

**THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL**

**THIRD CULTURE INDIGENOUS KIDS IN NIGERIA: NEO-  
COLONIAL TENSIONS AND CONFLICTS OF IDENTITY**

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By

**Nkechi Winifred Emenike**  
(BSc, PGDE, MSc)

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## **Abstract**

This thesis investigates neo-colonial tensions and conflicts of identity of indigenous students attending international schools in Nigeria. Nigeria is not an exception to the countries with growing numbers of international schools. Their educational provisions are characteristically in the style of western systems of education and their agendas are different from those of local systems. The increasing growth in the numbers of international schools is seen to correspond with the spread of neo-liberal globalisation. Although the schools claim to provide education with an international global perspective, they are also argued to be closely aligned with the principles of globalisation as it relates to neo-colonialism.

In the past, the children of globally mobile workers formed the majority of the student body but in recent times, the population has changed considerably to include more enrolment of indigenous students. As this trend is set to continue, it is important to consider issues associated with indigenous student experiences in the international school. Through the voices of students, teachers and parents and an exploration of the virtual context of international schools in Nigeria, this study examines this phenomenon with a view to understanding the issues existing in the context of the students' experiences and how they make meaning of them to negotiate their identities.

The findings suggest that the students are negotiating their identities within a set of contradictions and complexities which lead them to experience a conflict of identities. A model was developed from the emergent themes that maps the sources and nature of conflicts that indigenous students experience in the context of their schooling experiences. The model can be used as a heuristic device to understand the contexts within which indigenous students attending international schools negotiate their identities as TCIKS - Third Culture *Indigenous* Kids.

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To God who knows the way...

## **Declaration**

I declare that all that is presented in this thesis is my work.

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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **A JOURNEY BEGINS**

This thesis investigates neo-colonial tensions and conflicts of identity of indigenous students attending international schools in Nigeria. In recent years, there are growing numbers of indigenous students attending international schools in developing countries. Despite the fact that there are both privately owned and state schools which follow the Nigerian system of education, so-called international schools which follow a foreign system of education (mostly England or United States) have thrived and emerged as more highly rated than Nigerian schools. This growth is particularly prominent in the global south because more indigenous students are now enrolled as opposed to previously, when only expatriate children formed the majority of the student population. Because of the high status conferred on international education, this trend is set to continue. It is therefore important to consider the contexts within which indigenous students are learning and the meanings they are making of their experiences. Through the voices of students, teachers and parents and an exploration of the virtual context of international schools in Nigeria, this study examines the conflicting issues existing in the contexts of the students' experiences and how they make meaning of them.

This chapter presents an introduction to the study, details my background as an international educator, and explains the motivation for the research. It also presents the research aims, questions and significance of the study. The chapter also serves as a signpost for the contents of all other sections and chapters in this thesis.

### **Researcher's Background**

This PhD journey began from observations at my first job as an international school teacher. I had previously been a teacher at a Nigerian school and was excited to have been offered a job at an international school. I started my career as an international school teacher in 2003 and worked at a British school which was located in an elite area

in a city in Northern Nigeria. It was an immense learning experience for me as I understood soon enough that the school was very different from others following the Nigerian curriculum. I attended several professional development courses to attain the competence needed to deliver the British curriculum, otherwise referred to as international. The school also encouraged teachers to pursue a Master's degree from a university in the US with the incentive of subsidised costs. This emphasised the importance of mastering western approaches to my practice as an international school teacher. I was often supervised and assessed to ensure that my practice was meeting the standards required of an international school teacher. Over the years and through working at three international schools at different times, I experienced renegotiations of my identity as a teacher to align with the aims and purposes of the schools where I worked. In many ways, the pedagogical interactions between my students and I were influenced by the structures of the school and the training that I had received.

I observed that the students' experiences were worlds away from what Nigerian schools offered. The entire schooling programme appeared to initiate the students into a world that was quite different to realities in Nigeria. A majority of the students continued in the schools till the end of their secondary education when they progressed to a university overseas. I often wondered how indigenous students, especially those from the Muslim North of Nigeria, made meanings of their experiences and how they related with other Nigerians in their communities who did not have the same educational backgrounds. I experienced this first hand when my children began attending the schools where I worked. They always appeared different from other indigenous children who attended the local schools when we interacted with members of our communities. I started to question whether the schooling experiences exerted influences that were more than mere differences in the way that the students behaved. I wondered if the influences were not deeper than just speaking with what was considered 'a posh accent' or developing behaviours and mannerisms that were considered western. I questioned if the differences did not have anything to do with how the students were positioned by others within Nigerian communities and how they saw themselves.

It is apt to suggest that this research is borne from my experiences and observations as an international school teacher, and that it is a formal expression of my curiosities explained in the preceding paragraph. Undertaking a careful study of the literature provided a basis through which I conceptualised the issues that I was planning to investigate. I also considered the position of international schools within the contexts of the Nigerian education system and global education flows. Therefore, the formulation of the research questions involved a consideration of the professional, theoretical, national contexts of the study.

I acknowledge that I do have a personal interest in the research. However, a consideration of myself as a researcher and ‘self’ in relation to the study was made. The dilemmas before me were: how do I express the views of the participants and silence my voice as one who understands their experiences, and (or) how can my experiences be advantageous in the framing of this thesis? The challenge before me was to make this journey a credible process and to ensure that the research reflects the actuality of the realities under study. As Du Bois 1983; 105) argues:

The closer our subject matter to our own life and experience the more we can expect our own beliefs about the world to enter into and shape our work, to influence the very questions we pose and the interpretations we generate from our findings.

I do not make any claims to objectivity but as the account of the study will show, the research engaged a systematic and rigorous process to ensure that warrantable claims are made at the end of the thesis.

## **Research Aims**

This research aims to:

1. Investigate whether international schools place conflicting demands on indigenous students’ identities.
2. Systematically investigate the extent to whether the demands affect indigenous students’ perceptions and attitudes towards Nigerian cultures.

3. Examine how indigenous students negotiate their identities from experiences in their communities and schools.

### **Significance of the Research**

This research represents a significant and new scholarly contribution to knowledge on wider discourses that surround the practice of international schools, and the implications for their indigenous students in host countries. The study provides a conceptual understanding of the identities and experiences of indigenous students, and the contexts within which they develop an awareness of their place in the world. This is illustrated in a conceptual model which can serve as a heuristic device for understanding indigenous students' experiences within an international school. The study is a step towards scholarship that represents the experiences of the diversity of students in international schools, as currently, indigenous students' do not enjoy the same level of visibility as expatriate children in the literature.

There is little known about Nigerian students who attend international schools and how they make meaning of their schooling experiences. The study will highlight the issues that border on the relevance of the international education provisions as it stands presently to Nigerian students. Since it is the first study of its kind in Nigeria, this study aims to serve as a reference point for others seeking to pursue research in the international education context in Nigeria.

### **Research Questions**

The main research question is: How do indigenous students attending international schools in Nigeria manage neo-colonial tensions and conflicts of identity? Three sub-questions were developed to address the main question.

1. What complexities and contradictions surround Nigerian students' international schooling experiences that place conflicting demands on their identities?

2. To what extent do conflicting demands influence the perceptions and attitudes of Nigerian students attending international schools?
3. How do indigenous students negotiate their identities between two contrasting worlds?

### **Outline of the thesis**

Apart from chapter 1, all other chapters are listed under four sections. These sections were created to provide a coherent framework for the presentation of the thesis.

Section A presents the context and conceptual framework of the study. This section serves as a foundation upon which the thesis bases its arguments. It consists of chapters two and three.

Chapter 2 contextualises this study in the international school context within Nigeria. It provides grounds for interpreting, discussing and understanding the findings within the Nigerian context. The chapter explores a brief history of Nigeria, emphasising its colonial heritage as a precursor to the contemporary context of Nigerian education system. Drawing on notions of the meanings of internationalism as it relates to international education, the chapter discusses the positions of international schools within this context and examines their contradictory nature. The chapter argues that internationalism is used as a cloak for transmitting western education.

Chapter 3 draws on contested meanings of globalisation to present an argument that neo-colonialism is a context for international education. Drawing on the conceptually fused nature of globalisation and neo-colonialism, it examines the nature of neo-liberal globalisation and the position of international education within that context. The chapter argues that their practices reflect a neo-colonialism that is enabled by their message systems which are westernised and aimed at producing individuals with limited connections to their roots.

Section B, which consists of chapters 4 and 5, presents the methodological framework of this study. The success of any research endeavour rests heavily on the framing of the methodology and this section details the methodological decisions made by the researcher from the theoretical framing to the practicalities of the research.

Chapter 4 discusses the philosophical assumptions leading to the paradigmatic position assumed by this study. The chapter analyses and justifies the use of a mixed methods design, the theory underpinning the maintenance of quality of the research and the issues to do with ethical access. The chapter also describes and justifies the use of specific methods in the data collection and analysis.

Chapter 5 is a description and critical analysis of the empirical process of the research. It details the steps taken in sampling, data collection and analysis of the three phases of the research. The three phases include an analysis of international schools' websites, the contexts of the students' experiences through the teachers' and parents' perspectives, and student narratives. The chapter also discusses the strengths and challenges of the empirical process.

Section C, which is made up of chapters 6, 7 and 8, presents the analysis and findings of the three phases of the empirical research. Drawing on analysis of data, the section presents a coherent account of the findings of this study.

Chapter 6 is the analysis of websites of international schools in Nigeria in comparison with those of Nigerian schools. Using the websites as a context within which the practices and purposes of international schools can be understood and employing an integrated methodology of a semiotic and content analysis, the chapter explored the extent to which neo-colonial values are presented and represented on the websites of

international schools. The findings serve as a springboard to discussing the neo-colonial positioning of international schools raised by this thesis.

Chapter 7 presents the complexities and contradictions within the contexts of the students' experiences drawing on data from the teacher questionnaires and the parent interviews. The chapter outlines the contradictions embedded within the schools' practices in the marginalisation of Nigerian knowledge and culture. It also examines the parental dilemma in the choice of international education for Nigerian students and ways that this is managed. The chapter argues that these complexities and contradictions lead up to the conflicts that the students experience.

Chapter 8 presents findings from the students' narratives drawing on analyses of data from pictorial and narrative vignettes, and interviews. The chapter examines the extent to which the students' schooling experiences influence their perceptions and attitudes towards Nigerian cultures.

Section D is the concluding section of this thesis and it consists of chapters nine and ten.

Chapter 9 presents a synthesis of findings, drawing on the context, embedded within the conceptual framework and informed by the empirical research. It addresses the research questions and presents a conceptual model which depicts the findings of this study. The various dimensions of the models are interpreted and discussed. The emerging concept of 'Third Culture Kids' (TCIKs) which is the focus of the discussions is examined.

Chapter 10 addresses the research questions, the implications of the findings and the contributions made by the thesis. It discusses limitations of the study and possible direction for future research relating to international schools. A reflection on my PhD journey is also included.





## **SECTION A**

### **CONTEXT AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

### ***Section Outline***

It is important to understand the contexts and concepts upon which this thesis bases its arguments. This section which serves as a bedrock of the study, comprises of chapter 2 and 3 and it presents the context and the conceptual framework. Chapter 2 systematically examines the context of international education within Nigeria against its background of colonialism. It argues that the colonial history of Nigeria is a key concept to understanding its education system and the context within which international schools are situated, and appear to be flourishing. It also argues that internationalism acts as a cloak to mask less desirable intentions that define the practices within these schools. Chapter 3 is the conceptual framework of the thesis which introduces important concepts of globalisation and neo-colonialism. It argues that international education is underpinned by globalisation which is in turn a guise for the perpetuation of neo-colonialism. By examining the message systems of international schools, the chapter questions whether the schools are fostering the development of global citizens or neo-colonial subjects. The arguments presented in these chapters are crucial to understanding the educational experiences that this thesis explores.

## CHAPTER 2

### CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

#### Introduction

This chapter discusses the context of the study by examining first, the Nigerian educational context drawing from the country's colonial history and the framing of the current educational system. In presenting a brief history of Nigeria, this study shows that the country has a written, active and ongoing history spanning hundreds of years which has framed the social fabric of its society, and in particular the different educational provisions that are instituted presently. Second, the chapter explores the context of international schools by examining the contested meanings of international education and what they mean in practice. It explores how international schools came to be positioned as more superior to schools following the Nigerian system. The chapter discusses the exclusive nature of the schools which admit a certain status of clientele, foster values and practices which are devoid of Nigerian knowledge, history, and cultures. It argues that internationalism is a code for protecting the interest of the coloniser. This sets the scene for the conceptual framework in the next chapter which draws on these contexts to position the schools as promoters of neo-colonial values.

#### Brief History of Nigeria

Before colonisation, the area now known as Nigeria comprised of independent communities and kingdoms, *inter alia*, 'Nri Kingdom (948-1911), Kanem-Bornu (1068-1900), Kwararafa (1400-1800), Benin (1440-1897), Hausa States (1500-1808), Oyo (1608-1800) and Sokoto Caliphate (1809-1903)' (Abdulrahman, 2012; 167). These peoples were governed and ruled by members of their communities and they had well organised religious and political systems which spanned hundreds of years (ibid). British colonisation of this region began gradually from 1861 when Lagos was occupied to 1960 which marked the formal end of the territorial control of Nigeria. The thesis uses the term post-colonialism to refer to the period of time after 1960. As with other previously colonised nation, post-colonialism represents the time period in a country's history that follows independence from the coloniser. However, neo-colonialism which

is a phenomenon that draws on and symbolises the political, economic, social and cultural ideology of the coloniser that is played out in the national and local identity of the previously colonised country, represents Nigeria's current ideological positioning as this thesis suggests.

Nigeria, a colonial creation with a neo-colonial present, comprises of several regions that were under British colonial rule. Dated back to 1471, Portuguese explorers and traders arrived in the southern region of the area now known as Nigeria and formed trade treaties, and alliances with the ruler of the Benin kingdom, known as the Oba of Benin (Fafunwa, 1995). The British arrived in the 1870s in the southern coastal regions, namely Lagos and Calabar, and later established their presence in the northern regions with commercial and administrative centres in Lokoja and Zungeru. The British attraction to the region, as with other African countries, was based on its vast amount of natural resources coupled with the political drive of the empire to expand its territories. These areas were strategic locations for their trade activities. Lokoja was particularly important, because of its position as a confluence town where the Niger and Benue rivers meet. The British exported commodities by shipping from Lokoja through Lagos to Europe.

The Royal Niger Company, of British origin, was stationed in Lokoja and controlled trade in the region which was known as the Niger Basin. The British government is argued to have monopolised trade through the activities of the Royal Niger Company which used political control to deprive African middlemen, the Germans, and the French of any profiteering within the region (Jones and Reynolds, 1972). After a series of economic and political upheavals, the company which was later renamed 'United Africa Company' gave up its control of the Niger region to the British government with a substantive financial settlement on January 1, 1900 (ibid). The reason for the takeover was that the British government wanted to continue maintaining a trade monopoly which appeared to be leaving the grasp of the United Africa Company within the region. The British government gradually gained administrative and economic control of the entire north of the region. 1914 saw the amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates under British control to form the entity that is now known as Nigeria. It is

argued that these led to the eventual colonisation of Nigeria. Based on these facts, Nigeria is argued to be a business arrangement made without consideration of the cultural and religious orientations of the indigenous communities within the region (Akanji, 2011).

The British adopted the colonial policy of 'indirect rule' which flourished on the theory that the colonised tribes were essentially and characteristically unlike one another (ibid). Therefore, similarities among the various cultural groups were never harnessed to cultivate a sense of unity amongst the people. Rather, indirect rule promoted difference and development of separate cultural and religious identities among Nigerian people (Graff, 1988). For example, Christian missionary work which included establishing churches and mission schools was restricted to the southern part of the country (Ashafa, 2005). This is argued to have resulted in colossal inequality between the north and the south of Nigeria today in terms of education and westernisation. The British government initially allowed the Islamic schools in the north to continue with the aim of not excessively interfering with the social lives of the people. However, a few schools were later established. So, while the British government controlled schools in the north, missionaries were in charge of education in the southern parts of Nigeria. Missionary work in Southern Nigeria influenced the social, cultural and religious life of the people. This is reflected in the religious differences between the two regions with a predominantly Muslim and Christian population in the North, and south respectively.

In its quest for political independence, a federal system of government was introduced in Nigeria. This began from Sir Authur Richards's constitution of 1946 which divided Nigeria into three parts: the Northern, Southern and the Eastern regions. In 1951, the Macpherson constitution led to the appointment of Lieutenant Governors to administer the three regions and gave statutory power to the legislative and executive councils that were established. By 1954, the Lyttleton Constitution (Odion, 2011) resulted in the sharing of powers between the regional governments and a central government. This system of governance continued when Nigeria became a post-colonial nation as it gained independence in October 1, 1960. Odion (ibid) argues that federalism in Nigeria,

in its true sense, was a union of autonomous kingdoms. However, the opinions of the indigenous people were neither taken into consideration, nor did their diversity in religion and culture weigh in on the decision. The British government at the time did what they thought was best for their empire (Fatai, 2012). It is argued that the decision to institute federalism in Nigeria was because of the nature of tribal diversity. However, it is also contended that it was only a strategy by the British to maintain neo-colonial control over Nigeria (Afigbo, 1991; Attah, 2013).

Federalism in Nigeria has since evolved and rather than states, and regions having more autonomy as it was intended during its inception the central government holds more power as a result of its lengthy history of military governance (Odion, 2011). In other words, state governments have gradually lost their autonomy to the federal government. Through Nigeria's history of military rule and leaderships, senior officials in the central government have promoted personal interests and there is therefore an ever widening gap between socio-economic classes which is typical of post-colonial societies. The inequalities between social groups are embedded in all aspects of Nigeria and much more prominent in its education system. This has resulted in political and cultural conflicts in a country that is known to comprise of as many as 250 ethnic groups (Okehie-Offoha, 1996). Nigeria has been plagued with recurring crises challenging its territorial or state legitimacy, distorting attempts at achieving a united, stable, democratic and prosperous state (Fatai, 2012). These crises have affected the social fabric of its society, including the education system. In particular, disruptions in the quality of educational delivery have led to the springing up of different providers of education. This includes the existence of schools following entirely different systems, such as the international schools that are the focus of this thesis.

### **History of Nigerian education**

The education system in Nigeria cannot be discussed without a major reference to the country's colonial history and legacy. There is evidence that education, though informal, existed before the introduction of Arabic education in northern Nigeria and western education by British colonisers. Fafunwa's (1995) account of the history of traditional

education systems in Nigeria prior to Islamic and western colonisation suggests that functionalism was its underpinning principle. Majasan (1967) also asserts that the scope, contents and methods in pre-colonial education in Nigeria were aimed at the growth and development of society, and the strengthening of the cultural life of the people. However, colonial education posed a resistance to the furtherance and development of the cultural life of the people. In pre-colonial times, education was not rigidly structured as it is today. According to (Fafunwa, 1995), it involved schooling without walls and classes, and was aimed at:

1. Physical development
2. Character development
3. Cultivating respect for elders and community leaders
4. Intellectual development
5. Gaining vocational skills and building a healthy attitude towards honest labour
6. Development of a sense of belonging towards community
7. Valuing and upholding the cultural norms of the communities

Within the contexts of the societies, values and skills transmitted through traditional education ensured the longevity of cultures and communal living. They have also been embedded in the present Nigerian system of education as this chapter will go on to show. This thesis is concerned with how the provisions of international education deviate from what the transmission and development of such values aim to achieve, and thus appear to counter the purposes of indigenous Nigerian education. It argues that international education is another form of colonial education which undermined and disregarded indigenous Nigerian cultures, and values.

Colonialism was a means of control and the colonial system of education was aimed at the furtherance of exercising power over the colonised (Said, 1985). In other words, education provided an opportunity to disseminate colonial principles and make them appear legitimate to the colonised. It was not provided for all of the population of the



colonised, but only for those who were deemed relevant to the colonial administration (Rizvi, 2008). This was particularly evident in the provision of university education that was aimed at producing a handful of administrative elite who were indebted and committed to the cause of the colonial administration (ibid). According to Rizvi (ibid; 22):

Knowledge was constructed in a particular way, which portrayed the native as simple, exotic or inferior, in need of ‘civilisational’ development, it viewed the world as globally interconnected and interdependent.

All over the world colonial students of the British Empire were furnished with the same ideas and values that were perceived to be cosmopolitan, thus presenting the empire as a boundless whole whose interests superseded those of colonised communities and nations. In other words, and as this thesis will argue, internationalism was a code for defending the interest of the coloniser. This notion is what is argued by this thesis to drive the practices of international schools.

During the era of British colonialism, Islamic education in the north continued for children of a majority of the rural population. However, a few western schools were established by the government to cater for the children of the local elite such as the very wealthy, community and religious rulers (Ashafa, 2005). Thus, not many children went to school in the north during the 1930s for example (Feinstein, 1998) as opposed to the population attending schools in the south which were mainly under the charge of missionaries and which saw all social classes of students in attendance. Colonial education in the north was also mainly focused on boys (Graham, 1966). This, however, was also the practice of the Islamic schools. The colonial government saw it as a means of training young men who will eventually serve as administrative and clerical assistants in the government (Abdurrahman, 2012). Therefore, there was a considerable gap between the number of schools and students in northern, and southern Nigeria (Aguolu, 1979).

In 1947, there were over half a million students in the nearly five thousand elementary schools and about ten thousand students in the eighty-three secondary schools in the south of Nigeria at that time (Coleman, 1958). In stark contrast, only eighty-thousand

students were enrolled in the one-thousand and one-hundred elementary schools and two-hundred and fifty students in the three secondary schools in Northern Nigeria (ibid). From a survey of 60-64 year olds who, prior to independence, were of primary school ages, it was reported that only one in ten living in the north east and North-West zones attended school compared with three in five of those living in the South-South, and South-West (National Population Commission and ICF Macro, 2009). On the other hand, a total of 50% of those in the South-West zones had been educated (ibid). In contemporary Nigeria, the average attendance of children in primary schools is 81% in the South-East zone; it remains lower in the North-West region with 43% (ibid). There still exists a wide gap between male and female education in northern Nigeria, and an even wider gap between the population of students schooling in the north and south of the country (Okobiah, 2002). These inequalities embedded in the colonial system of education are manifest in contemporary Nigerian education landscape which has expanded to include international schools.

Although the development of western education was slow in the colonial era, certain strides were made which shaped education practices in contemporary Nigeria. In 1930, education was divided into three stages following a British system of primary, secondary and tertiary levels. However, the higher education institution that was established only provided vocational training. By 1947, the first university college was established in Ibadan as an extension of the University of London. Five more universities were later established across the country.

This section has attempted a rather brief summary of the history of education in Nigeria, pointing out the role of the colonial government and the associated aims. The role of colonial system of education in shaping the current educational practices in post-colonial Nigeria cannot be over-emphasised. What is evident in this is that, education in Nigeria during the colonial rule was not a neutral enterprise but was framed in such a way as to contribute to the success of the colonial regime. The colonial era is past, but the desire to colonise by the former coloniser especially using education as a strategy has remained. This thesis will argue that international education, among other western

influences, has assumed this role through schools resident in Nigeria that claim to adopt its practices. The Nigerian system of education has however evolved considerably since the country gained its independence following the introduction of policies and restructurings to further adapt its purpose to the nation's situations.

### **Education in Post-Colonial Nigeria**

This section will show that the changes in the policy and purpose of Nigerian education symbolised a rejection of the colonial system that preceded it. In the country's first twenty years of independence, the education system and policy experienced certain changes which reshaped the direction of education (Amaghionyeiwe and Osinubi, 2006). Of primary significance was the National Curriculum Conference held in 1969 and organised by the Nigerian Educational and Research Development Council (NERDC), which resulted in landmark changes in Nigerian education. The conference addressed the philosophy of Nigerian education, goals of primary, secondary, and tertiary education, the contents of the curriculum, teacher education, gender in education, education for living, the role of science and technical education, and the regulation of the education system in general (Fafunwa, 1995). It led to the enactment of a Nigerian Policy on Education in 1977 (ibid). Importantly, the policy details the philosophy for Nigerian education and the aims and purposes of the different tiers of education.

The National Policy on Education and other developments were aimed at rectifying the inadequacies and unsuitability of the education system instituted by the colonial government (Akinlua, 2007). It was argued that the colonial system of education was detached from Nigeria's cultures and social life because at every stage, it related more to Europe and the furtherance of its interests (Ibukun and Aboluwodi, 2010). For example, the contents of the curriculum were deemed not to be relevant to the realities in Nigeria in terms of values and aspiration (Akinlua, 2007). The study of subjects like Geography required that students learnt about landscapes that were foreign to them and was nothing like their local environment. The study of history is another example of

how ill-suited the contents of the curriculum were to the newly independent state. Ibukun and Aboluwodi (ibid; 10) argue that:

European wars, reigns of monarchs and national treaties' made up what was studied in history, stories which had nothing to do with the colonial student's history or background.

The same concerns are raised about the relevance of the contents of the international schools' curricula, which draw from or in some cases are replicas of the contents of study in English and US education systems, to indigenous Nigerian students.

The colonial education system masked a coloniality that the Nigerian authorities sought to overturn by instituting several changes. The new system focused on realities within Nigeria, national cohesion, and training of manpower to meet the need for workers in various sectors of the economy. The curricula at different stages of education represented the Nigerian social, cultural and environmental contexts. The National Policy on Education was revised in 1981 and 2004 and has since influenced the structure of all stages in the system (Fafunwa, 1995). The purpose of education, as stated in the policy, thus changed from training individuals for colonial ends to

1. The inculcation of national consciousness and national unity
2. The inculcation of the right type of values and attitudes for the survival of the individuals and the Nigeria society
3. The training of the mind in the understanding of the world around; and
4. The acquisition of appropriate skills, abilities and competences both mental and physical as equipment for the individual to live in and contribute to the development of the society. (FRN, 2004; 8)

In summary, colonial education was not seen as relevant to the growth of Nigeria as an entity. The Nigerian National Policy on Education focuses on:

Self-realization, individual and national efficiency, national unity ... aimed at achieving social, cultural, economic, political, scientific and technological development (Amaghionyeodiwe and Osinubi, 2006; 32).

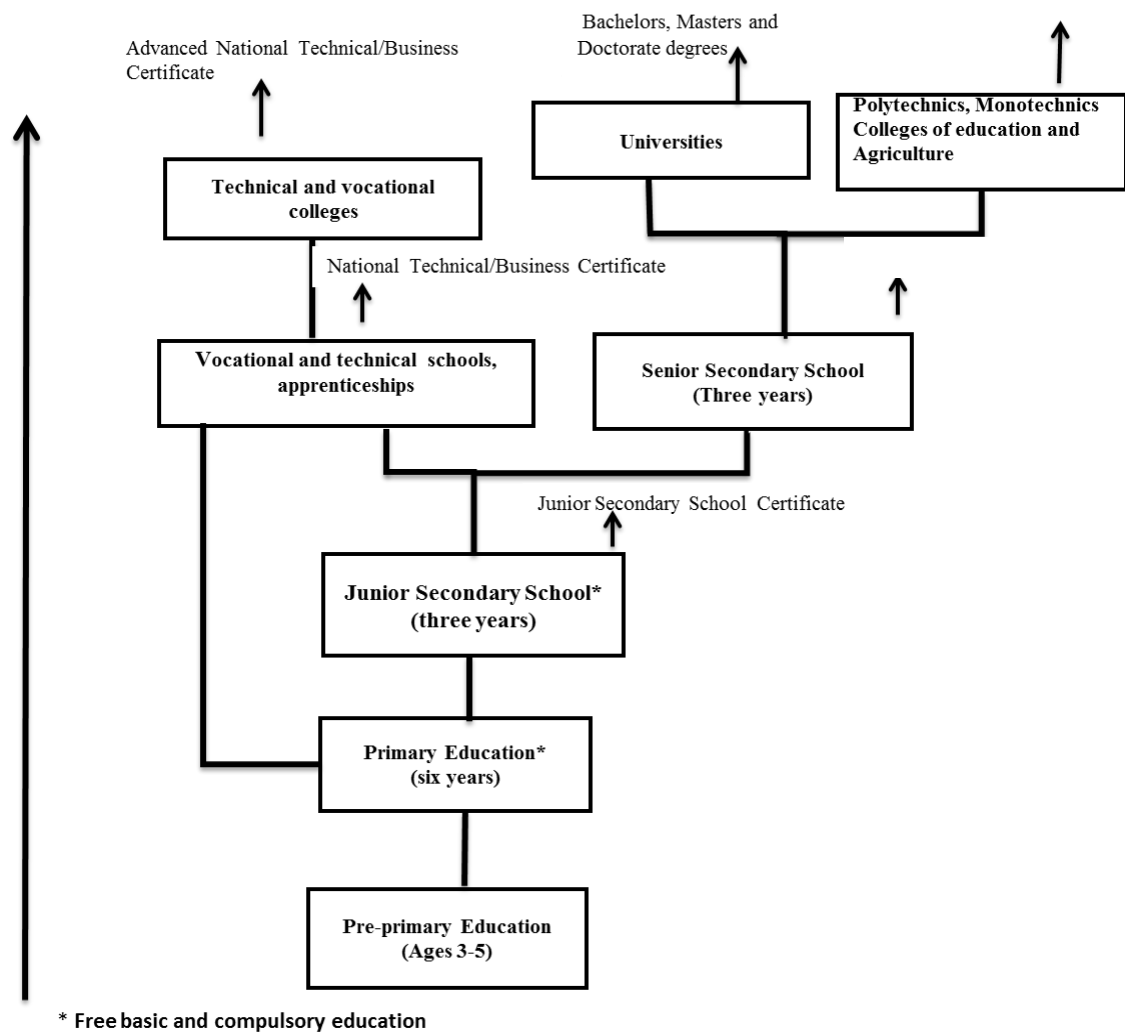
Therefore, the new system was made for Nigerians by Nigerians as a way of loosening the grip of the coloniser. However, the landscape of Nigerian education has changed to include not only state-owned but also independent schools. It is within this political and social landscape that international schools can be seen to be thriving.

## **Education in Contemporary Nigeria**

The federal, state and local governments have joint responsibility for education in Nigeria through the office of the Federal Ministry of Education. The ministry maintains education standards by developing and updating policy as well as monitoring its implementation. The state and local government arms of the ministry are largely responsible for the affairs of primary and secondary schools while higher education is managed by the federal government. Formal Nigerian education operates a 9-3-4 system which consists of:

- Nine years of basic education involving primary and early secondary schooling
- Three years senior secondary schooling
- Four or more years of higher education

The details are illustrated in Figure 2.1.



**Figure 2.1** Nigerian Education System

Early childhood education from the ages of three to five is entrusted in the care of private education providers, although the Federal Ministry of Education has prescribed guidelines and regulates their activities (Sooter, 2013). Basic education is for children from ages six to fifteen and covers nine years of required formal education which is further divided into six years of primary and three years of junior secondary schooling (JSS) (Tsafe, 2013). The students sit an examination at the end of JSS to achieve the JSS certificate. Basic education is monitored by the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC) which was instituted when Universal Basic Education was commissioned in 1999 in addition to the state and local government authorities. Under

the UBE Act, schooling at the primary and junior secondary levels is free and compulsory for all children. The primary objectives of UBEC are

- Ensure unfettered access to nine (9) years of formal basic education.
- The provision of free, Universal Basic Education for every Nigerian child of school going age.
- Reducing drastically the incidence of drop-out from the formal school system, through improved relevance, quality and efficiency
- Ensuring the acquisition of appropriate levels of literacy, numeracy, manipulative, communicative and life skills as well as the ethical, moral and civic values needed for laying a solid foundation for life-long learning.

(Universal Basic Education Commission Nigeria, 2014)

In addition to 9-year formal schooling, The UBE act covers adult literacy, non-formal education, skill acquisition programs (Labo-Popoola et al., 2009) and reaching specific groups of people such as nomads, girls and Al-majiri (mendicant children in northern Nigeria). Core subjects at the junior secondary are English, French, science, technology, Nigerian language (Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba), mathematics, and social studies. Indigenous language education is key aspect of the National Policy on Education which the UBE and other aspects of Nigerian education reinforce. Vocational subjects are also offered at the JSS level by some schools.

