significance of English in your career?
7. How would you describe the role of English in Nigeria?
8. How would you describe the role of English in today's world?
9. What language(s) do you use to communicate with your students inside and outside the classroom?
10. In what context do you think your students would use the English language?
11. Where do you see your students 10 years from now?
12. What role do you think English would play in their future plan?
13. Do you think having a good grasp of the English language would help them to achieve these plans?