Students achieving the junior secondary school certificates then go on to three years of senior secondary schooling in either main stream, technical or vocational education. Students graduating from technical or vocational education schools go on to study in specialized colleges under the auspices of the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE). Core subjects taught in senior secondary schools are English, a Nigerian language, mathematics, a pure science, a social science subject, and agricultural science or a vocational subject. Students also have to take on two to three subjects of their choice. Students leaving senior secondary school sit for the Senior Secondary Certificate Examinations (SSCE) organised by the West African Examination Council (WAEC) or/and the Nigerian Education Council examinations organised by the Nigerian Examination Council (NECO), both exams have the same value. In addition to the qualifications obtained, students also sit the Universities Matriculation Examinations organised by the Joint Admission and Matriculations Board (JAMB) to

gain entry into universities, polytechnics, monotechnics and colleges of education and agriculture. While universities award undergraduate degrees, Masters' degrees and Doctorates, other higher institutions award lower qualifications. For example, polytechnics award the Ordinary National diplomas (OND) and the Higher National diplomas (HND). Recent higher education reforms in Nigeria have included the upgrading of polytechnics and colleges of education to universities to accommodate the increasing number of students seeking admission into the nation's universities. The federal government has also approved the establishment of more private universities.

It does appear that the structure of Nigerian education detailed above resembles the British model. The difference however, lies in the now contextualised form that post-colonial Nigerian education has taken. It may also be that the similarities are due to pressures exerted on Nigeria by international aid organisations or western governments to meet conditionalities which promote uniformity with global education systems (Khor, 2000). This re-emphasises Nigeria's neo-colonial status and points at its position as a fertile playing field for the west to continue to exercise some form of control.

Despite the fact that there have been many developments and changes in Nigeria's education system, state schools are considered by parents and academics to fall short of meeting the educational needs of students (Oluwatayo, 2012). It is argued that private schools provide better outcomes for their students and hence they have experienced unprecedented growth in recent years (Tooley et al., 2005). This was also reported by Oluwatayo (2012) who compared quantitative and differential aptitudes of primary school children attending private and state schools in Ekiti state, Nigeria. The notion that private school outcomes are better than those of state schools has deep roots amongst the perceptions of parents (ibid). It is also argued that the inconsistencies and disruptions in quality of educational delivery such as teachers' strikes in the public school system cause parents to seek better alternatives mainly from private providers of education. That is why it is important to examine the provisions of international schools that are fast becoming important players in Nigerian education scene and the influences of the schooling experiences on indigenous students' identities. A majority of private



educational institutions in Nigeria follow the same syllabus as public schools. However, there are some institutions whose practices are akin to educational systems of foreign countries and most prominently US and British systems. Therefore, primary and secondary schools in Nigeria consist of schools following the national system of education and those following a foreign system commonly known as international schools.

Some international schools in Nigeria have provisions from early years to secondary education, while others mainly provide secondary education. They are characteristically different from other private providers because of the nature of staff and student populations, exorbitant tuition fees and educational provisions. International schools practices do not depict the focus of Nigerian education. They claim to provide international education based on values of internationalism but are more focused on provisions necessary for the attainment of globally transferable qualifications which are mainly based on western systems of education (Cambridge, 2003). Walker (2003) argues that national systems are a hindrance to international education because they focus on cohesion and preserving of national identities. International schools therefore represent a kind of resistance to Nigerian education and its aims. It is this context that is explored in the next section which examines the background to international schools and what they appear to provide that is of immense value to their indigenous clientele.

### **Background to International Schools**

Examining the background of international schools as a whole and specifically, the history behind their existence will provide insight as to why there are several meaning and purposes ascribed to international education. It will also provide an understanding of how these meanings relate to the practices within such schools in Nigeria, what it means for the status of clientele that they attract and the kind of values that they foster.

A global demand for highly qualified professionals in various works of life, growing diplomatic relations between nations, business expansion and migration amongst other factors, have resulted in the movement and subsequently the settlement of foreigners in different countries and the establishment of international schools (Bunnell, 2014). The main reason why international schools were set up is that, expatriates did not regard local schools as being able to meet the needs of their wards culturally and educationally (Doherty, 2009). Hence, schools with the preferred cultural and educational values were established (ibid). Sylvester (2002) accounts for the existence of schools in Europe which provided international education since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, the international school of Geneva which was established by workers of the League of Nations (currently known as the United Nations) and the International Labour Office (Bunnell, 2011) in 1924 is traditionally accepted as the first international school (Walker, 2012). The school mainly served the expatriate communities which mostly consisted of people of western origin and those seeking globally transferable qualifications for their children (Hayden, 2011). It has been argued that international schools thrive from market demands of the globally mobile community (Cambridge, 2003). However, in recent years, a large number of indigenous students have been enrolled coinciding with the unprecedented growth of international schools (Hayden and Thompson, 2008).

It was reported in 2007 that there were 4,580 international schools staffed by 150,000 teachers, with 2,073,342 students attending in 187 countries (ISC, 2007). The yearly growth of these schools is set at 8% and in two years prior to the report, Africa experienced a growth of 44% growth (ISC, 2007). By 2014, ISC reported that the number of international schools in the world was 7017 and indicated that of the 3.5 million students enrolled at international schools, more than 2.5 million were indigenous (ICEF Monitor, 2014). By January 2015, there was a total of 7,545 international schools across the globe with more than 3.9 million enrolled (ISC, 2015). Eight in ten of all international school students were thus found to be indigenous (ibid).

ISC claims that there are 113 international schools in Nigeria. These schools have private schools' status and as such their practices are regulated as other schools. Although there is no data detailing the nature of international school ownerships in Nigeria, they are owned by private individuals, expatriate communities, and multinational companies such as SHELL or commissioned by foreign embassies. The American International School of Lagos, for example, is an independent U.S. State Department School. There is no literature or policy in the Nigerian Ministry of Education detailing how their activities are related to the Nigerian educational system and specifically related to the goals of education as stipulated in the National Policy on Education. In countries like China, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand, there are specific policies regulating the practices of international schools especially in relation to indigenous students populations learning (Yamato and Bray, 2006; Hanchanlash, 2004). In contrast, there is also no mention of international schools on any document reflecting types of schools from any parastatal under the Federal Ministry of Education. Instead they are subsumed into an ambiguous group of private schools who follow the Nigerian system.

Their activities are thus hidden from the glare of public scrutiny. They represent another way of collecting money and capital from Nigerian citizens including well trained individuals who could contribute in the future to the progress of the Nigerian society. They are hence part of the neo-colonial enterprise. Perhaps research into the dynamics of the relationship between international schools and the Nigerian education authorities would better highlight the problems that they pose to Nigeria as a state or ways that they can be made compatible with the country's system. This study argues that factors such as what international education means in the context of the practice of the schools, the nature of their clientele and their ethos or missions weigh heavily on their positions as part of a neo-colonial enterprise.

### **The contested meanings of International Education and International Schools**

International schools have been described as a context of international education (Hayden, 2011) presumably because they claim to offer education with an international

orientation. There is no homogeneous definition of what an international school is or how it is different or similar to international education (Bunnell, 2014). Even more so, the definition of the term ‘international education’ is also contested and argued to be represented in various forms by different institutions depending on the approach to internationalism that is adopted (Roberts, 2012). The term ‘international school’ may be adopted by any school regardless of whether they actually provide an international education. The definition of the latter however, cannot be restricted to the practice of one particular international school. Therefore, the question of ‘what is international education’ defies precise answers from a host of researchers and theorists in the discourse. A review of attempted articulations of the meaning of international education may provide insight into the nature of the schools, specifically for those in developing countries such as Nigeria.

The prominence of International education grew in 1974 when the general conference of UNESCO proposed that education for international understanding, cooperation and peace should be the focus of all member nations (UNESCO, 1974). So, international education originally sought to develop individuals who understand and accept the concept of social and political differences of peoples, and nations, and value for human rights and fundamental freedoms (ibid). These values are mirrored in Becker’s definition which states that:

International education consists of those social experiences and learning processes through which individuals acquire and change their orientations to international or world society and their conception of themselves as members of that society (1969; 30).

Becker’s definition encapsulates the essence of what international education should genuinely be about and it provides an important lens through which the current notion of what the concept represents can be evaluated. It also implies assumptions on the social reality of the world as one society and individuals as its members (ibid). It assumes that learning about the world continues outside the school premises (ibid). However, Becker himself questions whether the assumption that the world is one global society is justifiable, given the fact that the global strata cannot be empirically compared to societies within states. The notion of a ‘global society’ does not closely typify individual nation-state societies and therefore may be a production of power

relationships between the nation-states. International education may therefore, serve to introduce an individual to the complexities embedded within the global order which consist of winners and losers as the next chapter goes on to argue.

Drawing from UNESCO's definition, Tate (2013) refers to international education 'as something based on an explicit ideology that encompasses'

- (i) the promotion of international understanding/international-mindedness and/or global awareness/understanding and
- (ii) some, if not all, of the following: global engagement, global or world citizenship, intercultural understanding, respect for difference, tolerance, a commitment to peace, service, and adherence to the principles of the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Charter (p 254).

The founding philosophy of the International School of Geneva which was inspired by the League of Nations, focused on world peace and intercultural understanding (ibid). These internationalist ideals are embedded in the stated missions and ethos of bodies and associations that serve the interest of international schools such as the International Baccalaureate (IB) and the Council for International Schools (ibid).

The above definitions are generally accepted as what the concept of international education may mean in theory. They are argued, however, to be only idealistic and the actual practices of international education may be a far cry from the underpinning principles (ibid). In the present context, international education is suggested to be a response to global demands for transferable qualifications and the reproduction of local and globally mobile elite (Cambridge, 2002). This supports Burn (1980) claim that international education responds to changing dynamics in international affairs.

Although there is some anecdotal evidence that some providers of international education actually achieve the idealistic aims (Tate, 2013), there are also concerns that many providers are inclined towards meeting the demands of a global elite clientele rather than providing education with an international perspective (Cambridge, 2002).

Sylvester (2005) situated the changing definitions of international education within a period of 105 years (1893 -1998) in a conceptual matrix ranging from political sensitivity to political neutrality, and education for international understanding to education for world citizenship. International education can be examined from any of these dimensions which could mean that the schools exist for different purposes. The aims of education for international understanding and world citizenship may be similar on face value; however, what qualifies an individual to be a world citizen may be somewhat different to the experiences that endows a person with international understanding (Heater, 1990). Education for world citizenship may be inclined towards the transmission of values that are held by the relevant world powers and may not reflect the inclusion of the ideals of lesser powers (ibid). On the other hand, education for international understanding confers on an individual an appreciation for differences in cultures, ideologies and political orientations and, a commitment to promote peace (ibid).

Sylvester (2005) argues the League of Nations and UNESCO were in a better position to ascribe a more universal definition to the concept of international education. However, this notional ability is disarmed by political considerations (ibid). Therefore what may be considered to be ideal internationalist values may be a cloak for the promotion of national interests of powers who have more say in global policy formulation in organisations such as the UN and International Monetary Fund (IMF). These issues are dealt with in the next chapter that draws a link between globalisation and neo-colonialism, and the attending consequences of international education.

Cambridge and Thompson (2001) argue that opposing globalists and internationalist currents exist in the actual context of international education. It may be identified in the following contexts:

- A transplanted national system serving expatriate clients of that country located in another country;
- A transplanted national system serving clients from another country;
- A simulacrum of a transplanted national educational system, for example the programmes of the IBO, serving expatriate clients and/or host country nationals;

- An ideology of international understanding and peace, responsible world citizenship and service (ibid; 6).

Therefore, the reconciliation of the dilemma between the attraction to the lure of globalist economist trends and internationalist ideals defines the nature of international education provided by the schools (Cambridge, 2003).

It can be then argued that the practices and services international schools claim to offer, largely depends on factors such as *inter alia*, why they were set up, the nature of their clientele, associations that they belong to, and qualifications that their students are meant to achieve. International education may therefore be seen to exist in different contexts today and its' definition may be dependent on practices in individual schools. Against the backdrop of Sylvester's matrix mentioned above, Cambridge's dualism reflects that international education in the context of the schools can be politically sensitive meaning that it explicitly promotes the interests and cultures of particular nations. It can also be politically neutral and seen to be following genuine internationalist goals. A third suggestion might be that schools are able to reconcile the opposing currents of international education but this is open to question.

Another dualism used to refer to international education is Hayden's (2006) suggestion of education with competing pragmatic and ideological missions. She argues that international education aims at developing individuals who have 'pragmatic skills for a successful international adult life and ideologically-focused skills which will enable them to be good international citizens' (ibid, 2006; 138). Against Sylvester's matrix, Hayden's dualism is positioned in the politically neutral dimension because it is simply about pragmatism for world citizenship. However, Sylvester (2005) argues that pragmatic and ideological definitions of international education may be linked to the influences of national political positions. The international school decides the balance between ideology and pragmatism in its context (Hayden, 2006). Thusly, the reconciliation of pragmatic and idealistic dilemmas becomes the definer of the cultures and practices within the schools. This is similar to Cambridge and Thompson's dualism

of globalist versus internationalist missions because both approaches focus on education that is relevant to the current globalisation climate.

Another perspective taken towards the definition of international education is that, it is not only about the schools but the meaning of the term encompasses service providers, associations, universities that the graduates of the schools go on to attend and so on (Sylvester, 2002). These are all part of the international education market and the schools are inextricably tied to the activities of these institutions because of the services they provide. Such services include assessments, accreditation, training and curriculum development or provision. These are all contributory factors that determine how international education is viewed and practiced in the context of the schools. The organisations also serve as pointers to higher education destinations for students of member schools. As a matter of fact some western universities belong to these organisations. It is known that students with IB qualifications are highly sought for by western universities. Although appearing to be idealistic, these organisations are pragmatic in practice, helping the schools to better function to give the parents what they want. More detail is provided about how international school associations and bodies influence their values later on in this chapter.

The question of what is international education in practice is truly contested and highly debatable. It does appear though that much of what is said about the concept depends on how and where it is applied. According to Cambridge (2012), international education could therefore be a phrase that is interpreted differently depending on the context. Against this understanding, the concept of international schools can be explored in relation to practices in different contexts. There exists a wide range of international schools (Sylvester, 2002) based on the above definitions. It is important to state however, that what makes them similar is the claim to providing an international education. Commonly, the term international school refers to a school operating the system of education of another country (Heyward, 2002). These schools use any or a combination of two or more of the following:

- The International Baccalaureate



- The Cambridge International Examinations
- Curriculum from another country usually British, United States, French, German and so on.

An appropriate dualism of the types of international schools that this thesis adopts is Sylvester's (1998) suggestion of schools with inclusive versus encapsulated missions. Schools with inclusive missions are those which practice international education as articulated by UNESCO (1974) and can be linked with Hayden's (2006) conception of schools whose practices are underpinned by an ideology of internationalism. Schools which have encapsulated missions import a nation's culture and curriculum to another country. In other words, they exist outside of the host nation's influence. Characteristic of such schools are that:

- They have limited diversity of parent/student cultures;
- Their teaching (teachers) limited to culture-specific pedagogy;
- The school tends to manage the multi-cultural experience;
- The curriculum is narrowly targeted; and
- The value system is a product of an imported school culture (Sylvester, 1998; 192).

A previous rationale for the existence of such schools was that they were established to cater for the expatriate communities who wanted to maintain their cultures and required schools that provided their children with transferable educational qualifications (Jabal, 2013). However, schools with such characteristics are still known to exist (ibid) even with the increase in indigenous student enrolment (Hayden and Thompson, 2008). With the high turnover of foreign students, it made pragmatic sense for the schools to open their doors to indigenous communities (Bunnell, 2014). However, such international schools appear to operate in isolation of the host country's culture or system despite the changing composition of their student body. This thesis relates Sylvester's characteristics of schools with encapsulated missions to the context of international schools in Nigeria. The nature of the schools' clientele, their ethos and missions reflect their encapsulated orientation.

### **Nature of the International School Clientele**

According to Carder (2011), elites are the main target parents of international schools. The local elite clientele in this case comprise of senior officials of the Nigerian government, highly paid employees of multinational companies and business men, and women. Their positions as members of the senior echelon of society means that they can afford the high school fees which fall between the US\$6,429 and US\$10,451 in a year on the average and could be as high as US\$54,264 (Macdonald, 2006). Such fees can only be afforded by the local elite or by expatriates (referred to as the mobile elite (Carder, 2011) employed by international organisations that include children's fees in their employment packages. This means that only a certain class of students can attend these schools and therefore there is a structural selection of individuals who believe they are worthy of such an education. In other words, there is an explicit and direct exclusion of the lower class members of the society because of their inability to pay the high fees. They are therefore deprived of the opportunity of such an educational experience. Although past and present governments of Nigeria have worked to close the gap between the poor and the rich through education and other empowerment policies (Gannon and Pillai, 2013; Brown and Lauder, 2006), the efforts appear to be undermined by the establishment of schools that are exclusive to the expatriate community and the local elite (Mackenzie et al., 2003). In other words, there exists a paradox in the fact that the elite who form the ruling class of such countries send their children to international schools (Brown and Lauder, 2011; Adepegba, 2012) and this is argued to be a way that class inequalities within society are reinforced. The schools are clearly positioned as markers of the privileged status of those people who are able to afford their provisions.

In many developing countries like Nigeria, international schools afford the elitist class the chance to enrol their wards in schools with more sophisticated forms of learning such as opportunities to use digital technology. Such learning reflects the values, ideology and culture of developed countries in the hope of ensuring or securing a brighter future for their children as mentioned earlier (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004;

Berting, 2010). Another reason why international schools serve the elitist interests in developing world is the recent trend of competitiveness and development in national education systems where everyone has access to the same kind of education (Lowe, 2000). This drives the elite to seek the forms of education that would give their children better qualifications (Brown and Lauder, 2010) and an edge over those who graduate from national education systems. In other words, this ultimately serves the elitists' interest of maintaining the social class system for their wards. It could be argued therefore, that such clientele are politically sensitive and understand the current global and national contexts, and are able to manipulate it for their good.

The overwhelming growth in the number of international schools has until recently been attributed to effects of globalisation which have resulted in the movement of diplomats, expatriates and international business men and women (McLachan, 2007; Bates, 2011). However, as discussed earlier, the changing nature of international schools shows that increased enrolment of indigenous students is the main reason for this growth (Bunnell, 2014). This mobile group is referred to as the Transnational Capitalist Class (TCC) by Sklair (2002) and have been regarded as global elites, and hence are at the top of the global social class (Goldfrank, 1977). International schools were initially set up because expatriates did not consider local education to meet their aspirations for their children and wanted schooling experiences for their children that resembled those obtainable in their indigenous countries (Pearce, 2003). Developments in international education have seen these schools reproduce the TCC. According to Cambridge and Thompson, (2004; 170):

International education may be identified as one of these transnational practices assisting in the maintenance of the privileged position of the transnational capitalist class, both locally and globally.

The children of the local elite who presently constitute the majority of students are caught up in this situation and therefore receiving education that has little or no bearing with local realities.

The local elite have also been argued to constitute part of the TCC (Lauder, 2007) suggesting that their aspiration extends to attaining prominence in a global social class.

The notion of the TCC as desiring education for their children that preserves their status suggest international schools could be understood as politically neutral. It also suggests that they have no concern with what is going on in the local terrain, but are driven by individualistic demands of their clientele. Therefore, there is no sense of developing international citizens and their main focus is to help their clientele maintain their status or produce individuals who can succeed and adapt to the global terrain. They are thus pragmatic and aiming at international understanding but this is premised on how they can secure their own status.

### **Ethos and Missions of International Schools**

It is believed that values shape our visions and are represented in all of life's pursuits and endeavours. Mission statements and school philosophies are products of societal values to be transmitted by the school. In other words, they do not exist in a vacuum as they are formed from social beliefs of the community. Thus, mission statements tend to represent what the school openly declares that it stands for and give some insight as to the character of students they hope to produce (Kenyon and Brown, 2007). School cultures are products of the ethos and missions that underpin their practices (Barth, 2002). This translates into behaviours, attitudes and values that are reflected in the students' identities (Rutter et al., 1979).

The question of what values are actually shared within an international school is a matter of debate (Mattern, 1990; Kotrc, 1994). It is argued that their idealistic missions of sharing internationally focused values often conflict with the pragmatic missions of selling a global brand (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004; Hayden and Thompson, 2008) which are underpinned by western values. According to Pearce (2009) a large number of internationally minded schools claim to provide an education with universal values. He gives the example of the IB programmes that claim to offer 'unarguably universal values common to a civilised society (*sic*)' (IB, undated). It is arguable that values that are said to be universal however they may seem alike and shared by all, mean different things to various peoples. They may also vary in position in the order of priorities depending on the experience through which they were acquired by the individual

(Hayden, 2006). These differences could lead to conflicts on a large scale as it crosses national boundaries which may result in a cold war with the emergence of the conqueror and the oppressed (Pearce, 2009).

What the IB may mean by ‘a civilised society’ is also open to debate. The phrase suggests exclusions of some sorts, of values from societies that may not be deemed to be civilised from the perspective of the IB. The question of what parameters define a civilised society is thus raised. It appears that the word ‘civilised’ refers to its archaic uses and that its residual undertones from a colonial and directly racist past still resonate. Civilisation was a notion that was used to legitimise the colonial intent of the west. It was and still is a way of organising reality to naturalise the exploitative relationship between the west and the neo-colonised (Kayani, 2015). Such phrases as ‘The Whiteman’s burden’ appeared to promote the notion that civilisation was a western property to be dispensed by the west. Therefore the seeming promotion of values from a civilised society as the IB claims, only indicates that they are in the business of spreading western values which are masked as a desired virtue.

The mission statements of encapsulated international schools may be shaped by the values of the national system of education which is adopted and are presumed to be shared by all (Jabal, 2013). However, they may lack any suitability to realities in a non-western world and therefore undermine the purposes of schooling prescribed by the local education systems. This points to the argument that most international schools are market driven because of the fast growing and competitive global job market where the most educated (which sometimes translates into western-educated) gets the best global jobs and opportunities (Brown and Lauder, 2009). This however, suggests the discrepancies between what international schools purport to do and what their actual practices really involve.

Mission statements of most international schools reflect values of internationalism which are mainly intercultural understanding and global citizenship (Cambridge, 2003). These values are laudable as there are various proponents for this direction of education

and especially when assessed on face value. However, the choice to include these items as missions is an ambitious one as Betts (2003) notes that many international schools are struggling in the area of defining the notion of global citizenship and hence enacting the espoused theory. She argued that most international schools do not show an understanding of the concept of training students to be globally responsible citizens and as mentioned earlier they are more prone to transferring an English or Anglo-American perspective of education (ibid). Lewis (2006) has noted the failure of international schools to incorporate and address global issues in their programme of studies. The implication of this for the students from countries like Nigeria is that they are not being trained to develop the individualities and competences needed to be truly global citizens but are receiving a form of education which may be alien to them in culture and ultimately result in the acquiring of conflicting identities. This is because such students may be thrust into a 'conflict of worlds' as they live in 'one' in which the set of values and expectations are in total contrast to the 'other' in which they school (Feinberg, 2007).

How the values of international schools relate or differ from the missions of the Nigerian education system remains to be researched. This thesis examines how the values indigenous students develop result in tensions and conflicts as they navigate the social worlds in their communities and schools. It is questionable how education which may be exclusive of the immediate local realities could be said to foster global citizenship or some sort of world consciousness. Nigerian education as stated by the National Policy on Education and discussed in the earlier part of this chapter is aimed at societal cohesion and the preservation of cultural values. Its creation was borne out of the desire to formulate an education system that reflected the philosophy and needs of Nigerians that colonial education failed to provide. International schools on the other hand promote western values which conflict with indigenous beliefs and values. Therefore, they quite explicitly undermine the stated purposes of schooling in Nigeria.

The second main value reflected in the mission of international schools mentioned above is raising individuals to adapt to and appreciate the intercultural world or

appreciating cultural diversity (Jonietz and Harris, 1991). According to Walker (2000), international schools aim to produce individuals who are culturally receptive and understand the difference between peoples. Educational experiences are planned to accommodate relations between student and teachers from diverse cultural backgrounds. An example of such values are seen in the mission statement of the International School of Geneva which states ‘We prepare students for membership of communities that are socially and culturally diverse’ (International School of Geneva, 2011). In other words, students are exposed to different cultures from around the world and emerge with an appreciation and tolerance of all other cultures.

The stated values are key concepts that emphasise their style and approach to education. According to anecdotal evidence, most international school teachers are either of British or USA origin (Canterford, 2009). In some cases where they are hired locally, the teachers are sent for courses and conferences where they receive training to acquire the pedagogical competence needed to transmit western forms of education. This may imply the direction of the school cultures. As a result, the valued conventions within the schools may be those that the teachers esteem which are certainly products of the ideological background of their training (Cambridge, 1998; Poore, 2005). It might also be that cultural exchanges may be mainly between the teacher’s western culture and the local cultures since indigenous students constitute a majority of the schools’ populations in recent times. It will be interesting to study how Nigerian students’ collectivist backgrounds clash or intermingle with the teacher’s individualistic orientation. This study explored the websites of international schools in Nigeria to give an insight into the nature of values that the schools advertise that they promote.

Matthews (1989) suggest that international schools ideally should go beyond offering education from a foreign country and should create the necessary environment for intercultural mixing of staff and students. Supposedly, the international school is a melting pot of cultures resulting in the production of a hybrid culture. However, it has been argued that rather than this, the dominant culture is often a variant of western cultures and perspectives (Poore, 2005). In some cases the dominant culture

acknowledges other cultures superficially but this comes with marginalising positions (Jabal, 2013). According to Cambridge (2002; 5), 'international education enhances and celebrates cultural diversity as an exotic and peripheral component - the so-called "sambas, saris and steel bands" aspects of culture'. It is also suggested that some international schools may exist in isolation of host countries' cultures (Sylvester, 1998).

Values within international schools are often reflective of the ethos of international and regulatory bodies that the schools belong to and therefore a wide range of these schools may share common values. To become accredited by the organisations, schools have to meet certain criteria which include adopting the ethos of international education as prescribed by the individual organisations.

### ***International School Organisations and Accrediting Bodies***

International schools are interlinked and connected by the same associations, accrediting bodies and testing schemes that have their roots in British and Anglo-American educational values (Lewis, 2006). These associations include *inter alia* the IB, International Schools association (ISA), Council of International Schools (CIS), European Council of International School (ECIS), Middle Schools Association (MSA), Association of international Schools in Africa (AISA), Council of British International Schools (COBIS) and more localised organisations such as the Association of International Schools in Nigeria (AISEN). There are 22 schools in Nigeria registered as members of the Association of International schools in Nigeria (AISEN), four are listed as full members of the Council for International Schools (CIS), 40 are members of the Council of British international Schools (COBIS) and five are members of the IB. There are other schools that are listed as members of other organisations such as the Middle State Association (MSA) and the Council of British International Schools (COBIS).

The IB, MSA, CIS and ECIS are highly rated accrediting bodies that offer programmes and examinations that are required for admissions into universities and colleges which are mostly situated in western countries. Lewis (2006) criticised these programs and



examinations for their English/Anglo-American content instead of being more internationally oriented. For example the British A levels and AS levels, the American Advanced Placement (AP) Programme and the IB require students to be taught a narrow aspect of the traditional disciplines that do not focus on contemporary global issues. In his analogy of students who took AP and IB exams, he noted the marginal figures who took courses on history and geography that had to do with Asia, Oceania, the Middle East and Africa and pointed out that a large number of students took courses related to the Americas or Europe. He interprets this phenomenon as an indication of the hegemony of western and European elements in international education as well as the underlying belief that non-western areas are not relevant in modern day education. In another article Lewis (2005) criticised CIS' descriptions of accredited schools for lacking references to international or intercultural learning in anyway.

The IB especially has been lauded for efforts for its focus on global issues because it encourages education geared towards world peace and raising global citizens through its curricula and pedagogies (Tate, 2013). However, it is also seen as being too academically oriented as well as being western and idealistic (ibid; Walker, 2012). Van Oord (2007) argues that the IB presents an international outlook with a completely westernised system of knowledge and its transmission. One underpinning theme in the IB's mission statements is 'better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect' (IB, undated). This mission appears to be aligned to the internationalist ideals of international education. However, there remains a dilemma as Bunnell (2011) claims, in the area of converting this theory to the actual practices of the school. On one hand there are the ideals that supposedly drive its programs and label it as an international brand. On the other hand, complying with the demands of parents (the national elite and the globally mobile group) for internationally transferable qualifications presents the IB as a 'facilitator of economic supremacy within a global unregulated system of education' (ibid; 169). Whitehead (2005) argues that rather than promoting social justice, the IB is seen to market social advantage. This claim is related to affordability of an IB education which ranks high amongst other international schools. Given the social ecology of countries like Nigeria, the current appeal of programs such as the IB, as suggested by Doherty (2009; 13), 'stems not so much from its internal

design as from its opportunistic fulfillment of a number of current political agendas'. The IB's western-centric practice is most appealing because of its philosophical similarity with current globalisation ideologies which situate western powers as having the upper hand in the global economy. It is this alignment of international education with current globalising trends that leads this thesis to suggest the neo-colonial orientation of schools with encapsulated missions.

## **Summary**

This chapter has explored the colonial history of Nigeria as it relates to its past and current education system. It also reviewed the practice of international education within the context schools that claim to be international. Within the Nigerian setting, these schools have been argued to have encapsulated missions, operating in isolation to the host country's cultures and systems, and having agendas that are different from the Nigerian system. Tuition fees for such schools are very high and only the local elite and expatriates are able to afford it. Although the schools appear to originate from genuine international goals, their practices are also underpinned by dilemmas between the listed missions of international education and practicalities of producing qualifications that matter in the current globalised world. Thusly, the context of international schools is associated with the reproduction of a transnational capitalist class and the local elite as well as the strengthening of class inequalities in the local and global society (Tate, 2013; Brown and Lauder, 2011).

Because of the nature of its practices, international education is implicated in the detachment of indigenous students from their ideological and cultural inclinations. This thesis argues that international schools exploit Nigeria's neo-colonial present to attract the elite who prefer western education to national education. The pursuit of international education is argued to be a new form of colonialism. The next chapter examines this in detail by exploring definitions of the current contexts of globalisation. It presents the conceptual framework of this thesis which draws a link between neo-colonialism and the practices of international education.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **NEO-COLONIALISM AS A CONTEXT FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND INDIGENOUS STUDENTS' IDENTITIES**

#### **Introduction**

The often contradicting and varying notions of the meaning, and purposes of international education make for an even wider scope from which its practices can be viewed, and understood. Globalisation, internationalism, politically sensitive and insensitive, colonialism, post-colonialism, global economy, global ideology and, global civil society (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004; Sylvester, 2005; Wylie, 2008) have been identified as various terms used to identify contexts in which the aims and practices of international education are situated. This chapter argues that neo-colonialism is shrouded in the representations of globalisation. As a result, international schools which claim to be agents for the transmission of international and global forms of education are agents for the propagation of neo-colonialism. It also argues that international education is driven by the forces of globalisation which is a masquerade for western imperialism and spread of ideology. The chapter begins by examining definitions of globalisation and how these are related to notions of internationalism, neo-liberal globalisation, and neo-colonialism. It then argues that international schools by their practices provide western forms of education and do not offer indigenous students the relevant educational experiences needed for taking up their adult roles firstly as national and then as global citizens.

#### **What is globalisation?**

Globalisation as a concept defies a unanimous definition and is approached from various perspectives by different theorists (Philip, 2002; Movius, 2010). Acheraiou (2011; 163) states:

The phenomenon... is characterized by intense transnational interconnectedness in the fields of economics and finance, politics, technology, communications, and culture. Goods, capital, skilled workers, war, political violence and disease flow across national borders with unprecedented speed.

Hence, globalisation reflects the existence of powers which lie beyond the control of individual nations, influencing the espousal of uniform values, behaviours and practices amongst peoples and institutions to a large extent (Bottery, 2008). Waters (2013; 46-47) argues that globalisation takes effect in three contexts:

- Economy, involving 'social arrangements' for the manufacture, trade, supply and consumption of territory, capital, commodities and services. In the current global order, this is characterised by marketisation, free flow of trade and finance across borders.
- Polity, consisting of 'social arrangements' involving the regulation of international relations, policy and control evident in modern trends towards 'liberalisation, democratisation and decentralisation of power'.
- Culture, comprising of 'social arrangements for the production, exchange and expression of symbols (signs) that represent facts, beliefs, commitments, preferences, tastes and values'. This is inclined towards universalisation and adoption of cultural values.

It is also suggested that the meanings ascribed to globalisation are as a result of how the world is viewed on one hand (descriptive globalisation) and discourses relating to political ideologies, and power groups, on the other (prescriptive globalisation) (Bottery, 2004). From a descriptive perspective, globalisation is simply concerned with the processes of increasing connectivity between nations and peoples. Although this process dates back to previous centuries, never has it been as intense as it is now in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (van der Westhuisen, 2006). Globalisation has resulted in systemic transformation because the intensifying interconnectedness between nations has led to the restructuring and redistribution of power between states and markets (ibid). Bottery (2004) discusses three forms of descriptive globalisation: environmental, cultural and demographic globalisation.

Environmental globalisation surpasses the mere description of the earth's natural environment, it encompasses the impact that human activity has made on the world's environment. Examples of issues under environmental globalisation are the effects of

human migration and transport on the global spread of disease, global warming as a consequence of industrialisation, and so on. Cultural globalisation encases two perspectives of the global spread of cultures. The first perspective suggests that cities and nations are becoming increasingly consisting of a mixture of cultures and this is a consequence of migration and travel. However, this appears to be more prevalent in certain places than in others. This may be the concept that international schools want to mirror as they are often referred to as multicultural in a global sense (Magee and Keeling, 2011). However, more recent demographics of student populations dispel the idea of a typical multicultural mix. The other perspective of the globalisation of culture is concerned with the standardisation of culture around the globe, argued to be a consequence of global trade which involves the packaging and sale of culture as global merchandise. This appears to describe the activities of those international schools which package western education and sell it as a global package. This chapter expands on this idea later on. The increase in global life expectancy and low birth rate is what demographic globalisation is concerned about.

Bottery (ibid) lists political, American and economic globalisations as prescriptive forms of globalisation. He describes political globalisation as the shifting of political power away from individual nations (ibid). American globalisation is referred to as a process which serves the interests of the United States of America. Economic globalisation involves the free flow of finance and global market agreements supervised by international organisations such as the IMF and the World Bank. It is also concerned with the activities of multinational companies which influence nation state policies by their ability to move capital across boundaries (ibid). Bottery's views may appear more simplistic as they do not explicitly state the underlying discourses of power between the global north as a whole and the global south in all three forms of prescriptive globalisation. However, these concepts of globalisation relate more to the ideas that this thesis builds on and are discussed in detail in this chapter from a critical perspective.

Jones (1998) considers globalisation to be a process which serves the interests of individual nation-states and global corporations. For example, the United States is a

prominent player and profiteer of the activities of globalisation (Bottery, 2004). In this light, globalisation promotes:

...the imperialistic ambitions of nation-states, corporations, organisations, and the like, and their desire, indeed need, to impose themselves on various geographic areas throughout the world (Ritzer and Dean, 2014; 227).

Critics of the process refer to the unevenness in the distribution of power, wealth and development between the developed, and the less developed nations that has become characteristic of the global terrain (Acheraiou, 2011). According to Khor (2000; 1), this shift in perceptions of globalisation is due to the:

...lack of tangible benefits to most developing countries from opening up their economies, despite the well-publicised claims of export and income gains; the economic losses and social dislocation that are being caused to many developing countries by rapid financial and trade liberalisation; the growing inequalities of wealth and opportunities arising from globalisation; and the perception that environmental, social and cultural problems have been made worse by the workings of the global free-market economy.

The global north which constitutes developed countries of the west, maintains hegemony of ideologies underpinning current globalisation trends through their dominance of the world economy and influence on global financial structures such as the IMF. Less developed countries (global south) have less say in global policy making in such forums due to higher influences of developed countries in global financial arrangements (ibid). They are under increasing pressure to conform to the 'Washington consensus' which is a set of agreements between the world financial organisations: the IMF, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the World Bank (van der Westhuisen, 2006). Nations in the global south are also considered to be too weakened by their high level of financial indebtedness to put up any resistance (Khor, 2000). The diminishing of the powers of nation-states to regulate international affairs is thus one-sided as countries of the global south appear to have relinquished more sovereignty than developed countries of the global North (Acheraiou, 2011). Western nations generally have stronger defenses for their economies than developing countries and this appears to be reflective of inequalities in global wealth, and development. Thus, globalisation displays a trait of inclusion by involving all nations in the issue of international trade and exclusion by marginalising the less significant in the decision and policy making.

Sklair (2001; 24) asserts that 'global capitalism produces the material conditions for socialism, but closes down the political and cultural-ideological space for it'.

Globalisation which defines this age and is highly dependent on economic activity is a game of winners and losers. As Khor (2000) suggests above, the liberalisation of trade has led to the spread of cultures and values which have impacted negatively to a high degree on local culture. Thus, Bottery (2004) rightly suggests that economic globalisation underlies other forms of globalisation. This accounts for why the concept is often described only in terms of the world markets while the social, educational, cultural and other aspects of globalisation are regarded as the by-products of the process (ibid). Thus, globalisation (just like modernisation) as a concept attracts a certain degree of suspicion because it does legitimise the spread of dominant western values and capitalism under the guise that it is a process that transcends human control (Waters, 2013). In other words, globalisation becomes the universalisation of western provincialism (Quijano, 2010). It is argued that the process of economic globalisation is no longer controlled primarily by the west because of the growing economic influence of countries like China (Zheng, 2010). However, cultural globalisation which is enabled by the prominence of the western capitalist interests in international communications, media, education, global corporations and technology is still in custody of the west.

Western cultures and values then assume a global face and are absorbed by the 'others'. This leads to a disintegration of traditional societies like those in Africa which had been previously organised to develop the collective consciousness of their members (Kasongo, 2010). This does not mean that all societies of the world have imbibed western cultures but merely stating that 'every set of social arrangements must establish its position in relation to the capitalist west' (Waters, 2013; 32). It is suggested, that the process of globalisation involves the interaction of western cultures with others (Huntington, 1993). However, such interactions have revealed that globalisation involves winners and losers which applies to international education as well. Concerns are raised about:



The support it might be giving, as a universally applicable educational programme, to what has been described as “global cultural convergence”, with consequent negative implications for the world’s cultural diversity’ (Tate, 2013; 257).

The ideologies underpinning international education are shaped by European Enlightenment ideals (Walker, 2012) (which have origins in Europe and North America) and the liberal democratic version of the ideals in particular, which promote the universalisation of individualism. Individualism an ideology that suggests that:

...human beings are autonomous and have rights in their capacity as individuals rather than as members of groups, and that the basis of the political order should be the relationship between the individual and the state rather than the relationship between the state and different groups within society (Tate, 2013; 258).

Such an ideology is bound to be interrogated as international schools multiply around the globe in countries with contrasting political ideals, cultures and values (ibid) as this study does.

The globalisation of culture is hinged on perspectives of theorists who suggest that based on cultural differences, the present era might be witnessing:

- Cultural hybridisation, involving a mixing of cultures (Pieterse, 2009), synonymous with terms like ‘glocalisation’ which infers the interpenetration of the global and the local (Ritzer, 2006).
- Cultural differentialism, implying heightened awareness of cultural differences that could result in conflicts between the west and non-western civilisations, and among groups belonging to non-western civilisations (Huntington, 2002).
- A convergence of cultures to form an increasingly homogenous culture which implies cultural diffusion that is synonymous with terms such as Americanisation and Mcdonaldisation (Pieterse, 2006). This suggests that the world is uniting to hold a single western culture that promotes liberalism (Fukayama, 1992). It is this approach to globalisation that appears to describe the activities of international schools.

However the globalisation of culture is viewed, the reality in different parts of the world is not the same. There are countries such as China that have resisted the influence of western cultures but have embraced capitalism to grow their economies (Zheng, 2010). The opening up of international school markets in China which also comes with regulations on indigenous student attendance, is one example of how some nations are able to contend with the issue of western cultural globalisation. The merging of the local and global are used to describe the contexts of US fast-foods chain - McDonald's in Russia where the franchise has been adapted to suit local preferences (Pieterse, 2006). However, developing countries such as Nigeria are unable to adapt franchises to a large extent because they are bound by western conditionalities required for investments, aids and loans that allow for interference in the formulation and implementation of local policies (Zheng, 2010). This affects development and impacts on the social fabrics of society (Khor, 2000). It is this angle of globalisation that makes it quite similar or conceptually fused with neo-colonialism which the discussions in this chapter progressively lead to.

### **Globalisation and Internationalisation**

Although globalisation and internationalisation appear to refer to one and the same process, the former as it stands at present connotes the forming of one world economy which diminishes nation-state boundaries. In contrast, internationalisation involves trade and relations in the context of internationalism which fully recognizes boundaries and encourages the participation of individual nation states (Daly, 1999). The main unit in internationalisation is the nation-state whose autonomy is crucial to relations unlike globalisation where national borders are eroded (ibid). International trade between African countries and China is suggested to be a typical example of this. It is evident that globalisation and internationalisation possess quite different characteristics and do not mean one and the same thing even though the contexts are similar. Under globalisation, nation states compete for capital, creating a survival of the fittest scenario that is controlled by 'absolute advantage' while internationalisation is governed by 'comparative advantage' (ibid).

International education in the context of internationalisation should aim ‘to integrate students into an international system where differences in cultures are the norm. It should be concerned with employing curricula and pedagogies that ‘will develop skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary to function effectively (Hill 2007: 257-258) anywhere in the world. As most of their mission statements and those of their associations claim, the schools help to foster intercultural understanding and equip students with practical skills they need to survive, excel and contribute meaningfully to societal development as adults in an international milieu (Hayden, 2006). Little is known, apart from anecdotal evidence about the achievements of these aims by international schools (Tate, 2013). This thesis argues that the transmission of an international education is in doubt because of the global rationale for their existence.

Although it is claimed that the ideology underpinning international education is an offshoot of the ideals of the League of Nations philosophy, due to pragmatic reasons that include the safeguarding of their ever increasing enrolments, some of these schools have deviated from this ideology (ibid). As discussed in the previous chapter, international schools are faced with the dilemma of reconciling globalist and internationalist ideals. On one hand, international education is advertised to promote internationalism and on the other, it is a response to global market demands. In this context, globalisation is perceived to be the universalisation of neo-liberal ideologies which involves the complete restructuring of social relations and societal order, and can be seen to be concurrent with the growth of international schools (Bates, 2011). The relationship between the two processes is elaborated upon in the following section.

### **Neo-liberal Globalisation**

Neo-liberal globalisation promotes self-interest and individualism (von Werlhof, 2013) and in a nut shell embodies the critical perspectives of globalisation discussed so far. The origins of neo-liberalism as it relates to current globalisation dates to the 1980s when it was introduced by Ronald Reagan (President of the United States of America from 1981 to 1989) and Margaret Thatcher (Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990) to Anglo-America (ibid). It was hailed as a means to secure global

freedom through ‘deregulation, liberalization and privatization’ (Scholte, 2005; 7) with ambitious aims of increasing prosperity and economic development for all. These aims appear to have been achieved primarily by transnational corporations (TNCs) of western interests. The main enforcers of neo-liberal globalisation are global economic institutions such as the international financial institutions (IFIs), the WTO and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). These have relegated to the margins the roles of international organisations like the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in the regulation of globalisation.

As Robertson (2008) asserts, neo-liberalism aims to ensure that wealth remains in the hands of the elite through the reorganisation of governance, determine the educational aims to be geared towards raising an economic workforce and privatizing education so it is not totally under the state’s control. Neo-liberal globalisation is thus pushed forward by the west especially the US and accounts for the current global economic trends where the western interests are dominant. This is perhaps what Bottery (2004) refers to in his account of American globalisation which sees the US as a dominant player in the global markets. Through the spread of the culture of consumption via the proliferation of American cultural goods, such as media and communications, models of the Macdonald’s fast food chain and the like in the global market, neo-liberal globalisation is pushed forward.

According to Bhanji (2008), as the TNCs are growing due to increasing globalisation, they have tended to engage themselves in social sectors, such as education in order to reproduce themselves globally. She analyses their commitment towards donating educational resources and funding as well as owning schools (such as private schools owned by international oil companies in Nigeria), and theorizes this phenomena as a way that they ‘legitimise their influence over the broad frame and direction of their activities in education’ (ibid; 55-56). The result is that, they acquire the extra-economic benefits they need to reproduce themselves globally.

An unprecedented amount of financial and human resources are being invested as TNCs are becoming key players in conceptualising, developing and infusing new educational ideas, norms and processes through the delivery of their education related activities in developing countries' (ibid; 70).

Bates, (2011; 13) interprets this as:

Under the pressure of the TNCs and their international organisations such as the World Economic Forum, supported by multi-government organisations such as World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as well as by a plethora of regional organisations, is detachment of education from its local and national roots and the transformation of its historical purpose in consolidating national identity and citizenship.

An example is the IB's partnerships with international corporate organisations as well as the United Nations (Hill, 2004). International education has also been implicated in the detachment of indigenous students from their roots (Tate, 2013; Wylie, 2008). With one primary focus being global citizenship, the concept of education towards national cohesion and cultural preservation as prescribed by the Nigerian policy is alien to international schools.

The subtlety of the TNC in its role of reproduction of the transnational capitalist class can be argued to be another avenue of entrenching western values which by reason of global diffusion have become universalist values. The so-called universalist values esteem one notion of social organisation and cultural practices (in this case western) above others (Touraine, 2000). The transmission of such values through education creates individual allegiances towards the western world via the global village as opposed to the allegiances created by national educational systems like Nigeria's. Neo-liberalism is the ideology that legitimises the activities of the transnational class who aim to reproduce individuals with the similar ambitions and values (Brown and Lauder, 2011). According to Pasternak (1998; 257), the social distribution of power is significant in clearly explaining international education as having originated from and projected by the key players in the global order to further propagate their ideology. This results in the intended stratification of classes in the local and global society (Tobin, 2011) that leaves the bottom class barely able to survive. The resultant inequalities engender uprisings and revolutions against governments in some developing countries in recent times (Harrison, 2011). Nigeria is not exempt as there have been known to be

pockets of conflicts around the country which are rooted in the expanding gap between the poor and the rich.

Education in the context of neo-liberal globalisation becomes a commodity whose costs and contents are determined by quality that are in turn defined by dominating structures and cultures. However, such education favours developed countries of the west whose economic interests dominate the present context of the global markets. 'As globalisation impacts the world, international education can be seen as another franchised commodity to be sold in the ever-expanding markets' (Wylie, 2011; 31) and this reflects its neo-liberal orientation. Bates (2011; 2) notes that the exponential rise in the numbers of international schools is simultaneous with the 'globalisation of neo-liberal ideologies'. This suggests that these schools are created to meet global market demands from an increasingly mobile group as well as indigenous elites who are attaining relevance in the global sphere. The international school industry is thus argued to be a significant part of a growing global economy, because of the amount of internal and external revenue that is generated (MacDonald, 2006). It is estimated that international schools registered with the Council of international International Schools (CIS) generate an average of \$4.2 billion annually and total revenues per country showed that Switzerland generated \$344.5 million, the UK, \$277.4 million and China, \$273.7 million (ibid). A more recent research reports that global yearly tuition fee earnings of US\$ 36 billion were made by international schools in the 2013-2014 academic year (ISC, 2014). It thus appears that educational and business goals are underlying missions of international schools. Bunnell et al., (2011) suggest that the schools are miniature capitalist systems. A shift in the goals of schooling which sees the focus of education move 'from exclusively pedagogical issues and towards the espousal of market-oriented values' (Cambridge, 2002; 230) is therefore implied. This is reflective of the notion of 'pedagogy of the consumer' which undermines local cultural and territorial influences (Wilkins, 2012) and is underpinned by individualism.

One characteristic of a neo-liberal education may be the cultivation of individualism, an ideology that drives the individual to work towards making himself/herself rich with

unquestionably little concern about the development or prosperity of the immediate society (Nair, 2010). The purpose of education as stated in the Nigerian National Policy on Education (FRN, 2004), which considers societal good and cohesion as its primary goal, is defeated through the propagation of individualism by international schools. This study suggests that the underpinning ideologies of such an education are primarily aimed at individual aggrandisement. Neo-liberalism positions the student as a consumer citizen (Apple, 2006) who buys the capital necessary for his individual success. For indigenous persons buying an international education, this means they are able to remove themselves from their local context or acquire privilege that positions them in a higher socio-economic class. This positions international schools as a priced product needed by some to conquer others.

### **Neo-liberal Globalisation and Neo-colonialism**

In the context described above, neo-liberal globalisation is suggested to be another ploy by the west to extend imperialism (the economic exploitation of the south by the north) and thus a legitimisation of the post-colonial era of neo-colonialism (von Werlhof, 2013). It is argued that neoliberal globalisation has not terminated colonialism, but legitimised colonisation by the North (ibid). The conceptualisation of neo-colonialism cannot be actualised without relating it to the current discourse of neo-liberal globalisation. The relationship between the two concepts have drawn several interpretations. However, this thesis questions whether they mean one and the same thing. It is important to explore in detail, meanings that are ascribed to neo-colonialism and its relationship to the concept of globalisation and in particular how it relates to international education.

According to Nkrumah (1965; 1):

The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside.

Neo-colonialism represents the extension of colonial practices through attempts by former colonial powers and new world powers to maintain their control in previously

colonised countries (Altbach, 1982). As Davidson (1992) suggests, after the era of colonisation, previously colonised states were engulfed in a vassalage disguised as a caricature of economic relations with the previous colonisers. Neo-colonialism is used differently from neo-colonialism in this thesis. While the former is used to represent the ideology of imperialism and control, the latter signifies chronology, and thus describes the current status of a previously colonised nation. Neo-colonial imperialism promotes the capitalist interests of the west (Tikly, 2004) comprising of former colonial powers such as Britain and France, and new world superpowers like the United States of America. Grosfoguel (2003; 74) refers to these same situations when he borrows the term 'coloniality' from Quijano (2000):

I use 'coloniality' to address 'colonial situations' in the present period in which colonial administrations have been almost eradicated from the capitalist world system. By 'colonial situations' I mean the cultural, political, sexual, spiritual, epistemic and economic oppression/exploitation of subordinate racialised/ethnic groups with or without the existence by dominant racialised/ethnic groups with or without the existence of colonial administrations.

In the present global terrain, the structure of this control is less visible than the imperialism during the colonial era. Although the colonisers do not have the territorial authority they once had, they are still able to exploit and manipulate the previously colonised to their own economic ends.

Nguyen et al., (2009) argue that neo-colonialism is realised chiefly through economic means. However, its influences are reflected in other sectors of the nation such as in the social, cultural and political structures (Kieh, 2012). For example, neo-colonial control is applied in education through financial aids or loans granted to developing nations by international organisations such as the IMF and the World Bank (Anwaruddin, 2014). These organisations are largely influenced by the hegemonic powers of the west (ibid). Conditions for granting the financial aids often require the adoption of western-centric educational and developmental policies (Khor, 2000). In the long run, these nations are unable to develop sustainable indigenous educational policies, leaving them incapacitated and heavily reliant on the west for further aid (Ritzer and Dean, 2014; Nguyen et al., 2009). In other words, global investments and foreign aids are means by which developing countries are exploited, resulting in the increasingly growing gap in



development between the global north and south (Altinbas, 2011). This is consistent with Frank's (1969) suggestion that the increasing reliance of the global south on the north is the reason for the former's lack of development. An appropriate example of neo-colonial exploitation more closely aligned to this study is that international schools represent a way of extracting wealth from Nigeria. This is achieved through *inter alia*, the payment of considerably high fees, high salaries earned by western staff, the directing of students towards western universities which also charge high fees in comparison to universities in Nigeria and the extraction of valuable human resource via the activities of the higher education institutions. In addition, the international school market which comprises of a network of accrediting organisations, curriculum and assessments prescribers, global retailers for school resources, teacher recruiters, and professional training bodies form part of the avenue through which wealth leaves Nigeria. The pursuit of western education which is what is packaged as international education and which in turns helps individuals gain entry into western universities is argued by this study to be a neo-colonisation.

One important characteristic of neo-colonialism is the inability of the neo-colonial state to resist the influence of colonising powers because countries are drawn into a voluntary global economic collaboration (Altinbas, 2011) in the guise of forming a global economy where the weak are supposedly helped by the strong. Kieh (2012) argues that leaders of the previously colonised countries are disarmed by their lack of political, sociological and philosophical will to resist neo-colonialism. This disarmament is conditioned by the global north as explained earlier through international agencies such as the WTO and the IMF. In the context of international education, parents are disarmed by advertisements and testimonials that refer to international schools as having the ability to offer superior educational provisions, and opportunities for their children. Their critical faculty is suspended as the desire to do the best for their children is exploited. MacKenzie (2009) explored reasons why parents in Japan sent their children to international schools and found out that while parents want the best education for their children, some were not entirely satisfied with the influence on their children's behaviours.

It is argued that ‘neocolonial dependency is not permanent, inevitable, or even a typical feature of “third world” development at all’, because newly industrializing countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore appear to have broken this circle (Rao, 2000; 171). However, other countries in Africa, Asia and South America still remain in the dilemma. It also argued that within neo-colonial nations, are agents in the form of the ruling class, the elite and institutions that support the activities of the neo-colonists and legitimise their actions due to self-interests (Attah, 2013). It is the local elite and members of the ruling class who send their children to international schools with the aim of maintaining a superior edge over those who cannot afford the fees (Resnik, 2009). By so doing they encourage the growth of international schools within their countries and the spread of neo-colonial values.

The proliferation of US activities in the global village have been argued to actively perpetuate neo-colonialism. This is suggested because American culture is being universalised through the opening up of neo-colonial economies to multinational companies of US origin, enabling the spread of cultural goods, concepts and services (Pieterse, 2006). This phenomenon is known as Americanisation argued to be the form of neo-colonialism delivered by US hegemony of globalisation (ibid). The concept of McDonaldisation, as put forward by Ritzer (2006), is suggested to be one process that exemplifies americanisation (Bryman, 2006). McDonaldisation emerged as a theory that describes the adoption of the culture and activities of the global fast food industry giant known as McDonald’s (Ritzer, 2006) which promotes consumerist universalism (Pieterse, 2009). Ritzer (2006) states that there are four dimensions of mcdonaldisation, namely efficiency, calculability, predictability and control through non-human technology. The practices of international education have been associated with the dimensions of McDonaldisation (Cambridge, 2002).

Just like McDonald’s restaurant with branches all over the world, the activities of international education along with schools that practice it, transcend the influence of the nation state (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004), not taking into account the diversity of staff and student population. Across the globe, student experiences are similar and

underpinned by standardised school curricula and pedagogic practices that are exclusive of the host country's influence or culture (ibid). International education is presented as efficient in producing responsible global citizens. Secondly, international education is seen as a 'reliable product conforming to consistent quality standards throughout the world' (Cambridge, 2002; 227). This is embodied in the schools' ability to provide globally transferable qualifications for students. This claim is strengthened by their associations with organisations that provide quality assurance like the IB and the Cambridge International Education (CIE) and other international school bodies such as the CIS (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004). Belonging to one of these associations becomes a symbol of quality for international schools (ibid). Thirdly, the principles guiding the schools are linked to ideologies underpinning the national systems they adopt and the international associations to which they belong. Therefore, it is quite easy to find a common ideological positioning across the schools providing international education and this reflects the predictability dimension of the Ritzer's McDonaldisation theory.

Finally, given the fact that international education is regarded as sophisticated and transcending national systems, the use of technology in pedagogies and communication between teachers and curriculum developers across the world is essential to its existence (Wylie, 2011). Technology is thus employed in controlling the system, shielding it from any form of local control. This implies that educators may not be able to criticise or question systems of learning and that pedagogies (Bottery, 2004) and curricula are imported without checking if they are appropriate for the recipients.

It is on this basis that this chapter argues that international schools promote this uniformity across borders and hence are a global brand of services enabled by the adoption of similar national practices or their memberships of standardising international organisations. International education is therefore a global brand that is compared to the famous McDonald's product – 'a big Mac and a coke' franchised by international schools across the world which maintain the same standard everywhere ensuring that their elite and mostly mobile clientele have access to the same quality of

education anywhere they go (Cambridge, 2002). The nature and underpinning ideologies of these brands are linked to the concept of globalisation adopted by this thesis and contrast significantly with the genuine purpose of internationalism.

There are very few papers that use any term whose root word is colonialism in relation to international school practices. Quist (2005) argues that the discourse of international education is informed primarily by western conversational exchanges, meaning people of western origin dominating the discourse and failing or unable to engage with ideas from the positions of colonial and post-colonial discourse. He argues that ‘the tendency to ignore or not to recognise the historical and contemporary realities of our cultural ‘others’, I believe, makes the discourse somewhat hollow’ (ibid; 5). Wylie (2008) analysed the ideological context in which the practices of international schools might be situated from his research in relation to message systems. He concluded that colonialism, post-colonialism, global economy, global ideology and global civil society are contexts in which the international school can operate. He identifies teachers and ICT as mechanisms of control through which the ideologies are transmitted (ibid).

Wylie (2008; 7) argues that international education is the ‘internationalisation of message systems and formal educational knowledge’. Schools are agents for societal and cultural change (Bernstein, 1975) and thus, international schools by the sheer nature of their structure and organisation are global agents of cultural change. This study argues that international schools by reason of their practices, taking into account their ideological and socio-cultural contexts, do not expose indigenous students to the economic and social and cultural realities inherent in their individual societies, especially in developing countries. Instead they claim to provide a global form of education that is ironically western-centric, resulting in the strengthening of class inequalities in post-colonial societies such as Nigeria and reproducing a transnational capitalist class. The pursuit of western education by the local elite has always been seen as a means of being ahead of the less privileged in post-colonial countries and this is argued to be a new form of colonialism. The inequalities that are characteristic of neo-colonialism are reinforced through this process.

Bourdieu's and Passeron's (1977) ideas resonate with the purposes that international schools serve in countries like Nigeria. They suggest that education has a subtle role of stratifying society, and maintaining the class systems and the interest of the 'preferred few' (ibid). This occurs firstly, by clearly rationalising the ideology for the existence of a social order through its cultural reproductive role and therefore, legitimising the inequalities that exist therein. This phenomenon is termed symbolic violence which is the enforcing of the ideological beliefs of a dominant social class on the society (ibid). Secondly, education stratifies society by transforming these discriminations in the society to educational inequalities. For instance, students from low socio-economic backgrounds leave school with low educational attainment while those from higher socio-economic backgrounds perform better and therefore have more financially viable opportunities and better paying jobs (ibid). The schools provide credentials that confer 'unfair advantage' in national and global economies on children of the indigenous elite and TCC (Brown and Lauder, 2011). What is considered as worthwhile knowledge in the global terrain including the pedagogical practices and assessments imported from the west, are sold to the highest bidder and those who are less privileged are denied access. In addition, dominant western ideologies and values are transfused in the process which influence indigenous behaviours and allegiances.

If this is the case, then international schools are miniature representations of western educational systems in different countries and promoters of neo-colonial education. As Thaman (1997) suggests, such a form of education is an avenue for the west to prolong imperialism, as he argued in the case of pacific islanders. In other words, the western world via international schools reproduce inequalities in the global society by transmitting English or Anglo-American educational and cultural values. This is mainly achieved through the nature of message systems found within international schools.

## Message Systems of International Schools

According to Bernstein (1975; 75):

Formal educational knowledge can be considered to be realised through three message systems: curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation. Curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realisation of this knowledge....

Bernstein argues that message systems are a means of transmitting ideology and maintaining control (ibid), and therefore implicated in the transformation of the individual. Wylie builds on this to include Information and Communications Technology (ICT) as a mechanism of control in international education. He suggests that:

Relationships between the message systems and the mechanisms of learning and control, and the theory associated with the trajectory from colonialism to global civil society can be constructed as a matrix (2008; 11).

The matrix can theoretically situate international schools in the various ideological contexts within which their practices lie. Wylie argues that these ideologies are colonialism, post-colonialism, global economy, global ideology and global civil society. The message systems and mechanisms of learning, and control of schools that can be situated within the colonialism dimension are grounded in a colonial system where local language and cultures are marginalised or rendered irrelevant. Schools within the post-colonial dimension employ a western system which reinforces the colonial discourse or as this thesis argues, the neo-colonial ideology. Schools operating within the global economy are those that appear to be aligned with the ideologies that drive present day globalisation. Their practices are aimed at the economic empowerment of the individual. Their message systems and mechanisms of learning, and control reflect the colonial perspective which is embedded in the structures of globalisation. Global ideology is suggested to underpin the practices of schools that follow the genuine purposes of international education. Wylie (ibid) locates the IB mission within the global ideology dimension and this is interesting because the IB has been criticised for selling privilege rather than social justice (Whitehead, 2005). Wylie (ibid), however, submits that the tensions between pragmatism and idealism underpin international education practices. Schools that can be situated under global ideology are culturally aware and inclusive. Those under global civil society are more focused on the local. Their message systems

and mechanisms of learning and control emphasise local knowledge and cultures, and education is aimed at 'decolonising the mind' (ibid; 12).

Wylie also argues that there is a theoretical shift from colonialism towards a global civil society ideology. Perhaps, Wylie assumes that along with the changing landscape of international schools, practices will begin to change to cater for the difference in clientele and therefore reflected in ideological shifts. Cambridge (2011; 286), however, contends that Wylie's argument is based on an assumption that there is 'social progress between the various discourses in international education that may be unwarranted'. Therefore, the claim to a theoretical shift is unjustified given the current practice of international education that is implicated in the reproduction of 'social and economic privilege' (ibid). This implies that international education may be static rather than reorienting itself and adapting to changes in its clientele. This thesis argues that given the fact that the west is a dominant player in the global arena and within the international education milieu, there is no basis for equity for countries within the global south. It is only wishful thinking to suggest that international education will move towards a global civil society ideology. The matrix which situates colonialism (which operates almost exclusively in the interest of the west and to the detriment of the global south) at one end, and global civil society (which indicates a relationship based on mutuality and respect at the other end), does not provide a justification or impetus for the move. In other words, there is no counterbalance for the domination of colonialism that tilts the scale in an equal and opposite direction to the possibility of the global south being in the dominant ascendance.

In Wylie's analysis of case studies of three schools he described to illustrate the various contexts in which international schools operate, he shows how the educational experiences of indigenous students in Vanuatu affect their responses to their cultures and their behaviours. He quotes one student:

My culture and custom are very important and I think that I had better not lose them because every time I return home my parents often say to me that my behaviours are changing. In the first place they told me I had no respect for others, secondly I forget how to weave such things as mats and baskets,

which I very much knew before (Colin Hopkin -Vanua-Lava Year 11 student, 1993 Case Study cited in Wylie, 2008).

His findings from this case study also suggest the conflicts that the dualities between western and indigenous cultures of developing countries, could stir up. Wylie agrees with Smith (1999) on the wide difference between western ways of knowledge and those of the host country where the curriculum is enacted. The differences as Smith (1999) claims, lie in the western beliefs of fragmenting society and encouraging individualism as opposed to the indigenous people of the Pacific Island's beliefs in developing collective responsibility towards each other and a shared identity (ibid). Collectivism is also largely the inclination of Nigerian people (Gannon and Pillai, 2013). According to Whitehead (2005; 10):

Student identities are being reconstructed along individualistic lines as these schools teach the skills required of the entrepreneurial individual in the corporate workplace rather than a socially responsible citizen.

Thus, message systems within the schools are likely to influence indigenous students who may come from contrasting ideological backgrounds.

The topmost universities on the of the World University Rankings 2014-2015 (Times Higher Education, 2015) are mostly located in western countries such as the UK, US, Canada and Australia. Globally accepted qualifications which international schools readily provide are required for admissions into these institutions. The use of western oriented curricula and assessment models such as the IB and the IGSCE enable the schools to prepare their students to achieve these goals. In post-colonial states such as Nigeria where international education serves the national elite's interests in maintaining the socio-economic status quo, the schools are bound to give in to demands that reinforce their neo-colonial orientation. The practices of such schools may likely be situated on either or between post-colonialism and global economy, and likely to remain there for the foreseeable future. This leads to the question of how the purposes of international schools are transmitted through message systems and mechanisms of learning and control.



From earlier discussions, it has been suggested that international schools are involved in reproducing the transnational capitalist class as well as contributing significantly to the inequalities in national social classes. Message systems such as the curriculum are designed to meet such needs. The curriculum is socially organised knowledge and there is a strong correlation between educational knowledge, social control and cultural reproduction which relates to the international education context. Young (1998:9) states that:

The history, the social divisions and many competing interests, and value systems found in a modern society are expressed in the school curriculum as much as they are expressed in its system of government or its occupational structure.

An illustration of this fact is seen in Anyon's (1981) research into forms of knowledge transmitted in schools. She suggested that students from different social and class backgrounds were exposed to different types of knowledge owing to political and economic reasons. This issue was raised from the findings of research she carried out in the US on school knowledge amongst elementary schools with children from varying class backgrounds. Although the curricula in use at that time were similar, having similar topics and resources, there were also subtle and significant differences particularly as it relates to the hidden curriculum. On the basis of her data she was able to argue that students from working-class backgrounds were exposed to curriculum that prepared them to take up roles for mechanical and regular work, those from middle-class schools were prepared for office administrative occupations while students from affluent professional backgrounds acquired knowledge that was appropriate for jobs for the professional middle classes. Those from the executive elite schools were being adequately prepared to take up leadership roles. Popkewitz (2009; 306) argues that:

The recognition of particular populations for inclusion, it is important to recognize, are responses to commitments about correcting wrongs; yet the very desire to include is inscribed in systems of thought that create continuums of value that differentiate, divide, and abject.

Such inclusion and exclusion of knowledge distribution may also be referred to as stratification of knowledge (Young, 1998; Cofey 2001). It is apparent that international schools, by nature of their costs are exclusive to a certain class of students. The schools are becoming a necessity for the indigenous elite if they want an education that can

reproduce privilege for their children. The contents of their learning, particularly the hidden curriculum, might also play a significant role in forging neo-colonial aspirations.

The approaches to the curriculum and the content to be included are determined by the perceived purpose(s) of schooling. This should surpass the structures and the content of subjects, and also include a vision of the identities of individuals that are products of the system in terms of values and attitudes (Gardner, 2000). Thus, the issue of international school curricula should be explored by articulating all aspects of education such as the content that is being transmitted and the processes involved in the transmission (Cambridge, 2011). Marsh (2009) suggests that the curriculum comprises of the following aspects: the planned curriculum, the enacted curriculum and the experienced curriculum. The planned curriculum comprises of knowledge that is thought to be important for students to learn (ibid). The enacted curriculum describes the aspects of curriculum chosen by teachers from a professional point of view to be implemented and assessed (Hume and Coll, 2010). Kelly (2009; 11) defines the experienced curriculum as ‘the actual or received curriculum’. An integration of these various aspects of the curriculum constitutes the course the individual takes to be educated. In the context of international education, these are determined by what national system the school decides to adopt. Hence Thompson (1998) suggests that international school curricula may be developed by integration, exportation, adaptation and creation.

Integration is a process whereby the curriculum is structured by combining seemingly best practices from various western curricula such as the European baccalaureate. On one hand, this may be deemed laudable as it comprises of the best pedagogical practices and takes into cognizance of the diversity of students that it caters for. On the other hand, such a curriculum is criticised for the dissonance that is bound to arise from integrating strategies, values and ideologies that are likely to be in conflict. Exportation describes a process whereby curricula and examinations are exported to be marketed to international clientele without any changes to suit the purpose (culture and location) for which it was exported (Cambridge, 2011). The curricula in this case are either western

or Anglo-American and are considered more sophisticated, modern and child-centred. However, Thompson (1998: 279) argues that:

The value system is unapologetically that of a national country from which it is exported, but it does depend on an assumption of society identity between national country and receiver country . . . Concession to any overt form of internationalism is slight and, is confined to the notion that the curriculum may be called international only in the sense that it is used in a geographically dispersed market.

Nsamenang (2003) suggests that this type of curriculum do not adequately prepare African children for the realities they are likely to face as adult citizens of their countries. Thiong'o (1986) argues that this is a new form of imperialism.

Adaptation of curriculum involves selecting the content of the curricula from one national context to be used in another while acknowledging the differences in the context but doing little or nothing to change the value system. This results in an unplanned case of cultural imperialism that may arise in the course of pedagogical interactions. Two examples of adapted curricula are the Cambridge International General Certificate of Education (IGSCE) and the Advanced International Certificate of Education (AICE) (Cambridge, 2011). Creating curriculum involves producing a new curriculum from the underpinning theories of education. One problem that arises from this process is the question of who determines the selection of underpinning ideologies, and the criteria for the choice of knowledge to be transmitted. In addition, the perspectives of what a true international society is, is likely to be expressed in the curriculum and this is reflected in the selection of the contents of the curriculum. Therefore, a critical issue for the production of international curriculum lies in what knowledge is recognised as official knowledge and by whom, and by what criteria the selection of such knowledge is made (Scott, 2008).

Education is understandably and essentially a social process which is concerned with transmitting knowledge through the varied pedagogical interactions between pupils, and their teachers within a set of organised structures in the form of academic institutions and programmes (Coffey, 2001). The relationship between the teacher and students is critical to the learning and teaching situations. In other words, the products of education

are determined by the social relations that occur within a social setting (which is the school) between the learners and the educators (Plagens, 2011). According to Wylie (2011), by the nature of interaction, social relationships are constructed that lead to the informal transmitting and maintaining of hegemony. The composition of such relationships dictates the means of communication of knowledge such as the curriculum, pedagogies, assessment and the imposition of ideology (ibid). Bernstein (1975) identified the link between the principles of transmission and the forms of social relationships in schools. He explains this in terms of the hidden curriculum and suggested that it accounts for the transmission of power and control. Van Krieken et al. (2010; 187) states that:

Rather than the content of culture, it is the forms taken by that culture that are significant for shaping the vision of reality of pupils. Details of the content may fade from pupils' minds, but the pattern or structure underlying its arrangement shapes the way they see the world and their future ways of thinking.

One influence in the forming of such relationships is the background of the teachers. Garton (2000) and Canterford (2003) report that the international school clientele, has been known to demand or prefer native English speakers, such as UK and US citizens, to be employed as teachers in international schools. There is also a demand to hire non-native English speakers who have a western background to their training (ibid). Their western training and backgrounds are seen as an advantage because they are likely to contribute to the transmission of western ideologies and values in their practice. However, there remains the issue of the relevance of the western-trained teacher's assumptions in a classroom where the students come from different cultural backgrounds. In addition, the way the international school students are perceived - mere consumers of a package which contains the knowledge and forms of its transmission also needs to be examined. It is important that international educators critically challenge their own ways of knowing and assumptions in teaching students who come from other cultures (Tsolidis, 2001).

It is necessary at this point, to infer from the above discussion that every curriculum has an underpinning principle and a theory of knowledge guiding its choice of content and

implementation. In other words, the conceptualisation of the curriculum is dependent on how knowledge is perceived (Kelly 2009). Therefore, given that international curricula are derived from an entirely western context as evidenced in the preceding arguments, it is not unreasonable to state that ideologies underpinning the curricula, the pedagogies and the resultant socio-cultural setting are likely to be at variance with that of the systems and cultures within some host countries. As this thesis will argue, in a country like Nigeria, it is neo-colonial in its use.

One mechanism of control in international schools' practice is ICT which is a significant means of creating and maintaining a dominant global network (Castells, 2001). Its use has revolutionised educational systems in general (ibid). It is also essential if one is to belong to the transnational capitalist class as it is one key to economic growth (Law et al., 2008). The use of technology in all facets of life and especially in education is another way the west determines educational strategies and implementation, because in many ways ICT has greatly influenced thought systems and people's actions (Wylie, 2011). ICT is thus the transport medium for the importation of ground breaking and newly discovered pedagogies which implies a total inclination towards ideologies that are dominant on the web. Wylie (ibid; 24) goes on to argue that 'the emergence of ICT as an essential literacy contributes to a new form of colonialism, serving hegemonic economic interest'. This is because western knowledge, cultures and contents dominate forms of communications through technology. This situation continuously relegates developing nations (Said, 1989). International schools belong to networks and organisations to maintain uniformity and the quality of their services. These networks also include online learning communities involving teachers and students within and between international schools around the world (Laud and Matthews, 2007). A variety of web software is used in learning content creation, dissemination, assessment and management of the learning processes (Vucic, 2009). Such learning may overwhelmingly surpass what is available on national systems of education in developing countries. Evidently, ICT plays a dominant role in the promotion of international school missions. Its increasing use enhances the westernisation of the school curricula and pedagogies. Tsolidis (2001) rightly suggests

that the ‘web-face’ of international education should be critically evaluated in terms of teaching and learning situations.

This chapter has so far presented the arguments raised by this thesis about the neo-colonial orientation of international education and hence, suggests that this is a context within which some schools claiming to be providers of international education are situated. The issues raised from the discussion lead to interrogating how indigenous students attending an international school manage the varied cultural experiences as they transit between their schools and communities, and how relevant the experiences are to their local cultural and economic realities.

### **Global Citizens, Internationally-Minded Citizens, or Neo-colonial identities**

In its truest sense global citizenship would suggest belongingness to a global community and a concern for the wellbeing of the world. A global citizen should be internationally minded, one who is driven by a responsibility to contribute to the development of the world and its environment. However, Bates (2012) questions the idea of citizenship on a global scale, stating that there is no global state which issues citizenship. Rather, as he argues (*ibid*; 263), there are certain metaphorical conceptions of what global citizenships represent which could include ‘those who roam the globe more or less at will through the possession of multiple citizenships or visiting rights through multiple visas’. Members of the TCC, which international schools help to reproduce, belong to this group of globally mobile individuals. This is an aspiration that is implicit in the claim to developing global citizens by international education providers as the schools are a vehicle through which such desires can be achieved (*ibid*). Such schools will direct their message systems to reaching their goals.

Through the schooling experiences, the indigenous student might experience a suppression of the indigenous cultural identity and as Tate (2013) suggest, international schools have been implicated in the separation of students from their local cultures. This claim is also supported by Wylie (2008) in his research which was discussed earlier. Fanon (1968) describes the lived experiences of neo-colonialism when he writes about

how the black man rejects his culture and race to embrace the white man's culture, accepting it as a superior form of being. This is what the thesis refers to as a neo-colonial identity: the consciousness of a colonised person which rejects the indigenous for its perceived inferiority or irrelevance to achieving the goal of becoming a global citizen and therefore claims affinity for western cultures.

The conceptualisation of identity adopted by this research draws on the theoretical perspectives relating to the nature of the self and the way the subject is approached by various disciplines. Brock and Tulasiewicz (1985: 1) suggest that identity from a general perspective is:

A state of distinctiveness achieved by the act of separation produced either by external pressures exercised by a group or individual upon another with the aim of isolating it or by a group, society or individual using its own 'forces propres' to conceptualise and arrive at some unique characteristics.

It is in every way a psychosocial product of the interactions of an individual's cognitive development and his/her social cultural upbringing (Erikson, 1963). A well-defined sense of self, values, and belongingness to a community predicate a person's resolution of identity issues (Cote and Levine, 2002). The theoretical reasoning is patterned after symbolic interactionist tradition on which platform Ervin Goffman (1922 -1982) based his work (Lawler, 2008). This tradition asserts that a person's identity is socially constructed and results from one's experiences and interactions with others (Blumer, 1969). In other words,

...the self is a social product in the sense that it depends upon validation awarded and withheld in accordance with the norms of a stratified society (Branaman, 1997: xlvi).

This means that individuals negotiate their identities from group dynamics and the norms of the communities in which they are situated are important factors in this process. Therefore, it would be fair to suggest that an international school student identity however self-constructed (Weinreich and Saunderson, 2003) is influenced by the totality of the social interactions that take place in that environment. The students not only negotiate their identities from the meanings they make of their learning environment but also from the 'identity positions' presented to them by the school (Sears, 2011: 73).

The notion of identity can be discussed on several dimensions such as national, ethnic and cultural identities. National identity refers to identification with and acceptance into a nation which may consist of different cultures and ethnic groups. Cultural identity refers to the identification with and perceived acceptance into a group that has a shared system of symbols and meanings as well as norms for conduct (Collier and Thomas, 1988). Ethnic identity refers to identification with a group with shared heritage and culture (ibid). According to Golubović (2010) the notion of identity can be approached from two broad perspectives: firstly, primordial and secondly, a more complex socio-cultural, political or ideologically constructed collective sense of communal or personal identity. Primordial identity is considered to be a naturally given and unchangeable entity. It considers ethnic identity to be fixed and represents a pre-modern society which is resistant to change. On the other hand, a socio-cultural, political or ideologically constructed collective sense of communal or personal identity is fluid or post-modern. A number of factors such as a socio-historical process and cultural diffusion result in renegotiations and development of multiple identities.

Conflict between individual and collective identity occurs, in particular, when cultural patterns change, such as those brought about by global flows, and produce conflicting norms and values (ibid). This conflict is heightened when universal values become relativised, exposing communities and individuals to different external influences (political, ideological, or the influence of authoritarian mechanisms) (ibid). This is the explanation of identity that this thesis draws on; it is a model of global identities underpinned by individualistic cultures of the west which have been diffused within indigenous communities. It is argued that the individualism which underpins neo-liberal globalisation provides the basis for a conflict of identities within communities with contrasting ideologies (Leve, 2011). Therefore, this thesis uses the following as a definition of identity: the unique characteristics which determine individuality and this is determined by influences within the environment.

The term ‘habitus’ is used to theorise the production of the self from social relations and refers to this as ‘socialized subjectivity’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2002: 126). The



habitus personifies history in the person of the self (Bourdieu, 1990) and even when the history has been forgotten, the norms, and values learnt have become an essential part of the individual. Habitus, therefore, is the component that mediates between the objective and the subjective aspects of the social world. Every social environment comprises of a set of preferred structures which may be apparent or not, that are internalised by the individuals in the process of time. These structures according to Rezende (2011) serve as ‘structuring structures’ and are implicated in the type of identities formed by the individuals. Although these structuring structures serve as predictors of the individual’s identity, the group dynamics in terms of composition, characteristics, the distribution of power and symbolic capital, facilitate the rigorous phenomenon of identity negotiation (ibid). Symbolic capital refers to the social status of the individual in the society. The structures and practices within the institutions are steeped in the ideologies underpinning their practices. For international schools, the structures are translated into student behaviours and identities.

This thesis draws on Althusser’s notion of ideology which suggests that activities and programmes within institutions are aimed at shaping the individual’s principles, identity and actions (Althusser, 1971). He defines ideology as ‘a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence’ and as a process which reproduces dominant power relations (ibid). In other words, ideology provides an interpretation of reality promoted by dominant powers to legitimise their position and status (Freedman, 2003). A good example is the promotion of neo-liberal globalisation by the west which enables the accumulation of capital, the growth and prosperity of western interests and the continued exploitation of developing countries. One of the primary aims of the school is to transmit knowledge that prepares the individual to live and contribute to life within society. However, knowledge is transmitted in ways that perpetuate dominant ideologies such as those embedded within the current neo-liberal discourse on globalisation. Such ideologies present local and indigenous knowledge and values as secondary to the universalized forms that are promoted by the international schools.

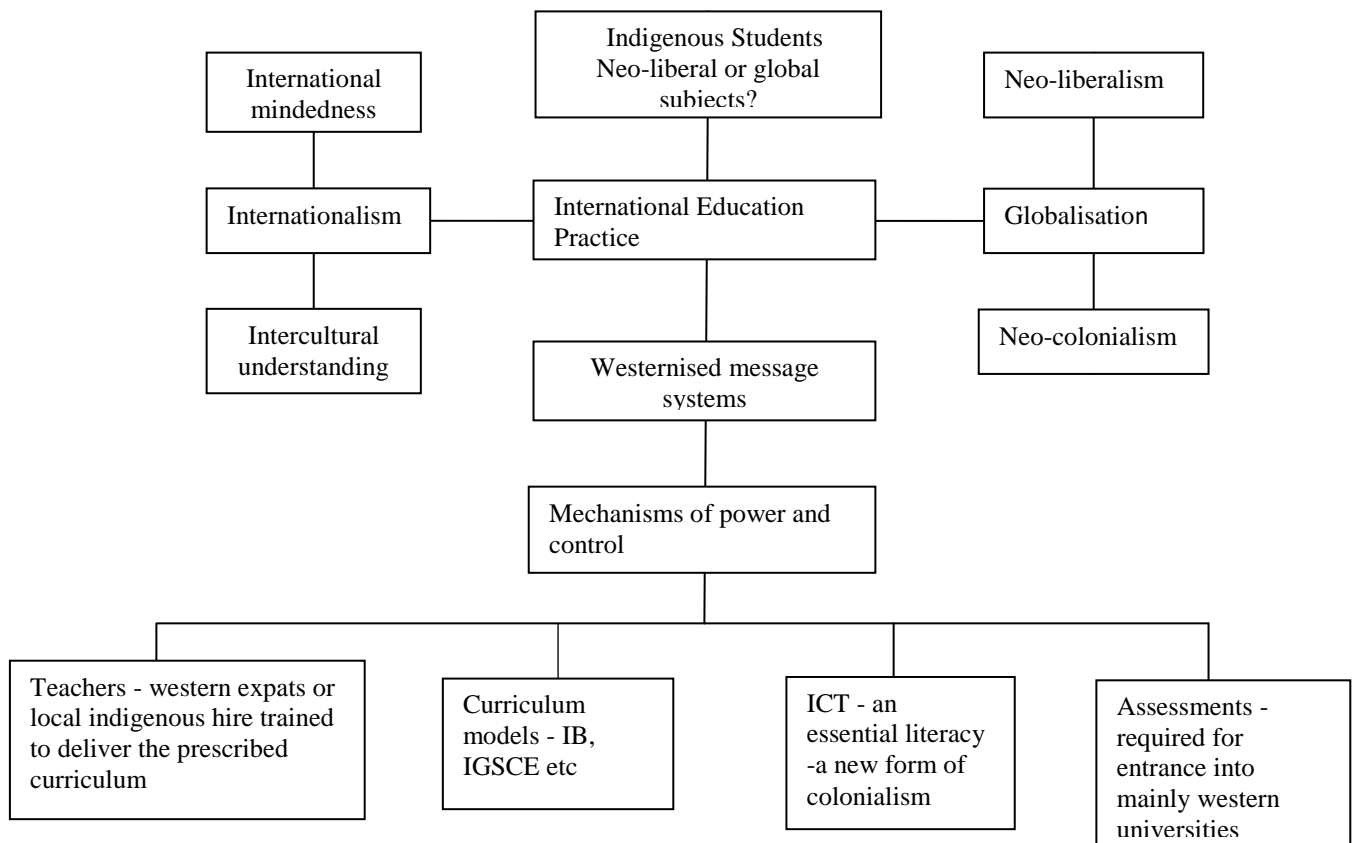
Said (1989) surmises that one way that this is done is through the inferiorising of the colonised. Drawing from Althusser's (1971) notion of ideology, an institution which transmits a reductive perspective of knowledge which presents the west as superior and originator of official knowledge, and the 'other' as exotic or peripheral is an apparatus of neo-colonialism. The position of international schools as possible perpetrators of these forms of knowledge questions their international statuses and the nature of individuals that they produce. This is because social experiences such as schooling work together to frame the individual's behaviours, choices, values, desires, judgments, and preferences (Althusser, 1971).

Figure 3.1 is a model proposed by this study which illustrates the contradictory discourses underpinning the practice of international education within the schools. It is a summary of the conceptual framework. At one end, there are the internationalist ideologies that drive the notion of an international education. On the other end, there are the ideologies which reflect the current prevailing discourses that frame the practices of international education. The message systems are westernised to go with the flow of globalisation which is only a masquerade for the perpetuation of neocolonialism and furtherance of neo-liberalistic values. The universalisation of western values are couched in the discourse of global citizenship and according to Wylie (2011; 31):

Globalisation is shrouded in the misconception that cultural identity is no longer owned by the imperialists (as was the case of the colonial times and thereafter) but rather a matter of worldwide cultural identity... This identity is however, dominated by the economic and cultural forces of the west.

Indigenous students in international schools, located in developing countries such as Nigeria, might be situated in a learning environment that initiates them into the western ideals of a globalised world at the expense of the local knowledge, values and cultures. Their schooling experiences reproduce the neo-colonial inequalities in national and global contexts, and this is reflected in the habitus that they develop. Because international education is propelled by the increasing intensity of globalisation, student identities become a response to current neo-liberal trends. According to Matthews and Sidhu (2005), the alignment of such institutions to global market trends makes it inevitable for them to produce student subjectivities that are a 'neo-liberal variant of global subjectivity'. It makes no difference if the students are referred to as global

citizens or neo-liberal subjects because either term represents a product of system that is framed by prevailing discourses in international education. It is argued that globally related flows and exchanges do not necessarily result in subjectivities or identities that are internationally ‘oriented and supra-territorial forms of subjectivity’ (Mathews and Sidhu, 2005; 49).



**Figure 3.1:** Contradictory concepts underpinning international education practice

The model has the potential of serving as a heuristic device that can provide insight into the prevailing discourses underpinning the contexts and practices of international schools.

Drawing from the analysis above, it is apt to infer that the international school students are products of a system that is itself complex. This can be inferred from the diversity in staff and student population, the characteristic western styled educational system that is glazed with a 'reductive perspective of global ideology', and the student's elite or expat status in the society. The formation of an identity in a culturally diverse environment like an international school often comes with some conflicts (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004) and it has been suggested that international school students have multiple identities as they attempt to manage their varied cultural experiences at school and at home (Harrington, 2008). This often results in conflicts in their personal sense of self and how they perform in different contexts (ibid). The conflicts may stem from the apparent dominance of a particular culture, where others may be subjugated to uphold the dominant. An underlying principle of today's globalisation is that dominant cultures take on a 'global character' in such a way that they are imbibed and accepted by many social entities (Philips, 2002).

Indigenous students attending international schools may experience conflicts as they attend a school with sometimes very different ideological and cultural perspectives from their own national cultures. The confusion they are likely to face lies in the heart of finding the balance between holding on to their cultures and being fully immersed in an educational system that provides the academic competence and socialization that are perceived to be necessary for their future successes (Harrington, 2008). These conflicts arise as the students develop social relationships, make meanings of their experiences and survive in the complex milieu of international education in general (Byram, 2003).

Apart from Wylie, there appears to be no empirical research on issues relating to colonialism in international education in the context of the indigenous students' schooling experiences. Perhaps the paucity of such issues in international schools' research speaks volumes of how the plight of students from host countries are not considered in the general sphere of things. This reinforces Quist's (2005) argument on the tendency for international educators to ignore the positionality of international schools as active players in what he refers to as the post-colonial discourse. This study

argues that neo-colonialism is a context for indigenous student identities. It systematically grounds the concept of neo-colonialism in the practices within the field of international education. The findings of the empirical research will draw clear lines linking the concept to school practices, prevailing issues amongst parents in the context of indigenous cultures and their children's schooling experiences, and identities.

There is exhaustive research on how the schooling experiences of Third Culture Kids (TCKs) impact on their sense of selves, identities and adaptations to other cultures as adults (For example, Bell, 1997; Pollock and van Reken, 2001; Fail et al., 2004; Sears, 2011). The phrase 'Third culture kids' is used to refer to children who live and attend school overseas for most of their developmental years as defined by Useem and Downie (1976). TCKs are said to be products of a third culture because they have no claims to their parents' cultures which is referred to as the first culture. They cannot be said to hold the culture of the host communities where they reside, rather they are more likely to form a third culture which is an amalgam of their first and second cultures. The third space developed by Bhabha (2004) is a postcolonial sociolinguistic theory of identity and community realised through language or enunciation. It acts as an undefined space that develops when two or more individuals or cultures interact. Third Space Theory suggests that individuals and contexts are unique, and that they are a hybrid of cultural interactions. It is arguable that indigenous students attending international schools may be a different type of TCKs who form a third culture as they navigate through different cultural expectations from their schools and indigenous communities. This thesis argues that they reside in a third space as they are seen to be detached from their indigenous cultures and do not have a foothold in western cultures. They may therefore be referred to as 'Third Culture Indigenous Kids' (TCIKs). They differ from TCKs because the conflicts that they experience are of a different order; related to the neo-colonising nature of the educational provisions within an indigenous context.

The experiences of TCKs are often foregrounded in the literature despite growing numbers of indigenous students in the international school landscape. Apart from Wylie (2008) who explored the impact of western education on indigenous students attending

a school in Vanuatu which was part of a research examining ideological situations of international schools in relation to their message systems, there is a dearth of literature regarding the experiences of indigenous students from the host countries. The different degree of visibility that TCKs and indigenous students enjoy in the literature might well reflect the fact that this growth in the latter's numbers in international schools is only recent. Perhaps, this also reflects the background of scholars in the field. As Quist (2005) argues, the international education discourse is characterised by western scholarship. There is a need for scholarship that would reflect the diversity of student and staff population, and the prevailing issues that exist in the international school landscape today. This thesis provides a new and fresh perspective through which the activities of international schools can be viewed. This is because the researcher is positioned as an insider within the indigenous communities who form the substance of the study. Therefore, the thesis fulfills an important lacuna in the literature.

## **Summary**

This chapter has argued that international education is characteristically in the approach of the western liberalist system. This system has been queried on many facets ranging from its degree of relevance to the children from developing countries to the imperialism displayed by the western world in entrenching their ideology and culture on developing countries. The phrase: 'colonisation of the minds' (Cambridge, 2007; 421) depicts this type of imperialism. This study therefore argues that indigenous students within international schools appear to be receiving preparation to become citizens and workers in a global market that is controlled and dominated by the west rather than true global citizens. This suggests that international schools' missions are more inclined towards neo-colonialism rather than their stated missions of accomplishing true internationalism.

The research methodology adopted by this study was aimed at exploring the contexts in which indigenous students were developing a sense of who they were and their place in the world. The extents to which these contexts influenced their perceptions of themselves and responses to the indigenous cultures were also investigated. The

empirical research required a rigorous process which involved integrating different approaches to address the research questions. The next section presents the methodological framework which comprises of the methodology and an account of the practicalities of the research.





## **SECTION B**

### **METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK**

### ***Section Outline***

This section discusses the methodological framework employed in this thesis. It serves as a bridge between the conceptual framework and the findings of the empirical research, justifying the approaches and processes of knowledge production. The methodological framework was a crucial part of achieving the objectives of this research, hence the need for a detailed and clear explanation of the approaches, and processes employed in the empirical research that this section presents.

The section consists of chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 explains the methodological perspective underpinning the research design and strategy, and how this influenced the research decisions in this thesis. Issues to do with how the quality of the research is assessed are also discussed. The chapter provides justification for the choice of research methods including the data collection instruments and analysis, explaining the advantages, and disadvantages. Chapter 5 discusses the practicalities of the three phases of the empirical research, namely a websites analysis, parents and teachers research, and the students' narratives. The chapter details an account of the research process which include sampling, negotiating access, data collection and analysis.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss pragmatism as the methodological perspective upon which the research was carried out. The chapter also examines the theory underlying the approaches in the mixed methods design for assessing the quality of the research, the ethical considerations and the purposes of the research methods. It begins by presenting a summary of the research aims and questions. The cross-sectional nature of the study is explained briefly. The chapter then examines the philosophical assumptions which led to the choice of pragmatism as the methodological perspective of this research. It also presents mixed methods approach as the research design. The methodological issues such as the criteria for assessing the quality of the research, generalisability and ethics which have arisen from the study are also discussed. Warrantability is adopted as an alternative to other normative criteria for assessing the quality of research. The chapter also discusses the purpose of the research methods used in this study, outlining the advantages and disadvantages of integrating a content and semiotic analysis as well as using questionnaires, interviews, and vignettes. It also discusses grounded theory as the approach to data analysis.

#### **Summary of Research and Questions**

This thesis examines neo-colonial tensions and conflicts of identity of indigenous students attending international schools in Nigeria. Some researchers have explored schooling experiences, identities and conflicts among children attending or who previously attended international schools in a foreign country referred to in the literature as third culture kids (TCKs – see meaning in chapter three, page 73) (Pollock and Van Reken, 2001; Willis et al, 1994; Nette and Hayden, 2007; Sears, 2011; Berting 2010). This research examined the experiences of indigenous students attending international schools in Nigeria. It aimed to investigate whether international schools place conflicting demands on indigenous students' identities and how the students negotiated their identities from experiences in their communities, and schools. It also aimed to

investigate the extent to which the demands from their experiences influence their perceptions and attitudes towards Nigerian cultures. The empirical research addressed the following questions:

***Main question:*** How do indigenous students attending international schools in Nigeria manage neo-colonial tensions and conflicts of identity?

***Sub-questions:***

1. What complexities and contradictions surround Nigerian students' international schooling experiences that place conflicting demands on their identities?
2. To what extent do conflicting demands influence the perceptions and attitudes of Nigerian students attending international schools?
3. How do indigenous students negotiate their identities between two contrasting worlds?

### **Nature of the Study**

This is a cross-sectional study that provides a snapshot of the contexts within which students are negotiating their identities and how they are making meaning of their experiences. Cross-sectional studies provide an understanding of a phenomenon and the particular characteristics that can be associated with it within a limited period (Levin, 2006). This study investigates the indigenous students' identities in relation to their present schooling experiences. Unlike longitudinal studies which investigate a phenomenon over an extended period of time, cross-sectional studies take into account the present conditions of the students' experiences with a view of looking at existing correlations within that period (Payne and Payne, 2004). This study gives no account or description of the sequence of events with regards to the students' experiences but offers a view of the phenomenon within the short period that the research was undertaken (ibid).

## **Philosophical Assumptions**

According to Glesne (2011), every research is underpinned by philosophies which represent the researcher's perspective of what counts as reality and knowledge. A paradigm provides a framework that suits the perspectives of the researcher. Guba and Lincoln (2005) identify four types of philosophical assumptions that are important in defining paradigm positions in research. These are the ontological, epistemological, methodological and axiological assumptions (ibid). It is important to briefly understand the significance of these assumptions in research and in particular how they relate to the methodological decisions in this study.

Ontology is concerned with the nature of reality. Bryman (2004; 16) states that:

The central point of orientation here is the question of whether social entities can and should be considered objective entities that have a reality external to social factors or whether they can and should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actions.

The nature of evidence that is accepted as real, positions the researcher under a particular paradigm and this will determine the way the research question is framed and how the empirical study is conducted. Epistemological assumptions in research are concerned with what can or should be considered as acceptable and valid knowledge (ibid). The questions underlying these assumptions are whether research of the social world can be approached using the same principles as processes that are employed in the natural sciences. Whatever notion is adopted influences the approach and nature of research that is undertaken. In particular, epistemological assumptions determine the distance that is established between the researcher and the participants, and the degree of interaction that is acceptable to make for the production or emergence of credible, and valid findings. This points to how objectivity is defined in the context of the research (Mertens, 2007). However philosophical notions abound, they are not essentially directly applicable in all research and it is argued that research methods may not be necessarily determined by one's ontological and epistemological positions (Bryman, 2004).

The methodological assumptions are concerned with the choices and decisions that the researcher needs to make in the course of the research. In other words, what decisions are suitable for a systematic inquiry into the particular issue that is being researched (Mertens, 2007)? These decisions range from the main approaches (whether deductive or/and inductive), to how the data is collected and analysed to make for a true representation of that reality. Axiological assumptions are concerned with the ethical issues to do with the research. Values underpin the:

... choice of paradigm to guide the problem, choice of theoretical framework, choice of major data-gathering and data-analytic methods, choice of context, treatment of values already resident within the context, and choice of format(s) for presenting the findings (Lincoln and Guba, 2000; 169).

The ethical considerations in this research are discussed later on in this chapter.

The above assumptions can lead researchers to adopt a number of paradigms in research mainly thought to fit under positivism, interpretivism, critical theory or post-structuralism (Glesne, 2011). Lather (2006) observes the growing numbers of research approaches which have resulted in the existence of so many paradigms. An explanation of all the terms would fall outside the scope of this research. It will nevertheless be helpful to discuss the philosophical and methodological issues that are significant to this study.

This study adopts a pragmatic approach using an integrated mixed methods design to investigate the nature of tensions and conflicts relating to the development of identities of indigenous students who attend international schools in Nigeria. Although the definition of pragmatism is complex to situate (Hammond, 2013), the general idea behind the approach is that it does not restrict a researcher to one philosophical current of thinking (Plowright, 2011). Instead, the focus is to pursue an approach which supports the use of strategies that will effectively address the research problem. As a research perspective, pragmatism:

...recognises the existence and importance of the natural or physical world as well as the emergent social and psychological world that includes language, culture, human institutions, and subjective thoughts (Johnson and Onwugbuzie, 2004; 18).

Dewey (1859-1952) in the work of Biesta and Burbules (2003) is noted to question the finality with which the subjective and objective are given distinct boundaries in philosophy. Pragmatism rejects the dualisms embedded in the debates between *inter alia*, rationalism and empiricism, realism and nominalism (Johnson and Onwugbuzie, 2004). It embraces more reasonable and coherent forms of philosophical dualisms on the basis of their practicality in meeting the research goals or their applicability to the process of addressing the research problem (ibid). Thusly, pragmatism places more emphasis on the practical outcomes of the research rather than on philosophising. This means that the research question is what drives the research rather than the philosophical positioning of the researcher.

The pragmatic researcher sets aside previous notions based on existing paradigms and engages with the issues that are raised by the research (Florczak, 2014) using necessary methods, and incorporating various perspectives. One criticism of this paradigm is based on the type of research for which it is suitable (Mertens, 2003). In this study, the research problem needed to be addressed by employing a rigorous approach that investigated various contexts of international schools and perspectives of stakeholders within that sector. This was necessary to obtain coherent and justifiable explanations of the phenomenon in question. It was therefore important to adopt a pragmatic stance in the research, adopting a mixed methods design that is concerned with combining approaches and hence methods to address the research problem.

### **The Integrated Mixed Methods Design**

A mixed methods design involves an integration of two or more methods in data collection and analysis in one study (Creswell, 2014). The methods as in this study, may be underpinned by different theoretical perspectives (Sandelowski, 2003) and therefore positions the study as having an integrated methodology approach which is different to the more normative approaches to doing research. This is based on the notion that:

The assumptions of traditional paradigms are not fundamentally incompatible, rather different in important ways. These differences are valuable and should be preserved to maintain methodological integrity... (Greene, 2006; 12).

The approaches integrated under this design will jointly contribute to constructing the findings of the research. As Bryman, (2007: 21) suggests:

They will talk to each other, much like a conversation or debate, and the idea is then to construct a negotiated account of what they mean together rather than serve different purposes in the research.

As mentioned earlier, what drives the research is not the philosophical stance of the researcher but the research questions and therefore, a focus on adopting the methods that will arrive at an explanation of the phenomenon under investigation. The role of the paradigms is to 'help us think better' but most importantly they do not determine the research decisions (Greene, 2006: 12). It is from this theoretical position that this mixed methods research was undertaken. This study draws on the framework for an integrated methodology (FraIM) as proposed by Plowright (2011) to develop a coherent structure for arriving at warrantable claims.

### **Using the FraIM**

Using mixed methods design presents a challenge in relation to the adoption of a theoretical framework for integrating methodologies and methods. Frameworks guide the planning and the implementation of the research process. They ensure that equal considerations are made for each component of the research process. Frameworks guide the combination of research elements into a sensible and logical whole. The processes in this research are implicitly based on Plowright's (2011) framework for an integrated methodology (FraIM). The FraIM helps a researcher to organise the research process in such a way as to ensure coherence. It provides a structure without contents that embodies the processes involved in the research. It is the researcher's prerogative to decide what should make up the contents of the research. The FraIM draws the links between separate components of the research, providing a coherent structure through which the process can be effectively developed. It proposes a holistic approach to conducting research which Plowright (ibid) suggests begins with the formulation of the research question(s) and progresses to the cases, methods, data, analysis, evidence, claims and conclusion of the study. The aim of the FraIM is to help the researcher reach



valid and credible claims at the end of the research. The processes outlined in the FraIM are followed by this study.

No philosophical assumption is prescribed by the FraIM, rather, it suggests that the researcher is driven by the goal of solving the research problem or answering the research questions. This requires the adoption of approaches and methods that are necessary to achieve the research goals as this study does. It follows that the FraIM is based on a pragmatic approach which embraces rationalists' and empiricists' views of what knowledge is. An illustration of how the FraIM was adapted for this study is given in Table 4.1.

**Table 4.1** Adaptation of the Plowright's (2011) FraiM

<b>Components of the FraiM</b>	<b>Adaptation by this study</b>
Research question <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Contexts               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Professional</li> <li>Organisational</li> <li>Policy</li> <li>National</li> <li>Theoretical</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	Research questions were drawn from personal/professional, national and theoretical contexts.
Cases <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Data source management</li> <li>Sampling strategy</li> </ul>	Integrated data sources Purposive sampling targeted at sites and participants experiencing the phenomenon under study <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>teachers, parents and indigenous students within international school communities in Nigeria</li> </ul>
Methods <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Observation</li> <li>Artefact analysis</li> <li>Asking questions</li> </ul>	Asking questions: questionnaires and interviews Vignettes Content and semiotic analysis
Data <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Numerical</li> <li>Narrative</li> </ul> Data Analysis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mathematical</li> <li>Narrative</li> </ul>	Numerical data from websites and questionnaires Textual and pictorial data from websites Narrative from interviews and vignettes Analysis of numeric data using SPSS Analysis of narrative data using grounded theory
Evidence	Selected data that illustrates the phenomenon
Claims	Warranted claims based on the evidence from the empirical research and conceptual framework
Conclusion	Addressing the research questions and making recommendations

Pragmatism in research is concerned with making the right judgments that would ultimately lead to addressing the research problem (ibid). The nature of this research required a combination of different perspectives not just to corroborate emergent findings but, through 'difference and dissonance', provide meaningful insights into the phenomenon under study (Greene, 2012; 766).

## **Integration of interpretivist and positivist perspectives**

The mixed methods design integrates positivist and interpretivist research perspectives in the data collection, analysis and in the discussion of the findings. The interpretivist perspectives, underpinned by subjectivist ontology, suggest that the world does not exist independently of the knower. The existence of natural and social worlds is not denied, it is claimed however, that one cannot assume a certain understanding of the world but through the interpretation of the mind, some phenomena can be unraveled (Schwandt, 2007). In a bid to understand various social phenomena such as identity conflicts (in the case of this research), abuse, pedagogies and the like, interpretivists work towards accessing the meaning that the participants make of their situations and then ascribe interpretations to them. Interpretivists' methods investigate a phenomenon in its real life context from a small sample and are focused on obtaining a wealth of descriptive data (Fisher and Stenner, 2011). Furthermore the themes and narratives that emerge from the data analysis can be seen as credible representations of the issue under investigation because of the perceived objectivity of the researchers and the subjectivity of the participants (ibid). This approach to research enables one to simplify and manage the data without interfering with complexity and context (Atieno, 2009).

One aim of this study was to understand how indigenous students negotiated their identities within the context of international education and their local cultural experiences. It was thus necessary to obtain narratives of what they thought of the various cultural demands they encountered and their responses to them. It was also important to gain insight into their parents' perceptions and positions on their behaviours as a means of understanding the basis and extent of the conflicts. Based on these rationales, the interpretivist approach was employed to explain the experiences of all the participants.

Because methods under interpretivist approach are usually focused on small samples, the generalisations of such results are contentious where there is a large population to be considered (Stenbacka, 2001). In other words, the sample may not be truly representative of the population. Yin (2003) suggests that generalisation in interpretivist

research represents replication logic which is similar to those used in experimental studies. Overall, it is argued that the essence of interpretivist research is not in making statistical generalisations (Onwugbuzie and Leech, 2007) but in the authentic interpretation or explanation of various phenomena in their natural contexts (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). However, two kinds of generalisations referred to as analytical generalisations and case to case transfer are usually made (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Curtis et al., 2000). In the case of analytical generalisations, these are ‘applied to wider theory on the basis on the basis of how selected cases fit with general constructs’ (Curtis et al., 2000; 1002) or within the same setting of the group under investigation (Maxwell, 1996). Case to case transfer generalisations are made on the basis that the cases are similar. Bassey (2001) argues that interpretivist researchers should be able to make ‘fuzzy’ generalisations which unlike scientific generalisations cannot be said to apply to every case with any degree of certainty.

A positivist approach to research is guided by a realist notion that the world exists independently of the knower and that truth can be found through observations and experiments (Krauss, 2005). It is based on realist objectivist ontology. It relies on facts and numbers to determine explanations of behaviours (Fisher and Stenner, 2011). Therefore it tends to focus on the wider generalities that are constant within particular settings. Guided by the principle that the world can be explained, positivist research results in generalisations about social occurrence, identifying and analysing causes and making predictions (Glesne, 2011). For example, the websites’ analysis in this study which served to raise the issues about the neo-colonial values in international school contexts in Nigeria included the analysis of numeric data collected from information listed on several websites of some international schools in Nigeria. It was also important to collect data from a sizeable number of teachers of international schools to obtain a general view of complexities and contradictions embedded in international school practices using questionnaires. These results provided a valid standpoint and springboard to discuss the issues using the narrative data. The methods under the positivist approach covered a large number of variables which, given the time set for the research, the interpretivist approach was not sufficient to collect. However,

the interpretivist methods introduced the social and cultural context that the numeric data did not provide and this was quite significant to the outcome of the research.

Thus, the positions of both approaches to research are not silenced but are mutually included in the overall design and methods of data collection, and analysis (ibid).

Five important rationales for using mixed methods in one study are suggested by Greene et al. (1989):

1. Triangulation, to enhance the validity, credibility and authenticity of the research results.
2. Complementarity, the limitations of one research approach are addressed by the other
3. Development, the build-up or support of arguments raised by one method
4. Initiation, to use a variety of strategies in the data analysis
5. Expansion, to allow for complexity and rigour in terms of the level of the research

The mixed methods design was aimed at providing a wealth of data that will adequately interpret the phenomenon in question and deal with the questions of credibility of the findings. In addition, the use of mixed methods provided varied perspectives (Bonoma, 1985) to answering the research questions and further introduced testability and context to the study.

### **Quality of the Research**

Issues relating to the quality of the research have been broached earlier in discussions about the research design and approach. However, it is important to explore how they were dealt with on a broader scale. The field of social science is fraught with the proliferation of notions about how best to judge the value of research (Seale, 1999). At the heart of this, lie the differences in value assumptions about what should be

researched, methodological positions on what counts as rigorous inquiry and the aims of research in general (Hammersley, 2007). This study takes into account divergent notions of the criteria for the assessment of the quality of research and argues that a more appropriate criterion is warrantability which is suggested by the FraIM.

Positivists maintain the traditional use of validity and reliability as criteria for measuring the quality of research (Seale, 1999). Research is said to be valid when it truly investigates and gives an accurate account of the occurrence under study (Plowright, 2011). It is argued to be an important criterion by which researchers show how authentic and plausible their findings are (Avis, 1995). In mixed methods research, validity is defined as:

Employing strategies that address potential issues in data collection, data analysis and the interpretations that might compromise the merging or connecting of quantitative and qualitative strands of the study, and conclusions drawn from the combination. (Creswell and Clark, 2011; 239)

To be considered valid, research is required to meet a set of laid down criteria that measure the quality of the process and the findings (Bryman, 2008). Different types of validity that might be relevant to research are suggested by Bryman (ibid): face, predictive, convergent, concurrent and construct validity. Interestingly, Cohen et al. (2007) mention 18 different types of validity. It would fall outside the scope of this research to discuss the different dimensions of validity especially as an alternative criteria for evaluating the quality of research is adopted.

Reliability measures the consistency of a research instrument (Bryman, 2012). It demonstrates that the findings of the research truly reflect the data that was collected (Merriam, 2002). There are two types of reliability: internal and external reliability. Internal reliability measures the consistency of data collection, analysis and interpretations. It also demonstrates that the same results will be arrived at if the data were to be analysed again by a different individual. External reliability assesses the extent to which similar results could be obtained if the study is replicated by a different researcher. However, validity and reliability have been argued to be too positivist and therefore, inappropriate to the way interpretivists carry out research.

Hammersley (2007) for example, rejects the assumption that an explicit set of criteria can be used to determine the quality of research. He states that:

The task of judging quality in the context of a relatively complex activity like research cannot be sensibly reduced to the application of explicit, concrete and exhaustive indicators. Instead, formulations of criteria, in terms of considerations that might need to be taken into account, *come out of* the process of judgement and are modified by it; to one degree or another (ibid; 289).

There are a host of different criteria that could be argued to be more appropriate for judging what good research looks like in the field of interpretivist research. Notable are Lincoln and Guba's (1985) suggestions that credibility, transferability and dependability should be considered as alternative criteria for judging the quality of naturalistic inquiry. Authenticity was later included in the list (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), credibility, should substitute internal validity. It can be established in research by conducting member checks which is a form of triangulation (Torrance, 2012). Credibility is mainly concerned with how well the research reflects the views and experiences of the participants, hence the need for some sort of validation of the data by the research participants or an expert. This may pose a problem in the establishment of truth where knowledge is jointly constructed by the researcher and the participants. In addition, Hammersley (1989) argues that bias is inevitable when focusing on the total reflection of participants' views and experiences. Other forms of triangulation, achieved through a combination of methods in a bid to certify the quality of the data, are also considered problematic. Hammersley (2008) suggests that it is questionable to triangulate findings on the basis of a combination of methods from different epistemological and ontological positions.

Transferability, according to Guba and Lincoln (1989), which assesses whether the findings of the research are applicable to other contexts or individuals, should be used instead of external validity. The researcher does not attempt to make broad assertions or generalise but suggests that others can relate to the issues and ideas promoted by the research (ibid). The researcher thus gives sufficient description of the phenomenon

under study and the processes involved in the empirical research to justify the transferability of the findings.

Dependability according to Guba and Lincoln (ibid) takes the place of reliability in measuring consistency within a research method and this is mainly established through peer auditing. It is suggested that this is a more appropriate criterion than reliability for assessing the consistency of research methods because it does not connote the use of a set of measurement criteria. Rather, its appropriateness is based on the notion that it can show that the research has reflected a phenomenon which is subject to change (Seale, 1999). Dependability is concerned with the integrity or trustworthiness of the research process. The researcher is required to be open, and give detailed and truthful accounts of the research process including how the interpretations of the findings were constructed and justified (Sandberg, 2005). This form of auditing helps to establish the confirmability of the research (Seale, 1999) which in Lincoln and Guba's (1985) view should replace the positivist inclined notions of neutrality or objectivity on the basis that it constitutes an 'artificial separation of value from inquiry' (Seale, 1999; 468).

Authenticity leans towards the political positions about research (ibid) and it is demonstrated if the study can show:

- Fairness: a representation of multiple realities
- Ontological authenticity: provides deeper understandings of the issues under study
- Educative authenticity: enhances the understanding of others about different perspectives
- Catalytic authenticity: the research stimulates individuals to action.
- Tactical authenticity: empowers individuals to act

However, the alignment of research to political goals is considered problematic and contentious (Hammersley, 1995).



It is keenly contested what terms are appropriate to use when referring to the quality of mixed methods research because of the differences in the paradigmatic positions employed in the research. It is argued that a mixed methods research comprising of both numeric and narrative data could face threats to validity based on the contrasting underpinning principles of the different methods that were employed (Morse et al., 2006). There are likely to be problems with representation, legitimation and data integration (Onwugbuzie and Johnson, 2006). Onwugbuzie and Johnson (ibid) argue for the term 'legitimation' to be used when discussing the quality of mixed methods research. This is because the validity issue in mixed methods research is not about 'truths' based on single perspectives but should be centred on something in between the different approaches employed in the study (ibid).

### **Warrantability: an alternative criteria**

From the foregoing discussion of different paradigmatic positions on criteriology for assessing the quality of research, it is clear that it is important for mixed methods researchers to consider these theoretical issues to avoid undermining the quality of the research. This study draws on the FraIM to adopt warrantability as criteria for assessing the quality of the research. Research is aimed at making claims about the data or the sources. The claims are based on the evidence from the data and from the theory as well as other contexts upon which the study is based. The evidence is used to support the arguments or the conclusions made by the research (Walliman, 2011). The procedure that facilitates the arriving at conclusions which address the research questions is referred to as warrantable research (Plowright, 2011). Putting it simply:

At the end of a piece of research we want to be able to say what we “found” – but we have to make claims that are justified. In other words, for the research to be trustworthy, it has to be both defensible in both ‘process and product’. A ‘research warrant’ thus refers to the ways in which our data supports the claims that we make. The warrant connects our original rationale for the study, the data and analysis and the claims we make at the end (Thomson, 2015).

Backing and qualifying conditions are required to be met to establish warrantability in any study (Plowright, 2011). These conditions are concerned with the credibility of

approaches and procedures of the research, how the process justifies the claims made and ‘an awareness of what the research can and cannot do’ (Thomson, *ibid*).

### ***Backing Conditions***

According to Plowright (*ibid*), conducting warrantable research requires careful consideration of all decisions taken by the researcher at every stage of the process. It involves making ‘appropriate decisions’ that will result in arriving at justifiable explanations for the claims that the research makes (*ibid*; 142). Thus, decisions made about the contexts which informed the formulation of the research questions, the data source, methods, types of data and the analysis determine the soundness of the claims that are made at the end of the research process. It is important then to critically examine decisions that were made at each stage of the research process.

***Contexts and the research questions:*** The research questions were formulated within a number of different contexts. As has been explained in chapter one, the researcher’s professional background, as a highly qualified international school teacher who has worked in schools providing English and United States based education since 2003, is an important context for this study. Explaining the personal and professional context upon which this research draws suggests the potential viewpoint from which the study is developed. It also provides the reader with an understanding of the experiences that led to the formalising of the researcher’s curiosity. In addition, providing the background to the research suggests the possible biases that may influence the development of the research. Secondly, the context chapter of this thesis provided a substantive critical analysis of existing knowledge about the position of international schools within Nigeria. Information about the national context of Nigeria was also provided to illustrate how its history of colonialism has influenced the educational landscape that hosts international schools. Thirdly, the conceptual framework drew on arguments within the theory about the relationship between globalisation and neo-colonialism to argue that international education may be promoting neo-colonialism. This built a foundation for the argument that neo-colonialism was a context for the development of student identities. In summary, the research questions were developed

from an understanding of the national context where the schools are located, the theoretical issues within the field of international education and the personal, and professional background of the researcher.

***The data sources:*** Appropriate decisions made about the sources of the data will contribute to the establishment of warrantability in research. This study needed to examine the conflicts in the contexts within which the students were developing their identities. It was decided that integrating data sources would provide the evidence needed to make legitimate claims. The sampling decisions focused on a purposive sample which allowed the choosing of data sources that would represent the phenomenon under study (Teddlie and Yu, 2007). The websites of international schools in Nigeria and the teacher, and parent voices provided comprehensive data needed to examine the contexts of these conflicts. The student interviews also provided sufficient narratives which were used to explore their perceptions and conflicts.

***Methods of data collection:*** Detailed explanations and analysis of the rationale for the choice of methods including the structure and level of mediation are provided in this chapter. It was important to employ methods, with the appropriate degree of structure that would enable the collection of data that was needed to examine the issues raised by the study. The level of mediation also varied to allow the researcher collect different shades of data.

***Data and the analysis:*** It was decided that numeric and narrative data were required for this study. This was because an overall assessment of contexts provided by the numeric data was needed to explore and understand the narratives provided by the students. Content and semiotic analyses were considered appropriate for examining the texts and images on the websites. The research employed SPSS to analyse all numeric data to ensure consistency of analysis and standardisation of data presentation using percentages. A set of narrative data were also analysed mathematically and this has been clearly stated in the chapters which refer to the data. Careful considerations were

also given to the analysis of the narrative data. Grounded theory was employed in the analysis because of its systematic and thorough approach to arriving at themes.

### ***Qualifying conditions***

Appropriate decisions made in the research process provide the backing conditions required to warrant the claims that are made. The qualifying conditions enhance the warrants (Plowright, 2011). The researcher makes the claims by drawing on the evidence provided by the empirical process and the contextual, and conceptual factors that have been explained. However, inferences made can be contested and therefore, the researcher should assume a critical, and sceptical position in the interpretation of the findings (Gorard and Taylor, 2004). In other words, claims should be compared with alternative explanations to determine their authenticity. As argued by Gorard and Taylor:

Consider any research aims ..., whether if that claim is not true, then how else could we explain the existence of the evidence leading to it? Only when all plausible alternative explanations, both methodological and substantive, have been shown to be inferior should the research claim be allowed to stand. (ibid; 166-167)

Walliman (2011) suggests the importance of challenging the logic of the argument by producing information which contests the claims. In this study, the interpretations of the findings were weighed against alternative explanations to arrive at warrantable assertions. These were the qualifying conditions that enabled the researcher to arrive at the conclusion made at the end of the study.

### **Generalisation**

Generalisation of findings occurs in the various degrees in the different research approaches. For example, in positivist research, generalisation is a main goal of the process since the samples are usually representative of populations under study. On the other hand, the generalisation of interpretivist research is keenly contested because the sample may not be representative of the population (Collins et al., 2007). However, as argued by Symonds and Gorrard (2008; 7):

As social scientists we study people whose group membership extends in waves from homes and families, to local communities (including institutions) and to countries and so on... thus the notion of representing a fixed population is entirely dependent on the researcher's choice of topic.

Generalisations in mixed methods research cannot be based on the fact that different sample sizes have been integrated (ibid). However, Collins et al. (2007) argue that based on the sample sizes of different methods, some types of generalisations could be made.

As much as this study in no way claims that the findings in this research can be generalised, the emerging themes will serve to explain the theories discussed in the conceptual framework in the context of the schools studied. The themes will also be important for looking at the complexities that exist for Nigerian students attending international schools. This research will contribute to helping others understand their own situations and contexts. The findings may resonate with their own experiences and therefore be of use. In addition, this is the first study of its kind in Nigeria that investigates the influences of international schooling experiences on the cultural identities of indigenous students. Although the findings may not be generalisable, the particularity of the emergent issues provide a relevant and valuable lens for examining the ideological and cultural contexts within which the students negotiate their identities.

### **Ethical Considerations**

This ethical approach in this research was based on the ethical principles and guidelines for research, and teaching of the University of Hull. Approval was sought from the research committee of the Faculty of Education and received (Appendix 1).

Hammersley and Traianou (2012; 15) define ethics as 'a set of principles that embody or exemplify what is good or right, or allow us to identify what is bad or wrong'. The matter of what is ethical in research is debatable across disciplines (ibid). However, from a general perspective, ethical considerations in research are concerned with the moral principles that guide all aspects of the process. Thus, ethics guide the problem articulation, the formulation of the conceptual framework, the procedures employed in

the empirical research, interpretation and presentation of findings, and the reaching of warrantable assertions (Creswell, 2014). Five main general principles of ethics to be considered in research are identified by Hammersley and Traianou (2012) as:

1. Harm: is the research harmful in any way to participants?
2. Autonomy: Do participants make the choice of participating in the research?
3. Privacy: what information is accessible to the public?
4. Reciprocity: Should the participants be remunerated for participating in the research?
5. Equity: Are all participants treated equally and fairly?

It is important for the researcher to take into consideration the broader and more specific ethical issues associated with the research participants (Plowright, 2011). One reason for this is because ethical considerations about the participants determine the degree of warrantability of the research findings (ibid). The researcher should assume the responsibility of conducting research that in no way compromises the research participants or the rigour of the research (Shamim and Qureshi, 2013). Plowright (2011) argues that the most important ethical issues in research are related to how the participants are treated during and after the research. These issues have to do with:

1. Gaining informed consent from all participants
2. Ensuring that they understand that they can refuse to participate or withdraw at any time during the study.
3. Maintaining confidentiality and anonymity during and after the research
4. Providing participants with a clear and truthful explanation of the aims and purposes of the research.
5. Ensuring that the research does not cause any bodily or psychological harm to the participants.

This research gave voice to a group of people who have been previously silent in the sphere of international education. It was therefore important to consider the above issues in throughout the research process. Notably, issues relating to respecting the autonomy and confidentiality of the participants, as well as, considering the danger of not doing so were particularly revised regularly by the researcher (Guillemin and

Gillam, 2004). There is a need for the research to be governed by integrity (Glen 2000) and the re-evaluating of the ethical procedures and decisions during the process (Miller and Bell, 2002). To achieve this, the researcher must be reflexive, actively taking stock of the research journey and elements of the research process that would require reinventing or adjusting. Guillemin and Gillam (2004; 278) argue that reflexivity 'is a sensitising notion that can enable ethical practice to occur in the complexity and richness of social research'. Reflexivity can help a researcher deal with the ethical challenges and dilemmas that conducting research can produce in a developing country like Nigeria. Hammersley and Traianou (2012) argue that ethical principles are bound to conflict with each other depending on the contexts within which the research is being conducted. This questions whether some ethical issues can outweigh others in some contexts (ibid). However, as earlier stated, reflexivity helps the researcher to take the issues into account and deal with them in a credible and transparent manner. Reflexivity in this study was not only aimed at knowledge production in the research but, also at a critical reflection on how the researcher's interactions and transparency with the participants influenced knowledge production (ibid). Details of how the principles discussed in this section were applied in this study are given in the next chapter which provides a systematic account of the practicalities of the research.

### **Purpose of methods of data collection methods**

Having examined the theory which informed the approach, design, quality assessment criteria and ethical considerations of this study, it is important to also consider the purposes of the methods employed in the empirical research. These methods include content and semiotic analysis of websites, questionnaires, semi-structured group interviews, and vignettes.

### **Websites analysis**

The first part of the empirical research consists of an analysis of websites of 27 international schools in Nigeria and 9 Nigerian schools. The analysis primarily focused on the international schools' websites because of the overall focus of this study. Nigerian schools' websites were examined only to provide comparisons and to support

arguments about representations of neo-colonial values on international schools' websites. The question addressed by the analysis is: to what extent do international schools' websites present and represent neo-colonial values? Although the schools did not explicitly state their orientation towards neo-colonial values, this study argued that they were implied. As explained in chapter one, the research initially aimed to investigate how indigenous students made meaning of their schooling experiences and how this influenced their perceptions and behaviours. Neo-colonialism was an emerging concept in the course of the study. An examination of the websites was a valuable starter to discussing the finding of the empirical research.

Research undertaken on websites of international schools in Asia by Tamatea et al. (2008) indicates that the websites are important vehicles through which the school recruits students. They offer attractive representations of successful global citizens which with more detailed analysis are premised upon a neo-liberal imagination that privileges the individual above the community (ibid). On this basis, the researcher was keen to explore the extent to which neo-colonialism, which has been argued to be masked by neo-liberal globalisation in this thesis, is presented and represented on the websites of international schools.

The websites serve as a 'virtual context' to an understanding of the ideology and values that international schools within Nigeria promote. They therefore provide a metaphorical and literal screen through which the advertised values can be examined. Websites are a platform for any organization to advertise its competences, services, aims and values. International schools are not an exception and since the market has become more competitive with the growing numbers in developing countries (Hayden and Thompson (2008), and the spread of global capitalism (Bates, 2011), they have evolved into a fast booming business (MacDonald 2006; Bunnell, 2007; Brummit, 2007). The contents of their websites have become a stage for the visual and textual articulation of what they do. The medium of the internet thus serves as a competitive space where schools employ various techniques to selectively draw the potential clientele (Drew, 2013).



The websites are a major first port of call for parents looking for schools for their children because they deploy signage representative of their ethos and activities (ibid). Not surprisingly, the schools employ promotional strategies which appeal to the prospective clientele's vision of the best practices in education (Wardman et al., 2010). The websites are therefore not just electronic versions of the schools' brochures, but they also serve as tools for promoting their activities using modern technological tools to heighten impression (Drew, 2013). In addition, they are spaces which people visit and the messages they transmit imply the nature of educational experiences that the schools offer. Therefore, an analysis of the activities of the websites is relevant to understanding the context in which indigenous students learn and how the schooling experiences may potentially influence their cultural identities.

The analysis comprised of an integrated methodology, combining a content analysis and a semiotic analysis of images and texts on the websites of a selected number of international schools. According to Berger (2014), a combination of methods is required to fully access the array of data required to investigate a phenomenon in media research. This enables the collection of a wealth of data and the researcher has the opportunity of obtaining a varied perspectives to make for more reliable and credible research outcomes.

'Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use' (Krippendorff, 2012; 24). The method is commonly employed in researching media content (Plowright, 2011) and in collecting numeric data achieved by counting the frequency of texts (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). It can also be used to analyse narrative data (Schwandt, 2001). Advantages of content analysis according to Krippendorff (2012) include:

1. The analysis can be unstructured and;
2. It can be applied within a context.
3. Large data sets can be managed.

4. The analysis is on the artefacts of social communication (texts or images) used and not on the actual context.

However, there are certain challenges encountered in applying content analysis to websites (Kim and Kuljis, 2010). Selecting a sample of websites, for example, may prove difficult because there may be no easy standardised criteria for choosing the sample. In addition, comparability and generalisability of the findings become questionable owing to the fact that the web contents are presented using various media types (ibid). For example, one website might present an information using images while another employs texts for the same information. These challenges do not diminish the value of applicability of content analysis on websites. The results are enhanced when mixed with another research method such as semiotic analysis as in the case of this study and more reliable results are produced. This is why using mixed methods is very valuable. Another challenge of carrying out a content analysis on websites is the fact that they are reviewed regularly and their contents may be changed in the course of the research. McMillan (2000) suggests that one way of handling this challenge is to collect the data as quickly as possible while Koehler (1999) advises that the web pages should be downloaded. The researcher did not think the fluidity of the websites changed the aims and reasons for their use but rather argues that the contents on the websites might change but the semiosis remains. In addition, this was a cross-sectional study, as explained earlier in this chapter, which only provided a snapshot of the present information of the websites.

The analysis also examines the signs and messages embedded within the images and texts on the websites to arrive at a coherent explanation of the ideological underpinnings of the information (Altheide, 1996). Semiotics is broadly defined as the study of signs (Harrison, 2003). It entails the in-depth and logical study of various media of communications to reveal the meanings within the messages that they pass on to the audience. Chandler (2001) states that:

Semiotics provides us with a potentially unifying conceptual framework and a set of methods and terms for use across the full range of signifying practices, which include gesture, posture, dress, writing, speech, photography, film, television and radio.

The focus is on making meaning of the signs which ordinarily may be overlooked as insignificant (ibid). The meanings are made by a systematic examination of the components of the signs which are the signifier and the signified. The signifier is the object that is used to convey the meaning while the signified is the actual meaning. One cannot exist without the other (Saussure, 1983). The value of a sign however depends on its interactions with other signs in the system (ibid). Therefore, this study looked for links between the signs on the websites that present and represent narratives of neo-colonialism within the virtual context of international schools in Nigeria.

This part of the research draws on Roland Barthes' work which covered cultural and literary semiotics (Zhang, 2011). Zhang (ibid) noted that Barthes examined not only the 'what' of representations but also the 'how'. In other words, the way that meaning is produced through communication is significant to the messages that are being passed across to an audience. His analysis on mass media explored meanings embedded beneath the surface of representations. He drew links between the historical and cultural meanings produced to the ideology of the dominant class. For Barthes (1977), all images and texts used in advertisements had ideological underpinnings and intentions, and were patterned to present the ideology of the middle class as the norm. This part of the research sought to analyse the ideological positioning of the international schools by examining messages that the prospective clientele receive through texts and images on the websites. In addition it aimed to explore how the media is represented and manipulated to create a demand for the educational provisions. Morgan and Kynigos (2014) argue that the ways that the representations are manipulated also produce meaning.

Like Barthes' work, this study argues that ideologies were dispensed through representations on the websites that are likely to influence the prospective clientele's ideas about the value of the schools' educational provisions. This part of the analysis sought to find links between the values on the websites and the country's political, social and cultural contexts. Examples are representations of values that exploit prevailing issues like the secondariness of developing countries and their educational

systems in the global milieu. These ideas promote a shared illusion that functions imperceptibly to validate these ideologies (Pelermo, 2002).

### ***Asking Questions***

The aim of this study included the investigation of student perceptions and experiences in relation to conflicts experienced as a result of their schooling experiences. It also involved examining parents' perspectives about the influences of the schooling experiences on their children. To achieve these aims, it was necessary to ask questions about the participants' experiences and perspectives. This took the form of paper-based questionnaires and group interviews. A questionnaire (Appendix 7) was designed for teachers in this study and two sets of interview guides (Appendices 8 and 9) were also prepared for students and their parents respectively.

### ***Rationale for using questionnaires***

Questionnaires are generally used to gather information from a large population, specifically about their behaviours and perceptions on the issues raised by the researcher (Munn and Drever, 1990). In this study, using questionnaires was necessary to reach a large number of teachers. Ordinarily, employing other methods such as interviews may not reach a sizeable population given the time constraints for the research. The questionnaires were a convenient method used to access the teachers' perceptions since the research was conducted towards the busy end of term.

Questionnaires usually contain a list of either open-ended and closed questions or both. The questionnaire used in this study incorporates both. Closed questions provide the researcher with a good description of the information required by the research (Bradburn et al., 2004). The close-ended questions in this study had multiple choice answers to capture the likely range of answers with a Likert scale which was used to determine the extents of accord or variance to issues raised (Foddy, 1993). However, they are limited in their ability to provide more details about the participant's responses since they are controlled (Openheim, 1992). Open-ended questions delve deeper into

the responses, often requiring participants to give reasons for their choices or explain their answers in detail (Bradburn et al., 2004). In addition, they frequently reveal uncommon and significant responses (ibid). The strategy of integrating structured (close) and semi structured (open-ended) questions in the questionnaires in this study provided an opportunity to harness various streams of responses from the participants. The use of questionnaires in research also reduces the researcher's interference.

Munn and Drever (1990) suggest that the structure of a questionnaire should be logical with clearly worded questions following sequentially. The questions were clearly written in progression and divided into sections to enable the respondents understand the overall logic of the design (ibid). This is quite important because the researcher is absent when the participants are responding to the questions and therefore, they will need to be absolutely clear about what the questions are saying. It is also important to explain the purpose of the research as well as each section in the questionnaire (Brace, 2013). This enables the participants to understand the intentions of the researcher and to make an informed decision whether to participate or not. Brace (ibid) also suggests that the vocabulary in the questionnaire should be tailored to the level of the respondents to enhance easier understanding of the questions.

It is argued that web-based questionnaires are easier and cheaper to disseminate and retrieve (Shannon et al., 2002) but given the technological challenges, and limitations faced in Nigeria, it would be difficult to obtain any responses. Paper-based questionnaires enable the researcher to have a degree of control over the collection of the completed questionnaires.

Some advantages of using questionnaires according to Munn and Drever (1990) include the following: they are time saving for the researcher, anonymity of the respondent is maintained, there is an increased chance of a high return rate and standardised questions are given to all participants. Despite these advantages, questionnaires have their weaknesses. There is always the assumption that the responses are absolutely accurate. However, there are attendant risks of bias based on factors, such as what the participants

understand the intentions of the researcher to be and their present circumstances (Kirk-Smith, 1998). It is also argued that questionnaire results are insufficient to comprehend or make informed conclusions about contexts, behaviours and feelings (Bell, 2005) that other methods such as interviews and vignettes are able to address. This was considered to be a challenge in a study that required data relating to cultural and ideological contexts of the international schools and the nature of conflicts experienced by parents and their children as perceived by the participants. This study addressed these weaknesses by using mixed methods as discussed earlier in this chapter.

### ***Rationale for using semi-structured interviews***

Data from parents and students were crucial to understanding the phenomenon of neo-colonialism discussed in this thesis. Therefore, it was important to employ a method that would elicit innermost feelings or perceptions about the context of the study, the influences of schooling experiences on the students' sense of belonging and behaviours, and responses to Nigerian cultures. Gill et al. (2008; 291) state that 'interviews can be used to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and motivations of individual participants'. In other words, this method proves valuable in obtaining in-depth data from participants about their personal beliefs and emotions arising from experiences. In addition, unlike the use of a questionnaire, it allows participants to clarify the meaning or ask for an explanation of questions asked. Interviews provide the researcher an opportunity to further investigate the participants' responses to elicit deeper meanings (Bell, 2005). Semi-structured interviews consist of a number of key questions which serve as a guide to the discussions in the interview process (Britten, 1999). This enables participants and the researcher to channel the discussions towards areas that appear to arise from the responses (ibid). Although this process is said to be time consuming with regards to the data collection, transcription and analysis, such flexibility proves to be quite productive as interviews yield data with varied perspectives. This is particularly useful when data emerges in areas that are not previously thought of by the researcher but are found to be quite significant to the analyses. It also provides room for more elaboration of the responses.

It was anticipated that the interviews would serve as an opportunity for parents to express and discuss their views about the context in which their children learned. As Rapley (2004; 16) notes:

Interviews are, by their very nature, social encounters where speakers collaborate in producing retrospective and (prospective) accounts or versions of their past (or future) actions, experiences, feelings and thoughts.

It is important that interviews take the form of a meeting where the researcher acts as the facilitator and initiator of the issues to be discussed. Rapley (*ibid*) argues that the concept of neutrality is a mythological stance in interview research that suggests the interviewer assumes the position of a passive observer. Engaging with the issues that are discussed, asking the interview questions, following up on particular subjects that are raised and giving room for the participants to talk exhaustively appear to be a more realistic representation of the interview process (*ibid*).

Like other narrative methods, interviews offer a stage for the participants to tell their stories. These stories provide an understanding of how they make meanings of their experiences. In the case of the students in this study, their narratives were strong pointers to how they perceived Nigerian cultures in relation to western cultures and how they positioned themselves within a conflict of worlds. The parents' narratives also provided an understanding of the context within which students negotiated their identities and the dilemmas associated with it. According to Schiffrin, (1996), narratives generated during interviews particularly reveal how participants represent social relationships and define their identities. Worthy of note is the notion of 'positioning' or situating identities that the stories the participants tell are likely to reveal. These narratives become pointers to the ideological orientation within which the participants positioned a sense of self (Bamberg, 2004). In particular, narratives reveal how they want others to position them (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008).

Group interviews are often preferred to individual interviews because of how they provide a faster way of reaching many participants (Oppenheim, 1992). They are also a convenient way of exploring and obtaining valuable insights to sensitive issues in some cultures. However, this type of interviews in research provides data that may be based

on the opinions of more dominant participants within the group. Frey and Fontana (1991; 1) suggest that:

Lessons from group dynamics tell us that the characteristics of the group (e.g. size) and background of members (e.g. leadership style) can impact the interaction and response patterns within the group.

This limitation is overcome by adopting a style whereby participants take turns to speak unless they opted not to respond to a particular question.

### ***Rationale for using Vignettes***

The use of vignettes as a data collection instrument is strategic for cases that are sensitive in nature (Hughes and Ruby, 2002) and culturally relevant (Torres, 2009). Vignettes as research tools are scenarios that could be presented in the form of a short story or a picture that is used to stimulate responses from participants. In this study, the scenarios were matched to real events that the students in this study were likely to experience. Hughes and Ruby (2004) argue that participants in a vignette research are likely to provide perspectives that are reflective of generally accepted beliefs. However, Jenkins et al., (2010) suggest that a participant's responses may not be distant from their personal views. In this study, it was not assumed that the participant's responses are typical of how they are likely to respond in the real life, rather, this thesis adopts O'Dell's et al.'s (2012; 705) theoretical position that:

Individuals will be in a constant state of dialogue with the self and others, encompassing many different positions and perspectives ('voices') on anything that impinges on them.

This was reflected in the framing of the questions such that they would stimulate responses that show different ways that students positioned themselves through identifying with the character (self-identification) and how 'others' such as neighbours and classmates would situate the character (other-identification) (ibid). In vignette research, participant views might show a generalised morality or be reflective of individual perspectives. Either way or both, such responses are useful to understanding generally held views or how particular individuals make meanings of their experiences. The vignettes were specifically valuable to this part of the research which explored attitudes and notions held by the students as a result of their schooling experiences.



Individual and consensus views about indigenous cultures and the ideological orientation from which students positioned a sense of self were clearly evident in the vignette narratives.

The pictorial vignette (Appendix 10) was a picture of an international school classroom with students from different ethnicities and a teacher from a white ethnic background. The class appeared to be having a lesson and the students all look radiant, and meaningfully engaged. This vignette was aimed at exploring how the students positioned a sense of self in relation to others. The narrative vignette (Appendix 11) was a hypothetical story about a Nigerian girl who attends an international school and the conflicts she experiences in her relationships with her neighbours who attend Nigerian schools. The vignette was aimed at eliciting responses that would indicate how the students made meaning of conflicts that are likely to occur between them and more traditional Nigerian people. It also aimed to gain insight into how students positioned themselves in relation to other Nigerian people who do not have their cultural experiences.

The method affords the participants the opportunity of responding to the scenarios from different perspectives. It gives them the freedom/control to decide whether to relay private details of their feelings and to relate the situation to their own circumstances (Barter and Reynold, 2000). This helps in eliminating bias that could arise from the researcher's influence (Alexander and Becker, 1978). The participants have the advantage of responding from a non-personal position and feel less constrained by the research process (Hughes, 1998). Each student had the opportunity to express their views without interruptions from someone else's thoughts or opinions. These approaches provided various sides to the data that reflected the participants' ideological positioning of a sense of self and also, the personal conflicts embedded within such positions.

## **Data Analysis and Presentation**

According to Creswell and Clark (2011), when analysing data in a mixed methods research, numeric data is analysed using quantitative techniques while narrative data require interpretative methods. All numeric data in this study were processed using the Statistical Programme for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and specifically IBM version 19. SPSS is computer software that has the ability of systematically handling and analysing large sets of data (Weinberg and Abramowitz, 2008). It is often used in behavioural and social science research (ibid). The SPSS analyses were sufficient in producing results that described patterns within the data, compared results between groups and showed the relationship between variables in this study (Bryman and Cramer, 2011). The steps taken in the SPSS analysis are detailed in Chapter 5 (pages 119-120) which examines the procedures of the empirical research.

The narrative data were systematically analysed using thematic grounded theory analysis, an approach which relies on deriving theory from the data (Cobin and Strauss, 2008). It provides a systematic structure of processing data that concerns a particular experience (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Grounded theory analysis starts with an initial interpretation of the data. It then proceeds to organising the emerging concepts and further moves on to deriving theory (Patton, 2002). It is thus a rigorous method involving the description and comparison of sets of data, leading to the deriving of similar and consistent theoretical themes, and subthemes that are significant to the research (Dick, 2005).

Coding is the central feature in grounded theory analysis (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Here, the data is reduced and compared, and placed under categories. Like data are grouped together while unlike data form new categories (Walker and Myrick, 2006). Grounded theory is an iterative process that eventually results in the construction of themes and the deriving of theory (ibid).

One rationale for using this method is its ability to associate broader matters with particular issues under study showing their relationships or how they are directly or indirectly connected (Punch, 2009). It was a sound means of arriving at the claims that this thesis argues about. Another reason for using this method is its significance in adding to knowledge in relatively new areas of studies (ibid), such as investigating conflicting issues relating to cultural identities that arise as a result of Nigerian students' experiences in international schools. Being the first of its kind in Nigeria, this thesis required a sound analytical framework upon which the data collected could be sufficiently and rigorously analysed.

### **Summary**

This chapter has examined the methodological issues in this research. The aim of the empirical process was to use methodological strategies that would sufficiently address the research questions. The study adopted a pragmatic paradigm to undertaking research employing a mixed methods design. The mixed methods design involved the integration of positivist and interpretivist paradigms to generate and analyse the data. The chapter also discussed warrantability as an assessment criterion for judging the quality of this study. The data collection instruments were chosen specifically to generate the sorts of data that addressed the research questions and the choice of analytical strategies were designed to match the nature of data that were generated. The next chapter discusses the procedures employed in the empirical research.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **PRACTICALITIES OF THE RESEARCH**

#### **Introduction**

The previous chapter presented pragmatism as the theory upon which this research was undertaken. Methodological issues such as warrantability, generalisability and ethics of the research were also addressed. In addition, the chapter discussed the rationale for the use of a websites' analysis, questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, vignettes and grounded theory analysis in this study. This chapter gives a detailed account of the procedures employed in the empirical research which was conducted in three phases.

Phase one is the websites analysis which investigates neo-colonial values on international schools' websites. This chapter describes in detail the specific steps taken in sampling, collecting and analysing data from the websites. The analysis was conducted between March and April, 2013. Phase two of the research investigated the complexities and contradictions in the contexts within which students negotiated their identities using teacher and parent voices. This chapter details the procedures involved in sampling, negotiating access, recruiting participants, scheduling and collecting the data. Phase three of the empirical research focused on investigating the student narratives of how they were making meaning of their experiences. The steps taken in sampling and data collection which involved the use of interviews and vignettes are discussed in detail. All research carried out in Nigeria took place in May, 2013. The chapter ends by explaining how the data from phases two and three were analysed, and also reflecting on the strengths, and challenges of the research process.

#### **Phase 1: Websites' Analysis**

This phase of the research was conducted in the UK using websites of 27 international schools in Nigeria and 9 Nigerian schools. The aim of the analysis was to examine implied neo-colonial representations on international school websites. The Nigerian

schools' websites were a basis for comparison. This section describes the procedures employed in the websites' analysis of a sample of international schools in comparison with a sample of websites of Nigerian schools.

### ***Selecting the websites' sample***

Kemper et al. (2003) suggest that sampling is a significant part of the mixed methods research because it determines the degree of trustworthiness of the findings. Thus, the selection of a sample for both international schools and Nigerian schools was a very important part of this research. A purposive sampling approach was adopted. Purposive sampling involves 'selecting units (e.g., individuals, groups of individuals, institutions) based on specific purposes associated with answering a research study's questions' (Teddlie and Yu, 2007; 77). Such samples are able to generate the sorts of data that would address the research question (Gobo, 2004). Creswell (2007) suggests that in purposive sampling, decisions on the nature of the samples are determined by the type of data the research is seeking to generate. One important aim of purposive sampling that was important for this study is that the researcher is able to 'achieve comparability across different types of cases on a dimension of interest' (Teddlie and Yu, 2007; 80). Since one aim of the analysis was to compare information on the international schools websites with those on Nigerian schools' websites, this approach to sampling was deemed applicable.

This type of purposive sampling is known as stratified purposeful sampling which facilitates the comparisons of dimensions of interest occurring in different samples (Suri, 2011). The samples were therefore stratified according to their international and local statuses. It is argued that purposive sampling may confer an inferior status to research because the ability to generalise the findings is diminished. However, it has been mentioned that generalisability was not the main focus of the research but the usefulness of the findings to understanding the international school contexts. Another disadvantage of purposive sampling is that the choice of sample is based on the subjectivity of the researcher which is likely to bring the validity of the research into question. However, this shortcoming was eliminated by the choice of using a mixed

methods approach in data collection and analysis which generated different streams of data that were compared. In addition, the choice of schools in the sample was aligned with the aims and philosophical basis of the research.

The first step was to identify and select schools in the two different categories. In the selection stage, there was no point choosing any school with a label of ‘international’ in the sample of international schools because there are many fee paying schools in Nigeria that claim to be international. Many of these schools follow the Nigerian system of education but have a label of international on their titles. This may be due to market reasons. Such schools were not included in the consideration for a selection of a sample of international schools. The purpose of the selection was to obtain a sample that would enable substantial comparison of both categories of websites. The criteria for the inclusion of schools into the international school sample were based on:

1. They followed a foreign system of education.
2. The claim of an international status
3. They also had to have a comprehensive websites detailing their activities and purposes.

The criteria for the selection of Nigerian schools were that:

1. They followed the Nigerian system of education.
2. They had to have detailed websites.

A list of names and websites’ addresses of international schools around Nigeria was compiled using Google search engine and from AISA and CIS websites. The schools’ websites were then examined to ascertain that they had a fair amount of detail that would be useful to the research. This included web pages detailing school aims, programmes of study, extra-curricular activities, student life, school affiliations and the like. A total of 29 international secondary school websites which were located in both the north and south of the country were selected. In the selection of Nigerian schools’ websites sample, very few schools had detailed websites. Since they only served to represent the virtual context of Nigerian schools, the sample was therefore selected from a list of federal government colleges and fee paying private schools around the country that had the amount of detail listed in the criteria used to select international

school websites. Table 5.1 shows the distribution of schools in northern and southern Nigeria within the sample of websites. This showed that data were collected from websites of schools around the country. Although this was not a focus of the sampling process, it was a welcome outcome because the findings provide an overview of what the websites of international schools around Nigeria are saying about their services.

**Table 5.1:** Distribution of the sample of websites in Northern and Southern parts of Nigeria

<b>Websites</b>	<b>North</b>	<b>South</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Nigerian schools</b>	4	5	9
<b>International schools</b>	11	16	27
<b>Total</b>	17	27	36

A challenge faced in the sampling procedure is that not all schools in Nigeria have websites. For example, details of schools that would fit the criteria used in the selection of international schools were found online but at the time, there were no functioning websites for those schools or they did not exist at all. This problem was heightened in the case of the Nigerian schools as low fee paying schools did not appear to have websites. This is understandably so due to issues of affordability and expertise. However, the websites of the federal government schools which were non-fee paying were deemed fit to fill this gap based on the assumption that they are likely to have the same social demographics. After a rigorous process of examining the websites for substantial detail, only nine Nigerian schools' websites were selected in total. This may appear to be a small number in comparison with the number of websites of international schools selected for this study. However, one focus of the research process was to collect extensive detail from each website to make informed inferences about their practice. The sample obtained was deemed sufficient to achieve this.

### ***Data collection including preparation***

The data were collected between March and April, 2013. A list of 56 items representing information on the websites was generated in line with the aims of the analysis which focused on how neo-colonial values are inscribed on the information on the websites. These items were grouped under the following categories of information.

1. Social and economic context of the school
2. Explicit purposes of schooling
3. Students' learning
4. Student life.

A coding schedule of these categories including the school names was prepared and inputted into an SPSS file (Appendix 12). 52 of these categories required numeric data while string data were required for names of the schools, taglines, names of other external examinations listed and amount of school fees mentioned on the websites. A unique variable name was assigned to each item on the SPSS file. Descriptions of each variable were also imputed. The numeric variables were assigned values which comprised of responses to each item in the coding schedule. The coding schedule remained open to revisions before, during and after the coding process itself. New categories were created when it was discovered that some relevant content could not be adequately situated under already established variables. Similar data were reduced by placing them under broader categories to make for an even more manageable analysis (Sjøvaag and Stavelin, 2012). Narrative and pictorial data under the categories listed were also collected and saved. The web pages were saved for reference purposes.

### ***Data analysis and presentation***

The SPSS data were checked for incomplete entries and for possible errors recorded. This was achieved through running frequencies on all the data sets to check for data entry errors. Crosstabulations of the numeric data were obtained to compare how the information on websites of Nigerian and international schools were similar or different to each other. The use of crosstabulations in data analysis are aimed at showing the



relationship between two variables and these are easily calculated using SPSS (Bryman and Cramer (2011). The crosstabulations were presented in contingency tables. Since percentages only were used to standardise the data, it was not necessary to use any additional more powerful and sophisticated statistical test in the analysis. This provided sufficient insight into the issues that were being discussed.

The results were discussed under emerging categories alongside the semiotic analysis of texts and images. The categories were further grouped under much broader themes. The results from the SPSS analysis were presented in tables and explained, this was followed by the interpretation and semiotic analysis of relating texts and images. One subtheme did not require the results of the SPSS analysis. A semiotic analysis of images and texts were sufficient for the analysis.

### *Challenges of the websites analysis*

It is acknowledged that information on websites may not be accurately reflective of the actual practices of the schools which made up the samples in this study and may consist of attempts at presenting idealised versions. However, the researcher contends that they are a deliberate representation of what the schools stand for and are therefore, reflective of the ideologies, and values that underpin their practices.

This phase of the research did not involve interactions with human subjects, hence the researcher did not need to obtain informed consent from individuals. However, requests for consent to use images on the websites were repeatedly sent to the schools via email but no reply was received. It is argued that the information on the websites are in the public domain and therefore accessible to all and available to researchers as data (Kitchin, 2007). Warrell and Jacobsen (2014) suggest that the difference between public and private online spaces is not clearly defined. However, ethical considerations on research using online information remain a topic for deliberations. The researcher also applied fair dealing to the websites following the guidelines for inclusion of third party copyright in a thesis as stipulated by the University of Hull.

## **Phase Two: Teacher and Parent Research**

This section begins by discussing the general procedures employed in choosing the school samples and negotiating access. It then proceeds to detail the processes involved in recruiting teacher and parent participants and data collection.

### ***Ethical Access***

As stated in the previous chapter, ethical approval to proceed with the research was sought and authorised by the ethics committee of the Faculty of Education, University of Hull (See Appendix 1). Negotiating access to areas where research is conducted is significant to the success of the research (Chawla-Duggan, 2007). Emails followed by letters were sent to the head teachers of ten international schools requesting permission for the research to be conducted (see Appendix 2). The letters detailed the aims of the research, the timeframe and a list of the intended participants. This was followed by repeated personal visits by the researcher in an attempt to build relationships with the gatekeepers who in this case were head teachers and school administrators. Establishing professional relationships is an integral part of negotiating access to research sites (Tinson, 2009). It was quite a difficult task to gain the trust of the gatekeepers as they appeared protective because of the statuses of their clientele. One head teacher expressed his suspicion about the researcher's identity and the use of the findings of the study but he was eventually assured that the material was strictly for research purposes. The credentials of the researcher as a professional teacher and a registered doctoral researcher also proved valuable in negotiating access. The letter of permission granted by the University of Hull Faculty of Education research committee proved valuable in convincing the gatekeepers as well.

Access was eventually granted by four school heads after several visits and assurances of anonymity, and even so, it was with varying degrees. A fifth school was removed from the sample because the head teacher wanted the interviews conducted in his office with himself present. Such situations are likely to shape the context of the research and

control the process as well as the outcomes (Broadhead and Rist, 1976). Hammersley and Traianou (2012) warn against gatekeepers who may wish to channel the research towards the interest of their organisation and thereby influence the outcome of the research. The focus of the research process in this study was on maintaining the integrity of the research and not to compromise the participants, in order to ensure that the process is deemed reliable and the outcomes are valid (Shamim and Qureshi, 2013). The remaining five schools denied the researcher access with reasons that were either based on the timing or mistrust of the researcher's intentions because of the calibre of their clientele. For example, one head teacher was worried about the information from the research reaching the press. Another school declined because the head teacher said they never opened their doors to researchers. The number of schools, levels of access and a summary of the amount of data collected are represented in Table 5.2.

**Table 5.2: School and participant samples**

<b>Schools</b>	<b>Narrative Vignettes</b>	<b>Pictorial Vignettes</b>	<b>Student interviews</b>	<b>Parent interviews</b>	<b>Teacher Questionnaires</b>
<b>School 1</b>	35	10	6 groups	5 groups	35
<b>School 2</b>	20	18	4 groups	3 groups	30
<b>School 3</b>	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	15
<b>School 4</b>	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	7
<b>Total</b>	55	28	10	8	87

After permission was granted, the researcher met with the gatekeepers to discuss the scope and scale of the empirical research. It is suggested that discussions about the research with key players in the organisations are necessary as they may require reassurances that the issues to be researched will not cast aspersion on their practices (Oliver, 2010). The discussions were followed by letters to parents containing information about the research and an invitation to participate was sent through the schools (see Appendix 3). Consent forms were also included (see Appendix 4). It is important that participants are made well aware about the research before they give their consent (ibid). In this study, the participants who required further understanding of

the aims of the research were provided with verbal explanations. They also received verbal assurances of participant anonymity which had been earlier included in the letters containing the research information. These were recurrent during the data collection exercise. The assurance of anonymity enabled the participants express their opinions without fear of disclosure. The names of the schools and the participants were coded during the collection and analysis of all data to ensure anonymity, and maintain confidentiality as suggested by Punch (2000). The degree of sensitivity of the data is reflected in the way the schools and participants sought assurances of anonymity.

### ***Sampling procedures***

Mixed methods sampling strategies were employed in this part of the research. According Kemper et al. (2003), the use of mixed strategies for sampling strengthens the research design. Sampling was done on site and participant levels (Creswell, 2007). The considerations taken in the sampling decisions are discussed in the following sections.

### ***Selection of location and schools***

All schools in the study were convenience samples located in Abuja which is the capital city of Nigeria. Convenience sampling is a common purposive sampling technique which involves selecting a population because of its ease of proximity or accessibility to the researcher (ibid). The researcher decided to approach schools located within Abuja due to cost implications of conducting research in several cities. In addition, commuting from one city to another posed certain problems related to the researcher's safety and security on the roads.

One criticism of convenience sampling is that the population under study may not be suitably represented and in the case of this study, there may be valuable information missed from international schools in other locations. However, this study is a starting point for research about international schools in Nigeria and it is hoped that research involving schools in other locations are able to build on it. The choice of the schools

within the sample was driven by the types of international schools required for the study. So the sampling strategy employed at this stage followed the criteria described under sampling procedures for the websites' analysis (page 111). The eventual sites and participants for the research depended significantly on the access gained by the researcher.

### ***Recruiting participants, informed consent, group sizes***

The second level of sampling was in the recruiting of teachers and parents for the research. It was important to recruit participants who were involved in the experiences under investigation. The aim of the process was to generate data that is relevant and highly reflective for the study (Morse, 2007). The sampling technique was therefore purposive.

***Number of parent participants and group sizes:*** The parents were all of Nigerian origin and as expected they were highly placed people who were very wealthy. They were also all women and the reason for this may be that the men are busier with work. However, all were working mothers. It may also be that the men were not willing to engage with the researcher because letters and detailed information about the research were sent to all parents. The researcher acknowledges that the narratives from interviews are from a single gender perspective and this may likely influence the outcomes of the study. However, all data were compared for consistency as explained under the data analysis section in the previous chapter.

The participants were very busy people and it was quite an uphill task to recruit them for the interviews. A total of 25 parents initially signed the consent forms to be interviewed. However, after the first interviews, the researcher asked participants if they knew other parents who would like to be interviewed. Six more parents were recruited through this process. Eventually, a total of 31 parents were interviewed forming eight groups with an average of four in every group. This information is illustrated in Table 5.3. This type of sampling is known as viral sampling (Plowright, 2011), more

commonly referred to as snowball sampling where participants provide contact details of other people who might participate in the research. This proved helpful in generating more narrative data from parent perspectives. Several parents requested to meet with the researcher, wanting further information about the research before they gave consent to be interviewed. After letters of consent were returned, a time schedule was set at the parents' convenience.

***Number of teacher participants:*** A total of 87 teachers from four schools participated in the survey. They comprised of expatriates, locally hired foreigners and Nigerians. As was done in recruiting the other participants, the research information and the questionnaires were sent via the school to the teachers. Those who consented to participate returned completed copies of the forms and questionnaires.

**Table 5.3:** Numbers in parent and student interview groups

Groups	School 1		School 2	
	Parents	Students	Parents	Students
1	5	6	3	6
2	4	7	4	7
3	3	6	4	7
4	4	7	-	6
5	4	7	-	-
6	-	7	-	-
Total	20	40	11	26

## ***Data collection: scheduling and procedures***

### ***Scheduling***

All data were collected within a period of two weeks. Arrangements were made with the schools heads, parents and teachers. A summary of the schedule drawn up for the data collection is illustrated in Table 5.4.

#### ***- Teacher questionnaire distribution and collection***

A total of 120 questionnaires were distributed to the schools, 87 were returned making a 73% return rate. It is not known if all the questionnaires were given to all the teachers in those schools since the questionnaires were primarily distributed through the schools' administration offices. Boxes were placed at a corner in the offices where teachers may personally leave the completed questionnaires. However, only few teachers used this avenue to return their questionnaires even after a number of reminders by the head teachers. The researcher had to meet the teachers at their free periods to collect the completed questionnaires. The teachers were told beforehand what dates the researcher was coming to collect completed copies of the questionnaires. There were several visits to the schools but at some point it became clear there were no more to be received and there was no time to pursue the other questionnaires. It was assumed that some teachers may not have wanted to participate in the research and hence did not return the questionnaires.

#### ***- Scheduling parent interview meetings***

The parents were contacted for their availability through the schools to arrange interview meetings and the schedule was drawn with this information. The sessions were scheduled for shortly after parents dropped off their children at school at 7:30 in the morning and before pick-up time in afternoon at 15:30. This was done to make it easier for the parents who did school run to attend. The schools were convenient venues for the interviews.

### ***The Parent interview process***

The period designated for the each interview was one hour. However, some groups exceeded the time limit because a few parents turned up late and the discussions took longer than planned. At the start of the interviews, the participants were assured anonymity and the aims of the research were explained. Some parents asked questions about the real purpose of the research and it appeared they were suspicious of the motives of the researcher. They were curious to know if the aim of the research was to cast aspersions on their choices to send their children to international schools. The researcher saw this as an opportunity to explain that the study was aimed at examining how students made meaning of their schooling experiences. These procedures were also followed in the parts of the research involving student participants. It was quite important to give each person ample time to respond to the questions. There are possibilities for the emergence of a broad variety of responses from discussions that may arise during such sessions (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). The semi-structured nature of the interviews enabled this to happen.



**Table 5.4** Schedule for data collection

WEEK ONE						
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Notes
7:30-8:30	Parent interview (School 1)	Parent interview (School 1)	Parent interview (School 2)		Parent interview (School 2)	
8:40-9:40		Pictorial Vignettes (School 1)	Narrative Vignettes (school 2)	Pictorial Vignettes (School 1)	Narrative Vignettes (School 2)	
10:00-11:00	Questionnaire distribution (School 1)	Student interview (School 1)				
11:20-12:20	Questionnaire distribution (School 2)		Student interview (School 2)	Student interview (School 1)	Student interview (School 2)	
13:15-14:15		Narrative Vignettes (school1)				
14:30-15:30	Questionnaire distribution (School 3)	Questionnaire distribution (school 4)	Questionnaire Collection (School 2)	Parent Interview (School 1)	Questionnaire Collection (School 3)	
WEEK TWO						
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Notes
7:30-8:30	Parent interview (School 1)		Parent interview (School 2)			
8:40-9:40	Narrative Vignettes (school 1)	Pictorial Vignettes (School 1)	Pictorial vignette (school 2)	Pictorial Vignettes (School 1)	Pictorial vignette (school 2)	
10:0-11:00		Student interview (School 1)			Student interview (school 2)	
11:2-12:20				Student interview (school 1)	Student interview (school 1)	
12:50-13:50	Student interview (school 1)		Student interview (school 2)			
14:30-15:30	Parent Interview (School 1)	Questionnaire collection(School 1)	Parent Interview (School 2)	Questionnaire collection (School 4)	Questionnaire Collection (School 1)	

The first interview was recorded using a digital recorder but the researcher experienced technical difficulties when transferring the file to a computer. A computer voice recorder was used instead. This did not constitute any disruption to the process because it was stationary and was positioned at the corner of the room. Because the room was quite small, the participants did not need to raise their voices, although at times when the discussions were excited, some parents spoke louder.

### **Phase Three: Students' Research**

The process of gaining access to all participants in this study including sampling has been explained in the previous section. This section explains the procedures employed under phase three of the empirical research which is concerned with investigating how indigenous students make meaning of their experiences.

*Number of student participants and group sizes:* A total of 93 students returned consent forms signed by their parents to take part in the research process which involved interviews, narrative and pictorial vignettes. Of this number, 66 students participated in the interviews forming 10 groups, 55 participated in the narrative vignette research while 28 responded to the pictorial vignette. The students were all Nigerians, ranging from 13 to 18 years and were in secondary schools. Nigerian students were deliberately chosen because the research is about indigenous student experiences. Because of the varying levels of access allowed by the schools, the interviews were conducted with students from only two schools as shown in Table 5.2. There were six groups from an American school and four from a British school with an average of seven students in every group. The number in each group is shown in Table 5.3.

### ***Scheduling***

The schedule for the interviews was agreed upon by the students. Break times and free periods were the convenient options for the meetings. The groups consisted of students who belonged to the same classes and so it was easy to get them together at the same times. The venues of the meetings varied, depending on the location the students felt was convenient. When it was held in a classroom, no adult but the researcher was present. This was quite important to the research because the participants needed an environment where they were able to express their views without feeling restrained. The researcher negotiated with the teachers to be given an hour per class for the vignettes research. These were conducted across ten classes in two schools. Due to time constraints, some classes in the lower secondary sections did not participate in the pictorial vignette research but all ten classes responded to the narrative portrait. The details of the schedule are illustrated in Table 5.4.

### ***The student interviews and vignettes processes***

Break times and free periods were used for the interviews. This provided a less formal setting for the students as it was quite important for them to feel at ease. Before the interviews began, the researcher explained the purpose of the research was to investigate how they made meaning of their experiences within the school, in their homes and the community. Few students expressed fear of their parents finding out about their contributions to the discussions before and during the interviews. They were assured of anonymity and asked not to mention names during the discussions because they were recorded with a digital device.

Consent is often mistakenly assumed for young people when the gatekeepers grant the permission for the research to be conducted in their institutions (Heath et al., 2007). In this study, written consent was received for all students who participated in the study. Even after this, the aims of the research were still discussed with the students and any questions they had were answered. The researcher had an ethical commitment to explain to the students what the research was all about. The students were also given the option of choosing not to participate even after their parents had granted consent. In other words, the researcher was critical of the accepted norms of gaining ethical

approval for children under 18 which require only parental consent, choosing also to explain the purpose of the study and to gain individual consent from the young people. This ensured that participation was not based on compulsion but on a willingness to contribute to the research. The questions were framed in such a way as to allow for maximum freedom of expression. The interviews were recorded using a computer voice recorder as with the parent interviews, and transcribed shortly after.

For the vignettes, the students were sat in the classrooms as they would during normal lessons. There was a teacher present in every class at the British school during this process. However, this was not considered to be a problem because the teachers did not read the students' responses and the sheets were handed to the researcher as soon as they were done to ensure that the process was credible. The students were also assured of anonymity before they began. This process involved presenting a scenario to stimulate the participants to explain their perceptions of the events in the vignettes and relate these events to personal occurrences, allowing for a lot of reflection which results in in-depth expression of conceptions that could generate very rich data (Rashotte, 2003). The scenarios presented in both vignettes were drawn from real life experiences to represent what students might experience in reality. This was to ensure the reliability of the data. The students were asked to write their responses on the sheets that contained the vignettes.

### ***Data Analysis***

According to Polit and Beck (2004), data analysis should match the instrumentation. This was one way that a warrantable mixed methods research was achieved. The numerical data obtained from the questionnaires were processed statistically using SPSS. The data were processed following the same procedures for the analysis of numeric data from websites described earlier (page 114). The general approach to the analysis of the narrative data was grounded theory. Bryant and Charmaz (2007; 608) state that 'grounded theory ... focuses on creating conceptual frameworks or theories through building inductive analysis from the data'. This method involved looking for common themes that emerged from the data and identifying the link between them that gave the

data overall coherence leading to a coherent explanation of the experiences of the participants. These explanations were linked to the theories that were discussed in the conceptual framework. In other words, the analysis progressed from the ‘particular to the more general’ (ibid; 15). The stages in the data analysis are detailed below.

The interview data were transcribed with careful consideration made to ensure that the narratives were reported credibly. The transcripts were edited to ensure anonymity and to check for spelling and grammar errors. The data were then processed through the stages of grounded theory analysis, namely open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The first stage involved extensive line by line reading and examination of transcripts, and identifying the direction for the analysis. The lines were labelled according to the concepts that were common within the data. In other words, codes were assigned to quotes. Examples of how such concepts were linked to codes in the parent interview transcripts are:

1. Code: parental concern

Quote: It’s funny that our children school here and they know so little about the culture, and what is going on around them.

2 Code: advantages of enrolling children in the international school

Quote: This school prepares my children for a future that is competitive and advanced. They can attend prestigious universities and get great jobs anywhere in the world.

Concepts which were unrelated to the aims of the research were set aside. Those which appeared infrequently were reserved for use in case there was a possible explanation for their presence within the data.

The next stage (axial coding) involved comparing the ideas, finding relationships and consistencies between the codes which led to creating wider categories. For instance, the first code in the example given above was linked with other codes to form a wider category labelled: *Values*. The second code was grouped with similar codes under a category labelled: *Aspiration*. Furthermore, both categories were noted to be related to what parents saw as advantages of schooling internationally and the associated

problems that arise as a result. The categories were further grouped together to create a wider theme: *Dilemma of value and aspiration*.

The third stage which is selective coding involved formalising the relationships between the themes into theoretical frameworks. This process was followed in the analysis of all narrative data. At this point, the researcher resorted to connecting themes arising from all other data to create more centralised themes (Glaser, 1992). This involved comparison of themes derived within one method and between several methods to support or challenge the findings. The links between the themes were then corroborated and clarified which led to the emergence of an overall theme.

One section of the analyses focused only on the questionnaire data to discuss one theme relating to the context of international education as reported by the teachers in this study. The narrative data from the open-ended questions in this set of questionnaire results were transformed into numeric data for uniform analysis. This was also done to ‘discern and to show regularities or peculiarities’ in the narrative data that may not be easily identified in its original form (Sandelowski et al., 2009; 210). In addition, this method served to reduce the data by organising the results into nominal form that enhanced the degree of interpretation.

### ***Challenges and strengths of the methods used***

One challenge that was faced during the empirical research in Nigeria was in negotiating access to the international schools. None of the researcher’s emails and calls was acknowledged or replied. Only after the researcher had visited the schools was any progress made with five out of ten that were approached. In two cases, the researcher was turned back at the gate and was not given the opportunity to speak with the head teacher. This suggests that international schools may be closed communities, which is perhaps not surprising as the schools may need to be careful because of the nature of clientele that they serve. Eventually, four schools granted access to the researcher, however, the levels varied. Two schools only agreed to allow the teacher questionnaire, while the other two gave full access to the researcher. It would have been advantageous for the research if the same type and amount of data were collected from all the schools.

This would have given the researcher a basis to compare data from different schools. However, the data collected was deemed sufficient and it is believed that the outcome of the research is still quite significant to understanding the contexts in which students negotiated identities, and how they made meaning of their experiences. Approaching ten schools may have been an ambitious goal but it appeared to have been a good idea because even though access was not granted by all, sufficient data were collected from four schools. Another challenge the researcher faced was commuting from one school to the other. With the busy traffic in Abuja, it was difficult to visit more than one school in a day as they were located in different areas of the city. The researcher scheduled the data collection in such a way that particular days were dedicated to the research in one school. This is reflected in the data collection schedule represented in Table 5.4.

## **Summary**

This chapter has detailed the procedures involved in the practicalities of the empirical research. Conducting a mixed methods research was quite an exciting experience for the researcher. An integrated methodology was employed in almost every facet of the research. The websites analysis, which consisted of a content and semiotic analysis of international schools websites in comparison with those of Nigerian school, served as a start to understanding the context within which indigenous students learn as it relates to ideologies and values. The teacher questionnaires and parent interviews were used to understand the complexities of the contradictions that led into the indigenous students' perceptions and attitudes towards Nigerian cultures as well as conflicts. The student interviews and vignettes served to prompt responses that showed their ideological positioning and how they made meaning of their experiences. The researcher ensured that all participants' contributions and ideas were not constrained in the data collection.

The procedures presented methodological and ethical challenges. However, overcoming these challenges strengthened the process of the research. For example, the process of data collection was entirely independent of influences from the gatekeepers at the schools. This ensured the reliability of the process. The data analysis required meticulous attention to detail as managing data from different sources can pose

challenges of a different order. The researcher followed a slow and gradual process to arrive at the findings of the study. Much consideration was given to the quality of the empirical research in order to arrive at warrantable assertions which may be useful to research as well as international educators in Nigeria.





## **SECTION C**

### **NEO-COLONIAL CONTEXTS, PERCEPTIONS, IDENTITIES AND CONFLICTS**

### ***Section Outline***

Arising from the conceptual framework of this thesis was the argument that neo-colonialism is a context for international schools' practice and globalisation was a cloak used to mask the undesirable effects of their provisions. It was then contested whether international schools produced truly global citizens or neo-colonial subjects. The methodological standpoint of pragmatism adopted by this thesis gave grounds for the researcher to employ strategies in the empirical research aimed at investigating the influences of international schooling experiences on indigenous students' identities while exploring other factors.

The purpose of this section is to present the data analyses and findings from the empirical research. A websites analysis of international schools in comparison with Nigerian schools, teacher questionnaires, parent interviews, student interviews and vignettes were the methods employed in the empirical process. The overarching theme which emerged from the analysis is 'neo-colonial individualism subsumes traditional community'. The chapters will show that the complexities and contradictions within the students' experiences lead up to the conflicts that they experience. The main argument is that the negotiation of indigenous students' identities is underpinned by a struggle between the neo-colonial individualism promoted by the schools and traditional community which is the ideological inclination of Nigerian cultures. The findings are presented in three chapters and discussed under themes that have emerged from the analyses.

Chapter 6 examines neo-colonial representations of international schools as a context through which their practices could be understood. Drawing on teachers' and parents' voices, chapter 7 introduces the complexities of the contradictions in the contexts within which the indigenous students negotiate their identities. Chapter 8 examines the students' perceptions and attitudes towards indigenous cultures and conflicts that they experience on three dimensions – personal, home and community.

All numeric data are presented in tables while narrative data are presented as quotes and referenced to the code assigned to the web source or participants (parent and students) in the transcripts. For example quotes from the parent interviews would read Parent X, X being the code assigned to the parent's name.

## CHAPTER 6

### WE ... ENSURE THAT WE UPHOLD A BRITISH TRADITION

#### Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of websites of 27 international schools in Nigeria (ISW) in comparison with 9 websites of Nigerian schools (NSW). The NSW were examined to give some comparison and to enhance an understanding of the ISW. Therefore, emphasis was placed on the analysis of the content of the websites of international schools. The analysis addresses the question: to what extent do international school websites present and represent neo-colonial values? The three themes and their subthemes which emerged from the analysis are shown in table 6.1.

**Table 6.1** Emerging themes from the analysis

	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Subtheme</b>
Phase 1 Websites	Inequalities	social inequalities Economic inequalities
	Western hegemonic dominance	Culture and values Superiority of educational provisions
	Neo-colonial aspirations	Educational aspirations Career aspirations Citizenship aspirations

Ideology as discussed by this thesis is grounded in Althusser's (1971) notion that rather than being defined as a set of ideas, it is a process which comprises of activities that are aimed at the interpellation of the individual. In other words, ideologies which underpin processes and determine values within social, and political institutions, such as schools are imbibed by the individuals who go through those institutions. Their identities and the values they uphold are products of the system. The process of identity formation is underpinned by 'dominant power relations and inequalities ... legitimised by distorted representations of reality at various levels' (McGuigan, 2005; 229). Ideology employs the use of common language and rationalities in obtaining permission for dominant and

unsubstantiated ideas to be generally accepted (ibid). According to Said (1989; 207), ‘around the colonized, there has grown a whole vocabulary of phrases, each in its own way reinforcing the dreadful secondariness of people’. The analysis draws on the imposition of values by a dominant group which is the west to identify information presented on the websites within the themes and sub-themes which showed patterns of the promotion of neo-colonial values as they were inscribed across the ISW. On the ISW, neo-colonialism is represented as the supremacy of the west and the inferiority of the local and its education systems. This pattern appeared to be more prominent within the themes discussed in this chapter.

The analysis integrates two different but related approaches to arrive at a coherent story about the messages provided by the websites on the nature of ideologies that are represented conventionally referred to as a content analysis and a semiotic analysis. Details of the methods were explained earlier in chapter five.

### **Theme 1: Inequalities**

Over 62% of Nigerians live below the international poverty line of \$1.25 as at 2010 (World Bank, 2015). This statistic suggests that the country has problems with inequality on social and economic levels. The representation of the social and economic contexts of the schools was identified as representing inequalities within Nigeria.

#### **Subtheme 1: Social inequalities**

The information includes depictions of the privileged status of the school and the customers whose neo-colonial desires appeared to be exploited by the nature of the representations. Neo-colonial desires refer to ambitions associated with a neo-colonial status. To make for valid comparability, all samples were websites of schools located in large or capital cities of states in Nigeria, namely Abuja, Ibadan, Ilorin, Lagos, Kaduna, Benin, Jos, Abeokuta, Warri, Okigwe, Port Harcourt, Yola, Yenegoa and Uyo. The nature of the school locations within these cities were grouped into elite and poor neighbourhoods. There were no readily available official data that would serve as

criteria for grouping the neighbourhoods. However, comparisons were made using information provided on websites of estate agents such as 4-tee Properties and Investment Ltd (see reference list for address).

An elite neighbourhood was characterised by large sized buildings with modern structures and contemporary architectural designs. There were ready access to facilities like shopping malls, hotels, highly rated schools, good roads and sport arenas. There were also amenities, such as pipe borne water and regular power supply which all make it a location of choice for the wealthy in society. These locations were more likely to have enhanced security, including remote controlled gates, high electrified fences because of the elite status of the people residing in the areas. Such people include senior government officials, expatriates, staff of multinational companies, and business men and women. Poor neighbourhoods comprised of less attractive areas which had fewer facilities and were densely populated with low-cost houses. There were no neighbourhoods that appeared to stand suitably in the middle of these two groups. This might be reflective of the increasing gap between social classes in Nigeria, a social predicament with origins in the colonial background of Nigeria (Ayelabola, 2013). Drawing from information on 4-tee Properties and Investment Ltd, a three bedroom house could cost as much as N98 million (314,481.46 GBP) in Lekki, an elite area in Lagos and as low as N5 million (16,044.97 GBP) in Ikorodu, which was grouped under poor neighbourhoods.

Results in Table 6.2 show that a total of 96% (26) of the ISW listed locations within elite neighbourhoods. Only 4% (1) of the ISW listed a location in a poor area. This is likely to be because the school in question had boarding facilities and more likely than not, operates in isolation from its immediate environment. A total of 78% (7) of Nigerian schools were found to be located in poor neighbourhoods while the locations of 22% (2) were unclear. The results therefore suggest that while most Nigerian schools on the websites appeared to be located within poor areas, international schools were mostly located in elite areas. The result is indicative of the social status of the clientele in both categories of schools.

**Table 6.2** School locations

		ISW		NSW	
		n	%	n	%
<b>School locations</b>	<b>Elite</b>	26	96	0	0
	<b>Poor</b>	1	4	7	78
	<b>Unclear</b>	0	0	2	22
<b>Total</b>		<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>

There were also similarities in the styles of representations of school locations across the ISW which appeared to be a strong promotional tool aimed at attracting the desired customers. The site of one international school was described as being:

*...located on approximately 25 well-tended acres in a secure and tranquil area of Lekki Peninsula Phase One (ISW7).*

The location of this school, as with other areas where international schools are commonly found, is an elite area in Lagos. Lekki, which is a relatively new part of Lagos, originally formed part of wetlands in the city. However, the area was sand-filled to accommodate the rapid urbanisation of the business hub of Nigeria (Obiefuna et. al, 2013). In this light, the school is presented as modern, separated from and nothing like the other densely populated, and archaic structures in the older parts of the city of Lagos. Only the elite can afford houses in the area and therefore, such descriptions suggest to the viewer that the school is associated with the prestigious aspects of Lagos city. It is assumed that the students and their parents live in these areas as well and thus have easy access to the schools.

The representations of locations also included the attraction of security which is very much desired by parents or guardians with elite positions in society. This is likely because Nigeria continues to face security problems based on ethnic, religious and political issues (Dambazau, 2014), which have often resulted in extreme and spontaneous violence within various cities. A secure environment where violence is less likely to erupt because of the presence of security agents is thus a desirable attribute for



any school and likely to come at a high cost. However, representations of school locations on NSW appeared to have a different focus as one website states:

*...located along the southern end of the Nnamdi Azikiwe Express Way, formerly called Western Bye – pass Kaduna. The School is encompassed by Ungwan Romi and Ungwan Television Villages at the outskirts of Kaduna South (NSW5).*

The description of NSW5 appears to be for direction purposes. It has been argued that social classing of schools is based on rhetoric of representations of factors such as their history and location (Lynch and Lodge, 2002; Gottschall et. al, 2010). The ISW present themselves as highly classed schools by their descriptions. There are thus clear differences underpinning the purpose of both descriptions above. ISW-romanticised descriptions appear to signal the elite nature of the schools and invariably draw in the desired audience whilst excluding the undesired. Reference to ‘an approximately 25 well-tended acres (ISW7) or ‘... campus offering an oasis of calm in the heart of the city’ (ISW9) picture surroundings characterised by aesthetics which are embodied in the implied magnificence and architectural sophistication of the school grounds. These descriptions appear to provide underlying assurances of the perceived outstanding educational provisions that the schools offer. It can be argued that this is fundamental to the quality of education sought by the desired customers who amongst other characteristics are able to afford it. In other words, the representations deploy signage of the prospective parents’ affluence in a way that excludes those who do not belong to that socio-economic class.

Representations of privilege are also seen on the results of the numbers of photographs of activities that the students are engaged in, such as school trips (See data set 2, Appendix 13). For example, on ISW 2, 4, 7, 9, 11 and 15 which featured images of school trips, no images showing visits to Nigerian locations were displayed. In contrast, there were images showing visits to overseas locations such as a ski trip to Italy (ISW2), music and art trip to Paris and Berlin (ISW15), economic and business trip to London (ISW7) and the like. In other words, there was more elaboration on the trips to western locations which emphasised the nature, cost and hence the class of their educational provisions. Figure 6.1 and 6.2 from ISW11 and 7 respectively, are examples of such images. Figure 6.1 is a photograph from a school trip to Cite des sciences et de

l'industrie in Paris. The location which is the largest science museum in Europe amongst other attractions host exhibitions which feature contemporary research and innovations in science, technology and industry. An image like this shows that the school has a wider reach and that its students experience a world of difference from other Nigerian students who cannot afford the education that international schools provide.



**Figure 6.1** School Trip to Cite des sciences et de l'industrie in Paris (ISW 11)

Figure 6.2 is a picture of a school trip location in Western Europe featured on ISW7. The nature of building depicts that it is foreign and western because of the typical brick walls and design. The building is also covered in snow which suggests that it may be located in a place with a climate different to Nigeria's. This signifies the exposure of the students to realities in the richer countries of the west which is different from the actualities in a developing country such as Nigeria. Certainly, such educational provisions are beyond the reach and outside the scope of private and public schools which follow the Nigerian system of education. Representations of these locations are very attractive to the local elite who want to maintain such privileged positions for their children.



**Figure 6.2** Switzerland Ski Trip (ISW7)

International schools have been known to reproduce such inequalities (Brown and Lauder, 2011) which are argued to be enduring structures of post-colonialism (Wolff, 2003). Neo-colonial values are implicit in the representation of social inequalities on the websites. In other words, they are implied by the representations designed to appeal to the Nigerian elite who place high value on western education (Attah, 2013).

Therefore, such representations deploy signage that the students are part of a ‘world framed by privilege and a citizenship isolated and “secure” from surrounding local nation-state citizens’ (Tamatea et al. 2008; 165). A significant indicator of social inequalities is economic inequality and this is framed within the ISW.

### **Subtheme 2: Economic Inequalities**

Representations of schools’ fees also reinforce this claim to social privilege. The results in Table 6.3 show that 74% (24) of the ISW mentioned fees as opposed to only 22% (2) of the NSW, a difference of 52 percentage points. This showed that money issues were represented as quite important to the sample of international schools in this study and suggests that attracting parents with the desired economic capital was equally vital.

**Table 6.3** Proportion of websites mentioning the payment of school fees

		ISW		NSW	
		n	%	n	%
<b>Fees mentioned</b>	<b>Yes</b>	20	74	2	22
	<b>No</b>	7	26	7	78
<b>Total</b>		27	100	9	100

As mentioned earlier, there are enduring issues of unequal distribution of wealth in Nigeria. Schooling options include free public schools, fee-paying private schools and fee-paying international schools. This sample on NSW covered this range of schools as described in the methods section of Chapter 5. Nigerian private schools' tuition varies in terms of social class. Even the poor are able to afford to send their children to some low-cost private schools (Harma, 2013). Tooley et al., (2005) report that 75% of children living in poor areas in Lagos attend private schools. This is because teaching and student outcomes are considered better in private Nigerian schools in comparison with public schools (ibid). Hayden and Thompson (2008) argue that the competition presented by national systems of education is one reason why the local elite send their children to international schools so that they can have an edge over other indigenous students. Table 6.4 shows that 33% (9) of ISW specifically listed the amount students paid in fees and this may be notable considering the fact that only 11% (1) of the NSW provided this information. In other words, one in three ISW mentioned school fees which ranged from \$7000 to \$25000 per annum and this is quite substantial when compared to N7800 (about \$49) posted by the Nigerian school. These representations send a message that ordinary Nigerian people are not expected to enrol their children since they clearly cannot afford the fees and only the very rich are the audience for such information.

**Table 6.4** Amount of school fees stated

		ISW		JNSW	
		n	%	n	%
<b>Yearly school fees listed</b>	<b>Yes</b>	9	33	1	11
	<b>No</b>	18	67	8	89
<b>Total</b>		27	100	9	100

Of particular interest is the fact that the currency used in the stating of the school fees as mentioned by some ISW which listed the amount charged was either in dollars or pounds sterling (Appendix 13). One websites states:

*All fees are quoted in US Dollars unless specifically given in Naira (Nigeria 's currency) (ISW2).*

By suggesting the payment of fees in British or US currencies which are widely known for their relative stability, this ISW presents the school as actively securing and maintaining their financial stability. In doing so, it suggests that the prospective clientele must possess that stability as well. In addition, these messages imply that continued access to such educational provision is based on the ability of the parents to continue to pay the fees. One website stated:

***Fees are payable in advance of the start of each term** and where fees are not paid by the due date the school reserves the right to refuse a student entry (ISW2)(emphasis in the original).*

The use of bold fonts signifies the seriousness with which the issue is viewed (van Leeuwen, 2006) and emphasises the importance of consistent financial contribution by the parents. However, this finding raises questions whether prompt payment of school fees overrides the genuine goals of educating the individual when they are no longer able to afford that form of education. The students and their elite parents thus appear to be presented as consumers of a highly priced product which is packaged with certain cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1997; Cambridge, 2002). As bluntly stated by Willows (2008; 19):

Today's reality is simple: like it or not, families, companies and organisations purchase international school education in just the same way as they buy a new BMW, Apple iPod or pair of Chanel sunglasses.

Willows' comparison of international education with designer items which are only purchased by the affluent in society may appear sensational but it points at one of the commodification of education which is of the salient globalist currents underpinning the concept of international education. This is well represented on the ISW.

In summary, analysis of representations of social and economic inequalities on the ISW has shown that the schools are exclusively for the elite. The strategies employed by the websites in promoting the schools show that this group of people is the target audience and the neo-colonial orientation of the country is exploited to attract them. In other words, it is the parents' neo-colonial identities – their preferences for western education and desires to maintain their elitist status quo that is the target to which the websites appeal.

## **Theme 2: Western hegemonic dominance**

The colonial stereotype of western cultural superiority was more dominantly inscribed across the ISW than the other two themes discussed in this chapter. This was expressed through representations that depicted the culture and values shared within the school communities, and superiority of educational provisions.

### **Subtheme 1: Culture and Values**

Representations of ethnicities and gender provide an insight into what sorts of values and cultures may be shared within the schools. Ethnicities of staff (school heads and teachers) were grouped into black and white because these were the predominant ethnicities on the websites. The information about school heads and teachers was systematically collected from images and written details about the staff composition (Appendix 13). Photographs, names and ethnicities of head teachers were found on the

welcome pages of the websites. A total of 86% (23) of the ISW had white head teachers as shown in Table 6.5. Only 7% (2) showed they had a black school head and a further 7% (2) of the ISW were unclear in their representations. This result contrasts with the NSW that showed that 100% (9) of their school heads were black.

**Table 6.5** Ethnicities of school heads

		ISW		NSW	
<b>Ethnicities of school heads</b>		<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
	<b>White</b>	23	86	0	0
	<b>Black</b>	2	7	9	100
	<b>Uncertain</b>	2	7	0	0
<b>Total</b>		27	100	9	100

The results for the ISW suggest certain organisational structures, cultures and values within those schools which are different from those operational in a Nigerian school. This is because their training is ideologically and culturally predisposed to the western context where they were schooled (Poore, 2005). In other words, the results are a pointer to the ideological milieu and the values that may be shared within those schools. This result is consistent with data on Table 6.6. Images of white and black teachers were counted to ascertain which ethnicity was predominantly represented on the websites. A total of 78% (21) of the teachers displayed on the ISWs were of white ethnicity while only 22% (6) were black teachers, a difference of 56 percentage points. These contrast significantly with ethnicities on NSW where a total of 100% (9) showed that all their teachers were black.

**Table 6.6** Ethnicities of teachers

		ISW		NSW	
		n	%	n	%
<b>Ethnicity of School Staff</b>	<b>Black</b>	6	22	9	100
	<b>White</b>	21	78	0	0
<b>Total</b>		27	100	9	100

The result is consistent with Fail's (2011) claim that a high proportion of international school teachers are westerners and her argument is that this is likely to determine the nature of pedagogical interactions and values shared within their classrooms. On the other hand, the staff representation on the website may be determined by the nature of values that the schools promote or by the ideologies that underpin their practice. This is reflected in claims made on one website that stated:

*...our teachers reflect the finest traditions of the British education system (ISW9).*

International schools are known to recruit their teachers from the UK or USA either through international agencies (Garton, 2000) or through informal expatriate networks. The presence of white teachers appears to model the form of education in colonial times where the teachers who assumed ownership of knowledge and the values to be transmitted were the white colonial educators. Thiong'o (1986) argues that colonial education focused on transmitting western cultures and values and, consequently, the eroding indigenous cultural identities. According to Wylie (2008), teachers as mechanisms of learning and control within an international school play a significant role in defining the tone of message transmissions. It might be that the schools understand that the local elite may prefer white teachers for their children because they may be more effective transmitters of western values as a result of their ethnic backgrounds.

Employment of teachers with English as a first language is considered a plus for international schools (Fail, 2011) and suggested to be a strong selling point in seeking



to attract the local elite who desire western education for their children. The websites depict their neo-colonial orientation by these representations and this also appeared to be implicit in the representations of student ethnicities. Ethnicities of students were grouped into three – Black, white and other, and the data were systematically collected from student images displayed on the websites. As shown in Table 6.7, a total of 52% (14) of ISW posted images of only black students while 48% (13) had a mixture of black, white and other ethnicities. NSW showed a total of 100% of black students.

**Table 6.7** Student ethnicities

		ISW		NSW	
		n	%	n	%
<b>Student Ethnicities</b>	<b>Black</b>	14	52	9	100
	<b>Black, white and other</b>	13	48	0	0
<b>Total</b>		27	100	9	100

The fact that 48% (13) of the ISW showed students of mixed ethnicities suggests to prospective Nigerian parents that their children are likely to associate with children of white and other ethnicities. This finding is consistent with results on teacher ethnicities, a combination of which suggests that the websites imply a promise that prospective students will be exposed to western cultural capital. However, the higher proportion of websites displaying photos of black students signifies that there may be more indigenous students at international schools. The ISW therefore suggest that their doors are open to indigenous students and that they are welcome to join the schools where their western educators will teach them their values as in colonial times. This is exemplified on an ISW which stated:

*Our founder is devoted to the holistic education of Nigerian children (ISW7).*

ISW7 expresses the emotional commitment of the founder of the school to education of Nigerian children and reassures the prospective clientele that the founder is devoted to

providing holistic education for their children. The statement appears to mirror the United Nations commitment to holistic education and international schools may argue that is what their educational provisions reflect. However, it is questionable if the values and cultures of the schools are appropriate for a holistic education for Nigerian children. According to Barthes (1977), such promotional statements are aimed at selling ideologies to unsuspecting clients. In this case, the underlying objective of presenting international schools as being able to meet the needs of all their students is reflected. As such, the schools are positioned as superior to Nigerian schools whose sole aim to train individuals towards the prosperity of the nation. Thus, the idea that international education is superior to national systems is promoted riding on the perceived inadequacies of the national system. This idea of superior educational provisions is inscribed across the ISW.

### **Subtheme 2: Superiority of educational provisions**

Representations of the quality of education on the ISW send messages that the schools provide the value of education that is unavailable at local schools. This is exemplified on taglines with references to the quality of education such as ‘raising standards’ (ISW36) and ‘surpassing the most demanding standards available anywhere in the world’ (ISW23). These taglines are concepts in global education policy landscape which are consistent with profiteering and expansion that are the trademark of neo-liberalism. This is especially so when accelerated intellectual development is linked with the western cultural capital that the students are exposed to. One website stated:

*They will make accelerated progress towards intellectual maturity, while taking advantage of the social and cultural activities which we share with them (ISW26).*

ISW26 sends a message that intellectual superiority is an accompaniment of the educational provisions that the school offers and its acquisition is linked to western cultural capital. Such neo-colonial diction is used to express educational superiority. There were indications that this is a strong focus of the schools as the connection with western style of education was reiterated across the ISW, particularly in the nature of the school curriculum, languages taught and memberships of international organisations.

- *Curricula*

The types of curricula featured on the websites appeared to be the basis for the claim of educational superiority. Table 6.8 shows that 63% (17) of the ISW used a UK national curriculum while 33% (9) adopted curricula from several states in the US. Only 4% (1) claimed to use an international curriculum (comprised of either or a combination of the IB and the IGSCE). Lewis (2006) noted that although the IBO courses had an international focus, most students preferred to study the Americas and Europe in subjects such as history and geography. Lewis (ibid) contends that this approach only provides a narrow focus on education and not a global perspective as the websites appear to claim.

**Table 6.8** Type of curriculum

		ISW		NSW	
		n	%	n	%
<b>Curriculum</b>	<b>British</b>	9	33	0	0
	<b>American</b>	17	63	0	0
	<b>Nigerian</b>	0	0	9	100
	<b>Other</b>	1	4	0	0
<b>Total</b>		27	100	9	100

The curriculum is a social fact which limits or focuses the learning on the context in and for which it is constructed (Young, 2014). Therefore, the form of international education represented on the websites appears to depict education with a narrow perspective of the world, one which highlights forms of globalisation institutionalised by the schools.

- *Language*

Although English language is Nigeria's lingua franca, indigenous languages are taught formally in Nigerian schools. Notably, few ISW featured representations on the teaching of Nigerian languages. As shown in Table 6.9, only 22% (6) of ISW indicated the teaching of at least one Nigerian language in addition to an international language while 78% (21) did not. This suggests that the cultural beliefs, nuances and identity constructs that are embedded in learning indigenous languages on a formal basis are not included in the educational provisions of greater proportions of international schools as represented on the websites. By implication, English language and perhaps other international languages are used as the media for all pedagogical interactions. Language mediates the process of cultural maintenance (Thiong'o, 1986) and where there are perceived gaps in language acculturation, the devaluing of one's cultural identity may be imminent. The exclusion of indigenous languages promotes the myth that indigenous languages, history, culture or values are not significant enough to be included in the curriculum. This is an important mechanism through which neo-colonial values are transmitted. This thesis does not argue against the inclusion of foreign languages that are regarded as international but the exclusion of indigenous languages and in particular, where there are students from the host countries attending the schools. It is likely that indigenous languages may 'tie' the schools to the local in a way that they reject. Perhaps, the schools exploit the fragmentation of Nigerian languages.

**Table 6.9** Teaching Nigerian Languages

		ISW		NSW	
		n	%	n	%
<b>Nigerian Languages</b>	<b>Yes</b>	6	22	8	88
	<b>No</b>	21	78	1	12
<b>Total</b>		27	100	9	100

Representations of languages on the NSW appear to reflect this as 88% (8) indicated the teaching of Nigerian languages. The results suggest that the Nigerian schools are likely in compliance with local and regional policies. However, ISW appear to show a contrast in focus, choosing mostly to teach international or foreign languages. This indicates that international schools' practices as promoted on the ISW may be independent of territorial or regional influences. Jabal (2013) argues that some international schools work in isolation of the host country's policies. According to Sylvester (1998), such schools have encapsulated missions where the educational goals and practice from a foreign country are adopted. The curricula listed on the ISW do not appear to be in response to local policies developed within the Nigerian context. Rather, they are imported from educational systems that are perceived to be more reputable internationally. One website stated:

*We keep up to date with educational developments, particularly in the United Kingdom to ensure that we uphold a British tradition (ISW8).*

Notably, ISW8 appears to reassure its audience that the school does all to follow a western system of education to maintain the quality of the perceived educational standards. The systems within international schools in this sample are thus modelled on British or US cultures and this is also reflected in their curricula.

#### **- Memberships of international organisations**

Another common feature of the websites was memberships of one or more international associations which serve as regulatory bodies for international schooling activities as well as managing, prescribing and coordinating examinations and curricula. Examples are the IB, ECIS and MSA. Although these associations are said to be international, their foundations are rooted firmly in western approaches to education and by implication the curricula they prescribe and examinations that they facilitate. Van Oord (2007) clearly argues that the IB is firmly rooted in western philosophy.

As shown in Table 6.10, 70% (19) of the ISW indicated belonging to UK and US associations while 4% (1) were members of both local and international associations, 26% (7) did not give this information. NSW showed that 56% (5) belonged to only local

associations, 11% (1) to both while 33% (3) did not indicate membership to any organisations.

**Table: 6.10** Memberships of international organisations

		ISW		NSW	
		n	%	n	%
<b>Associations, Examination Bodies</b>	<b>Western</b>	19	70	0	0
	<b>Local</b>	0	0	5	56
	<b>Both</b>	1	4	1	11
	<b>None</b>	7	26	3	33
<b>Total</b>		27	100	9	100

This result suggests that international schools reflect that their interactions with the local regulatory systems are limited and are likely to operate an agenda that may be substantially different to the practices of local schools. The implication is that the two categories of schools may produce students who have different perspectives and aspirations.

Icons of these organisations were presented on homepages of the websites and this is signage of their significant role in the promotion of the schools. The logos are ‘labels of quality’ which position the schools as having superior educational provisions because they are associated with reputable international organisations (Cambridge, 2002; 232). It is also suggested that memberships of these organisations imply international schools’ unrestricted and unregulated alignment with western educational organisations. The schools have to undergo several accreditation processes which ensure their adherence to the regulations of these international bodies (Carder, 2005; Bunnell, 2014).

It is argued that even though the organisations claim to be international, CIS for example, which does not prescribe any curriculum in particular, steers schools in particular directions (Carder, 2005). A majority of universities listed as members of the CIS are located in Western Europe, North America and Australia while most of the member international schools are located in Africa, Asia and South America (CIS website). There is no African university listed on the CIS member directory. Although there is no explicit information on the CIS website stating the promotion of western interests, there are unarticulated expressions implied from their practices which show their role in encouraging students to attend western universities. Thus, the role of these organisations is implicit in propagating western ideologies in their position as pointers to universities that graduates of their member schools attend. A past director of the IB, George Walker, stated that the organisation has reached its position of influence (Walker, 2003) and this may stress its ability to steer member school cultures and ideologies. This suggests that the entire system of international education directs the indigenous students from attending the schools in their countries right up to influencing or channelling their choices of higher education locations. Thus, the promotion of internationalism is a cloak for western gain.

In summary, the analyses have explored representations of western cultural dominance on the ISW through messages inscribed in the taglines, information about the schools' curricula, languages taught and memberships of international organisations. The schools assert their positions as upholders and promoters of western education within the indigenous context. Their neo-colonial positioning is implicit in these descriptions.

### **Theme 3: Neo-colonial Aspirations**

Neo-colonial aspirations, meaning the desire to maintain cultural dominance of Nigeria as a means of economic exploitation, were represented through educational, citizenship and career aspirations on the websites. One common idea running through the information was that international schools provided a passage for students to transit to a global terrain after leaving secondary school. However, the analysis will show that aspirations within a western context was given a global face and rather than pointing

students to global opportunities, western opportunities took the centre stage in the representations.

### Subtheme 1: Educational Aspirations

Meeting students' educational aspirations was one explicit purpose of schooling signified by the websites. Crucial to the branding of international schools is the provision of assessments options that furnish students with globally transferable qualifications (Cambridge, 2002). This is consistent with the results which show that ISW broadly focused on internationally regulated assessments needed for qualifications for entrance into foreign universities which are mainly western. As shown in Table 6.11, only 19% (5) of ISW included Nigerian school leaving examinations in addition to foreign examinations. However, 81% (22) of ISW had information about only foreign examinations, a notable difference of 65 percentage points.

**Table: 6.11** Types of assessments

		ISW		NSW	
		n	%	n	%
Assessments	Nigerian	5	19	9	100
	Foreign exams	22	81	0	0
Total		27	100	9	100

Examples of these foreign assessments are the Cambridge IGSCE, IB examinations (IB diploma), Advanced Placement Examinations and SATs (Standardised tests for college admissions in the US) (See Appendix 13).

As with international bodies, icons of the exams were mostly displayed on the homepages and this appeared to signify that this was an important factor to attracting the prospective parent to the school. It may also be deemed a qualifying factor to be



rated as a good international school. For example, the symbol of University of Cambridge International Examination is found on the top left of the ISW2. Such representations signify the schools' perceived positional advantages in terms of providing assessments that lead to qualifications for western higher institutions and constructing a pathway for the intended international mobility for the students. By so doing, the websites construct a path to achieving students' aspirations.

In addition, the representations appeared to reflect an underlying competitiveness amongst the schools based on their abilities to feature a number of international examinations their students were offered. Notably, preparations for these examinations are done using British and US curricula as has been shown in the section above. It is questionable, however, how the schools' contextualised curricula are sufficiently adapted to prepare students for several international examinations. This is because, although such representations appear to be signage for sophistication, the curricula for the respective exams are notably different in the contents of their courses of studies for subjects such as geography and history. Thus, the information is questioned about their authenticity and practicability. For example, the British curriculum may not be sufficient to prepare students who are also taking US examinations at the end of their secondary education. These inconsistencies show that the claims made by the websites about being international are likely to be exaggerated to present an idealistic imagery of their educational standards which is attractive to the Nigerian elite.

As shown in Table 6.12, only 22% (2) of the NSW mentioned that their students went on to study at western universities in contrast with 59% (16) of the ISW, 4% mentioned that their students went on to attend a university in Asia while 37% did not mention a university. However, their educational provisions are directed towards attainment of qualifications for admissions into western universities. A total of 33% (3) of the NSW expressed preparation of students towards attending Nigerian universities, while 33% (3) did not include the information, no international school mentioned a Nigerian university.

**Table 6.12** Types of higher institutions mentioned

		ISW		NSW	
		n	%	n	%
<b>Types of universities mentioned</b>	<b>Western</b>	16	59	2	22
	<b>Nigerian</b>	0	0	3	33
	<b>Other</b>	1	4	1	12
	<b>None</b>	10	37	3	33
<b>Total</b>		27	100	9	100

The results show that a sizeable proportion of ISW promote the schools' abilities to prepare students to attend western institutions of higher learning. This information is provided in the form of meeting the desires of students to study in the west as one website stated:

*We recognised the needs of students who have been successful at Yr 11 and require further qualifications to gain admission to UK, US, Canadian and other international universities. To meet this need we are launching the ... Centre for Advanced Studies (ISW7).*

Through this statement, this school appeals to the emotions of the prospective clientele that they understand their needs and they can be trusted to lead their children to western universities. This finding is consistent with Cambridge's claim that international education is advertised as dependable (2002). This is somewhat related to Ritzer's (2006) predictability and efficiency dimensions of mcdonaldisation, which in this context, presents international education as a product with the same alluring and reliable taste, capable of meeting the needs of their clientele, and outscoring other competitors anywhere in the world. The schools present themselves as reliable and dependable highways to western university destinations which are clearly represented as a perceived need of the local elites. These representations address the desires of the prospective parents through appealing to their emotions. The fact, however, remains that the needs are created and shaped by the prevailing dominance of western education in the global milieu. In addition, the dependence of elites from developing countries on the west for their children's university education (Szelényi, 2006) is borne from the belief that western universities were more likely to have higher educational standards

than other universities especially those in developing countries. This is always well indicated by the Times Higher Education World University Rankings (2013-2014). These rankings have been criticised for promoting competition in higher education to meet global market demands (Munch and Schafer, 2014). The ISWs appear to be actors in the perpetuation of this idea. There are no Nigerian universities on the Times Higher Education World University Rankings (2013-2014) and only four African universities. Thus, the schools show that they contribute to the growth of the fast booming higher education business in the west (Zupnac and Zupnac, 2009) and possibly, at the expense of local institutions.

## Subtheme 2: Citizenship Aspirations

Information on citizenship aspirations on the websites of both categories of schools were systematically collected from mission statements that referred to the sorts of citizenships their students were prepared for. Table 6.13 shows that 78% (21) of ISW stated that they promoted education towards global citizenship as opposed to 22% (6) that did not. Only 22% (2) of NSW mentioned global citizenship.

**Table 6.13** Global citizenship

		ISW		NSW	
		n	%	n	%
<b>Global Citizenship</b>	<b>Yes</b>	21	78	2	22
	<b>No</b>	6	22	7	78
<b>Total</b>		27	100	9	100

The context within which globalisation is framed on the websites presents a narrative of where the interest of the schools lie and what meanings could be made from references to their goals of producing global citizens (Tamatea et al., 2008). This thesis argues that the nature of globalisation promoted by international schools is western-

centric and therefore, reference towards producing global citizens is seen to portray a western perspective exclusive of Nigerian citizenship.

Most taglines on NSW inferred their student subjectivities were developing within a local or national collective. For example, one tagline which states - 'Pro Unitate' (for unity) (NSW1) which is displayed under the school crest on the top right corner of the website, suggests that education in that setting is focused on forging national, cultural or societal cohesion. This reflects the purposes of education as stated in the Nigerian National Policy on Education (FRN, 2004). Thus, most NSW were seen to reflect the communitarianist ideologies of cultures in Nigeria where collective interests supersede those of the individual. Under collectivism, the individual 'I' does not develop in isolation to the collective 'we' and therefore these statements saliently perpetuate the notion of 'I am because we are' (Nyerere, 1968). In contrast to this, taglines on some ISW reflected a preparation of students towards living in a much larger society which appeared to be exterior or not reflective of their local realities. Examples of these are 'Empowering Global citizens' (ISW17) and 'Education for a changing world' (ISW 8). These taglines therefore repeat the message that their educational provisions furnished students with the wherewithal not just to live in but to conquer the ever increasing and changing demands of the global community. From a neo-liberal perspective, education towards global citizenship aims to prepare global citizens who are not restricted by geographical, social and cultural boundaries in the individual pursuit of economic and social development (Schultz, 2007). While international schools stake a claim at producing responsible global citizens, the curriculum and pedagogies on which this is based suggest otherwise because they are grounded on the western individualist notions which are embedded in their practice as argued in section A of this thesis.

The analysis suggests a considerable difference in citizenship preparation on the websites for the two categories of schools. While NSW appear to focus on preparing the individual for future living within their indigenous society, ISW appeared to be more inclined towards training for living in a perceived global society. This may appear to suggest that the provisions listed on ISW are more aligned to present day educational

needs and that Nigerian schools are parochial in their approach. On the other hand, it could be argued that NSW present a more realistic approach to educating an individual for the Nigerian context in terms of the overall aims of education which is towards societal good and responsible living within the society. This does not imply that global education is not aimed at societal good but the way that it is framed on these websites reflect an exteriority of the local society.

Dexterity in intercultural communications is one important attribute of responsible global citizenship (Trede et. al, 2013) and the ISW reflected a considerable commitment towards this in their mission statements. Notably, 52% (14) of ISW and 22% (2) of NSW stated the fostering of intercultural understanding in their expressed purposes of schooling as shown on Table 6.14 while 48% of ISW and 78% (2) of NSW did not include this information.

**Table 6.14** Intercultural understanding

		ISW		NSW	
		n	%	n	%
<b>Fostering intercultural understanding</b>	<b>Yes</b>	14	52	2	22
	<b>No</b>	13	48	7	78
<b>Total</b>		27	100	9	100

However, data collected from images and texts depicting local and international cultural activities indicated that only 15% (4) of ISW take into cognizance the local cultural diversity as shown on Table 6.15. A total of 33% (9) of ISW showed recognition for international diversity while 52% did not include the information.

**Table 6.15** Cultural diversity

		ISW		NSW	
		n	%	n	%
<b>Diversity</b>	<b>International diversity</b>	9	33	1	11
	<b>Local diversity</b>	4	15	8	89
	<b>None</b>	14	52	0	0
<b>Total</b>		27	100	9	100

This suggests some ambiguity around the subject of cultural inclusivity and in particular, about the scope of diversity that the ISW are referring to. For example, one website stated:

*...promotes an interest in, awareness of, and appreciation of cultural diversity ... We recognise the cultural differences of a diverse range of students, and the need to embrace these into our own school culture (ISW2).*

It was not clear how this was done and what place exactly was given to other cultures in relation to the school culture which stems from western cultures. Professing to promote intercultural understanding on one hand and implying cultural exclusivity on the other, exposes a paradox which is evident on the ISW. The development of the intercultural student then assumes a one-sided approach and this points at the role of international education in transfusing western cultures as part of a neo-colonialism (Wylie, 2008).

### **Subtheme 3: Career Aspirations**

Of particular interest on the ISW were images of students at various states of flourishing which also indicated their dispositions towards future careers. Images are foremost to make an impression on websites and their use facilitates the forming of an emotional connection between the company advertising its services, and the prospective clientele (Cyr et al., 2009). In other words, images in advertising evoke some degree of emotional engagement with the viewer (Harrison, 2003). Figures 6.3 and 6.4 are examples of images which were symbolic of the nature of aspirations promoted by the

websites. Figure 6.3 from ISW14 is an image of students appearing to be performing in an orchestra. An orchestra is symbolic of class, order and talent. It is also symbolic of western influence because of it is rooted in western classical music. The image suggests that the students' aspirations are of a higher order, something other than their immediate environment can offer. This is especially so because the orchestra is not a common form of musical entertainment in Nigeria.



**Figure 6.3** Students playing in an orchestra (ISW14)

An in-depth analysis of Figure 6.4 emphasises the point made about Figure 6.3. Figure 6.4 is an image of a student of white ethnicity, dressed in professional baseball attire and appearing to be engaged in playing the game. Although he appears to be playing on a field, he is the main focus in the photo and there are no other players in the background. He is looking forwards and in the direction to which he appears to have thrown the ball or running. He has also assumed the right posture for the game and has the ideal physique for sports which is emphasised by the muscular lines on his arms and neck. The symbolic nature of the photo is likely to give the prospective clientele an impression about the students' skills, achievements and aspirations.



**Figure 6.4** Student in baseball attire (ISW3)

Underpinning the stories that this image tells, however, are messages that have neo-colonial connotations. Firstly, the image might simply represent the school's ability to train their students to attain competences or skills required to be professional players in the sport. Baseball is mostly known to have professional leagues in North America and therefore, it would be more desirable to pursue a professional career in the sport in countries within that region. This finding also appears to imply that students may not aspire to compete in the local leagues of their indigenous countries or join national teams since they may not be locally played in developing countries such as Nigeria. In the event where the teams or leagues are present in the indigenous country, there is clearly more potential for career growth and successes in the leagues of the richer countries of the west than those of developing countries. This is especially so with baseball being socially positioned as a middle class sport in the US (Carter, 1999). With the ethnicity of the student in the image being white, the website implies that the schools are able to reproduce the status of a white American middle class.

Secondly, it can be argued that these international schools may be developing competences that are not useful in the indigenous context and the students are presented



as prospective workers in western sports markets. This raises concerns that Nigeria loses valuable human resource through the activities of international schools and may be linked to discourses of international migration of human capital, brain-drain from the global south to the global north (Blachford and Zhang, 2014) or the globalisation of human capital as perceived by Khadria (2001). These phenomena which are argued to be underpinned by the forces of neo-colonialism (Ford-Jones, 2009) do not only occur in the sporting profession but in every facet of human capital. It continues with increasing intensity as economic conditions in developing countries worsen (Levy, 2003).

### **Summary**

This chapter has explored the extent to which international schools present and represent neo-colonial values. Inequalities on social and economic levels, western hegemonic dominance and neo-colonial aspirations were found to be predominantly represented on the websites. These values expressed the supremacy of the west and the inferiority of the local. The websites assumed and appealed to prospective Nigerian elite parents' neo-colonial identities. The representations also reflected the intensifying consumerist and instrumentalist inclinations of the global education market. At a superficial level their students are written across the pages as subjects of an imagined boundless global space, riding on the wings of international education to furnish them with the qualifications required to flourish in that space as adults. However, underpinning these representations are the enduring discourses of the neo-colonial intent of the west in the globalised world.

It is important to find the connections and similarities between the representations on the websites, and the actual experiences of indigenous students. The next chapter provides an insight into the complexities embedded in the contradictions and conflicts in the cultural contexts within which the development of student identities are taking place.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **MY SON TALKED AND REASONED LIKE AN AMERICAN STUDENT**

#### **Introduction**

The previous chapter presented an analysis of a sample of websites of international and Nigerian schools to give an understanding of how neo-colonial values were inscribed on the messages deployed by the international schools' websites. The analysis provided an initial perspective of the ideological and cultural context within which international schools promoted that their students' learning took place. There was a clear understanding of the neo-colonial background of the prospective clientele on the websites. Representations depicting the inequalities, western hegemonic dominance and neo-colonial aspirations were inscribed across the websites. This chapter builds on the argument that neo-colonialism is a context for international education and indigenous student identities by examining the situations that underpin the negotiation of indigenous students' identities. The analysis is based on data from the teacher questionnaires (Appendix 7) and the parent interviews (Appendix 9). The rationale for investigating the teachers' and parents' voice is based on the fact that the students navigate their cultural identities located between home and school, represented by the pressures of parents and the practices of teachers. It was therefore important to understand the perspectives of stakeholders in the social environment where the students' identities are negotiated.

The theme for this chapter is 'complexities of contradictions and conflicts underpinning the development of student identities'. This theme is discussed under the following subthemes:

1. Marginalising nature of the schools' practices
2. Parental Quagmire

The chapter argues that the complexities and conflicts lead up to student conflicts that are discussed in the next chapter. By first examining the subtheme - marginalising nature of the schools' practices which appear to be exclusive of indigenous cultures and knowledge, the chapter argues that the schools promote western individualistic values and undermine the students' traditional community orientation. The second subtheme, parental quagmire, examines the contradictions and conflicts the parents experience as a result of the choice of sending their children to international schools. It also explore how these conflicts are inexorably passed on to their children. The thesis suggests that the pursuit of western education which is a neo-colonialism conflicts with the parents' desires for maintaining and developing their children's indigenous cultural identities.

### **Subtheme 1: Marginalising nature of schooling experiences**

International schools, by nature of their practices are managed through organisational structures that reflect the cultures of their originating countries and affiliations (Sylvester, 1998). The analysis will show that this appears to come with marginalising positions for formal and informal learning about Nigeria in terms of its cultures, and knowledge within the schools in this study.

In examining the significance of the absence of Nigerian knowledge and cultures in the schools' practices, it was necessary to obtain an overview of the proportion of Nigerian students within those schools. This would give credence to the arguments about the implications of the marginalisation of Nigerian cultures and knowledge. Table 7.1 shows that a total of 91% (79) of teachers indicated that Nigerian students constituted the majority in their classes.

**Table 7.1** Proportion of Nigerian students in classes

<b>Statement</b>		<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Nigerian students constitute the highest population in my class.</b>	<b>Yes</b>	79	91
	<b>No</b>	7	8
	<b>Unsure</b>	1	1
<b>Total</b>		87	100

This constitutes a difference of 83 percentage points when compared with 8% (7) of teachers who reported Nigerian students did not make up a majority in their classes. Only 25% (22) of the teachers reported that their students were offered Nigerian cultural activities at school while 73% (63) indicated that they rarely or did not provide their students with such activities as shown in Table 7.2.

**Table 7.2** Nigerian cultural activities provided by teachers

<b>Statement</b>		<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Cultural activities include Nigerian cultural activities.</b>	<b>Often/Sometimes</b>	22	25
	<b>Rarely/Never</b>	63	73
	<b>Unsure</b>	2	2
<b>Total</b>		87	100

This is a notable difference of 48 percentage points which suggests that the students had minimal contact with the local cultures despite the fact there are more Nigerian students in the schools as shown above. Although it is expected that these activities would vary in the degree and forms in which they are introduced at school, it appears the schools did not provide a wide range of opportunities to engage the students in their cultures. It may then be argued that international schools consist of students from many cultural backgrounds from around the globe. However, the proportion of Nigerian students

outweigh those of students of other nationalities as reported by the teachers. It would be expected that the local culture is awarded a significant place in the students' schooling experiences.

The results presented in Table 7.3 show written responses to the statement: Give examples of activities with Nigerian cultural content that students are engaged in and how often these are carried out. A total of 67% (58) of the teachers in this study responded to the question: It is not known why 33% (29) of the teachers did not answer the question. It may however be reflective of the ambiguities around the inclusions and exclusions of Nigerian related content in the schooling experiences. The results show that 42% (37) of the teachers reported that cultural activities for Nigeria Day celebrations were the only local cultural activities that the students were offered. Nigeria Day is an annual event held around October 1 of every year to mark the country's independence from British colonisers which occurred in 1960. It appears to be an opportunity the international schools provide for students to learn about Nigerian cultures. The Nigeria Day activities listed by the teachers comprised of presentations and assemblies that involved displaying aspects of Nigerian cultures.

**Table 7.3:** List of cultural activities taking place in schools including frequency

<b>Responses</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>frequency</b>
<b>Nigerian Day celebrations</b>	37	42	Annually
<b>School clubs e.g. drama, art and music</b>	13	15	Not clear
<b>Part of the formal curriculum</b>	8	10	6 weeks annually
<b>No response</b>	29	33	
<b>Total</b>	87	100	

A total of 15% (13) mentioned that their students were engaged in school clubs such as dancing, drama, art, music, cooking relating to Nigerian culture. Responses on how

often the activities took place were unclear. It appears that the clubs were on offer based on the initiative of a teacher to offer the activities and the students choose whether or not to attend. The results suggest the irregularities and inconsistencies regarding the extent to which Nigerian cultural contents were included by the teachers.

A considerably small proportion of the teachers, 10% (8), indicated the inclusion of Nigerian studies which comprised of formal learning of aspects of Nigerian language, history, culture and geography. The subject was covered in a period of six weeks. Compared to cases where Nigerian studies as a subject is not included in the curriculum, it might seem a commendable idea, however, a number of issues are raised which questions the nature of its inclusion. Such issues include the scope and level of work that is covered on Nigeria, its sufficiency in apprising indigenous students of their country's history, getting them meaningfully engaged with Nigerian literature and the amount of time set out for the learning.

The title 'Nigerian Studies' appears too general and suggests a sense of exclusion and relegation which points at the extent to which learning about the host country is subjugated. Nigeria is thus objectivised and studied as an exteriority. It is important to state that this study does not consider the teaching of Nigerian studies to be equated with teaching Nigerian cultures but simply noting the 'how and when' it is given any place at all in the curriculum. Nigerian Studies might seem to be one of the very few moments when students learn about the country's history, government and literature on a formal basis and thus, a part of Nigeria's cultural heritage. However, it does appear to be associated with marginalising implications.

The above findings are therefore indicative of the place that is afforded the local culture in international schools. Simandiraki (2006: 47- 48) refers to such annual representations of other cultures by international schools as 'institutionalised cultural marginalisation' where there are scarcely any true reflections of those cultures in the schools' everyday practices. It also exposes the contradictions in the claim of promoting

interculturalism by international schools. Poore (2005) argues that the local culture is awarded little consideration in the international school students' schooling experiences.

This in itself contradicts the expectations of the Nigerian National Policy on Education which stipulates the promotion of cultural practices in schools as a means of strengthening cultural identity and national unity (FRN, 2004). There are no standards or specialised regulatory mechanisms set up by the Nigerian government to monitor the practices of international schools and it would seem these schools work in complete isolation with regards to the host country's education policies. Such international schools, considered as having encapsulated missions (Sylvester, 1998) are modelled after particular foreign national systems of education (Jabal, 2013) and do not reflect a precise international focus even when they claim to (Sylvester, 1998). The assumption is that, if they do not reflect the local cultures, they are international. Thus, marginalisation of Nigerian cultures in the schooling experiences exemplifies the contradictions that are inherent in the claim of being international by these schools. In addition, it is indicative that the students are likely to exhibit behaviours and mannerisms promoted by the schools (Bernstein, 2000). It is suggested that the degree of importance the students attach to practicing their cultures may be influenced by the level of appreciation and relevance accorded the cultures in school. Therefore, as Simandiraki (2006) argues, the everyday practices of the schools may engender inferiorising attitudes towards indigenous cultures. Kuokkannen (2000) argues that influential colonial institutions such as educational systems work to develop these attitudes in the colonised people. This sort of marginalisation was also seen in the teachers' choice of resources. For example, 83% (72) of the teachers agreed they preferred to use foreign web resources as shown in Table 7.4.

**Table 7.4** Teachers' Preferences for Websites

<b>Statement</b>		<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>I prefer foreign websites for my resources</b>	<b>Strongly Agree/Agree</b>	72	83
	<b>Disagree/Strongly Disagree</b>	9	10
	<b>Unsure</b>	6	7
<b>Total</b>		87	100

This is related to the fact that the students do not fully learn anything about Nigeria as part of the curriculum. Therefore, educational resources from Nigerian websites which are likely to be centred on knowledge in the Nigerian context, are not deemed relevant by a majority of the teachers. This is indicated in Table 7.5 which shows that 62% (54) of the teachers believe that there are few Nigerian websites that are relevant for their students' learning, 16% disagreed while 22% (19) were unsure.

**Table 7.5** Relevance of Nigerian websites to learning

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>I believe there are few Nigerian websites that are relevant for our learning</b>	<b>Strongly Agree/Agree</b>	54	62
	<b>Disagree/Strongly Disagree</b>	14	16
	<b>Unsure</b>	19	22
<b>Total</b>		87	100

This is in turn reflected in the type of web resources that their students are likely to use as shown in Table 7.6. Only 16% of the teachers reported their students referred to Nigerian websites for their learning as shown in Table 7.6. It is only reasonable for the



students to use resources that are recommended by their teachers and are relevant to their learning.

**Table 7.6** Students' use of websites

<b>Statement</b>		<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>My students refer to Nigerian websites for their school work</b>	<b>Often/Sometimes</b>	14	16
	<b>Rarely/Never</b>	64	74
	<b>Unsure</b>	9	10
<b>Total</b>		87	100

The results also suggest that the hegemony of western ideologies is perpetuated through the use of message systems such as ICT in international schools. ICT has become a necessity in the perpetuation of colonialism and according to Wylie (2011), its emergence as an indispensable part of learning is a new form of colonialism because of western hegemony of information on the internet. Liftin (2002; 65) argues that 'new technologies can empower or disempower social actors – states, groups, classes and institutions'. This includes local culture and knowledge as shown in the practices of the teachers in these schools. However, there are arguments that suggest that ICT opens up the world because it transcends boundaries. This study argues that ICT is dominated by western discourses and this is a way that cultural colonisation continues to be propagated. Wylie (2011; 62) argues the impact of ICT is resulting in an 'epistemological shift' and this is likely to be the case for indigenous students whose learning is mostly based on information that is constructed by the west.

By their practices therefore, international schools communicate to indigenous students that the local realities are not important. This may influence their perceptions of the relevance or value of learning about Nigeria. This study argues that indigenous students are not given access to knowledge of their country in curriculum subjects that is expected of them to learn in formal environments such as schools. In addition, the

students miss out on rich educational opportunities to learn about their countries. It appears as if they are studying in different contexts to their immediate surroundings and this point raises questions as to how they are able to apply their learning in subjects such as geography, history or even mathematics to their present social and physical location. For example, the subject of money in mathematics is taught using British or American currency based on the prescription of the curriculum in use, whereas the Naira is the Nigerian currency. Such knowledge is not readily applicable within the Nigerian context. So it appears that application to the immediate context may not be what the curriculum aims to achieve. Another example is the content of curriculum of subjects in the humanities. Schools following the English national curriculum for example study the humanities as it relates to the cultures and contexts in England. Indigenous students learn about British history, geography and cultures at the expense of Nigerian cultures and environment. They therefore do not have the opportunity to learn about the rich history and cultural heritage that make up the geographical entity known as Nigeria at school. These inclinations of international schools continue to point at the low degree of relevance that is awarded to learning about Nigeria. This idea is also mirrored in the teachers' perception of relevant locations for school trips.

The results on Table 7.7 show that 83% (72) of the teachers think that Nigerian locations are rich sites for learning. However, there was a near even split between teachers who believed that there is more to learn from school trips abroad than in Nigeria and those who disagreed as shown in Table 7.8.

**Table 7.7** Teachers' perceptions about using Nigerian locations for school trips

<b>Statement</b>		<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>I think Nigerian locations are rich sites for learning</b>	<b>Strongly Agree/Agree</b>	72	83
	<b>Disagree/Strongly Disagree</b>	8	9
	<b>Unsure</b>	7	8
<b>Total</b>		87	100

A total of 40% (35 – two in five) believe there is more to learn from school trips abroad than in Nigeria, 47% (41) disagreed while 13% (11) were unsure.

**Table 7.8** Teachers' beliefs about the value school trips abroad

<b>Statement</b>		<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>I believe there is more to learn from trips abroad than Nigerian locations</b>	<b>Strongly Agree/Agree</b>	35	40
	<b>Disagree/Strongly Disagree</b>	41	47
	<b>Unsure</b>	11	13
<b>Total</b>		87	100

The results of the teachers' beliefs suggest that a significant proportion of teachers may more readily expose their students to realities in the west to consolidate their learning and that the students may be more conversant about the western knowledge that the schools promote. This suggestion is consistent with the argument that the students appear to be positioned in a different reality to that of other Nigerian citizens who do not attend such schools. It can be argued that western realities are the elite realities in Nigeria and its reproduction in the indigenous students is crucial to the maintenance of that class. This is reflected in the teachers' responses to the question of how their

students view the world presented in Table 7.9. A total of 78% (68) agreed that their students see the world differently from other Nigerians, 13% (11) disagreed while 9% (8) were unsure.

**Table 7.9** Teachers' beliefs about how students view the world

Statement		n	%
<b>I believe that my students learn to see the world differently to other Nigerians.</b>	<b>Strongly Agree/Agree</b>	68	78
	<b>Disagree/Strongly Disagree</b>	11	13
	<b>Unsure</b>	8	9
<b>Total</b>		87	100

Although it could be argued that one aim of international education is to develop within the students a perspective that the world is a global village and that they are citizens within this context, a different reality to this is created by the nature of educational provisions within these schools. Schools like those in this study which have a high proportion of indigenous students appear not to take their cultural and national backgrounds into consideration when setting out their educational provisions. Teachers' responses in Table 7.10 show that 91% (79) could say that their classes were little global communities, 7% (6) agreed while 2% (2) were unsure.

**Table 7.10** Global communities within classrooms

Statement		n	%
<b>I could say that my class was a little global community.</b>	<b>Strongly Agree/Agree</b>	7	91
		9	
	<b>Disagree/Strongly Disagree</b>	6	7
	<b>Unsure</b>	2	2
<b>Total</b>		8	100
		7	

It could be argued that the teachers refer to the multinational population of their students. However, a large proportion also claim Nigerian students constitute the highest population in their classes (79% - Table 7.1) and thus, this contradicts the idea. This contradiction questions whether the teachers are then mistaken in their representations of the realities within their classrooms or if they are actors in the propagation of the perspective of globalisation that promotes western cultural and economic dominance. It is suggested that there are a variety of conceptions of what the idea of global citizenship might mean to different international schools (Bates, 2012). The nature of global citizens they claim to produce is based on those different ideas (ibid). This determines the nature of their curricula, pedagogies and assessments (ibid). Matthews and Sidhu (2005) argue that international education is unable to foster the development of true global citizenship because of its economic inclinations.

According to the results in Table 7.11, 92% (80) of the teachers agree that it is important that students are engaged in Nigerian cultural activities in school, 3% (3) disagreed while 5% (4) were unsure.

**Table 7.11** Teachers' Perspectives about students' engagement in Nigerian cultural activities

<b>Statement</b>		<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>It is important that students are engaged in Nigerian cultural activities in school.</b>	<b>Strongly Agree/Agree</b>	80	93
	<b>Disagree/Strongly Disagree</b>	3	3
	<b>Unsure</b>	4	5
<b>Total</b>		87	100

This is not surprising given the proportion of teachers who were from Africa which is illustrated in Table 7.12. A total of 60% (52) of the teachers were of African ethnicities,

21% (18) were European, 9% (8) were Asian while 10% were from the US. Even teachers of other ethnicities would agree. However, this majority is not reflected in the degree of Nigerian cultural activities provided by the teachers.

**Table 7.12** Geographic origin of teachers

<b>Question</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>What part of the world are you from?</b>		
<b>Europe</b>	18	21
<b>Asia</b>	8	9
<b>US</b>	9	10
<b>Africa</b>	52	60
<b>Total</b>	87	100

This questions if the teachers are passive transmitters of western education, or their cultural inclinations if they be non-western, are also subsumed by the dominant cultures within the schools. It may also be that the non-western teachers are experiencing renegotiations in their cultural identities and this may be due to professional expectations. Thus, the indigenous teachers themselves may be disarmed from including their local cultural activities by the expectations in their professional practices. This finding is supported by results in Table 7.13 which show that only 10% (9) of teachers agreed that they did not see the need to include Nigerian cultural activities in the students' learning, while a large proportion of 86% (75) disagreed, a difference of 76 percentage points. It follows that, even though most teachers saw the need to include these activities, they are still not included to a large extent. This study does not suggest that there may be no cultural exchanges between Nigerian students and teachers within the schools or that the teachers have shed or are shedding their indigenous identities but merely observing that there appears to be a positioning of Nigerian cultures in relation to the western cultures that the schools promote.

**Table 7.13** Perceptions of teachers on the need to include Nigerian cultures in the students' learning

Statement	Responses	n	%
<b>I do not see the need to include Nigerian cultural activities in the students' learning.</b>	<b>Strongly</b>	9	10
	<b>Agree/Agree</b>		
	<b>Disagree/Strongly</b>	75	86
	<b>Disagree</b>		
	<b>Unsure</b>	3	4
<b>Total</b>		87	100

Although the primary focus of this research is not on the teachers, their perspectives provide an insight into the complexities embedded in the cultural context within which the students are immersed. The practical context of international education as shown by the analyses of results of teacher questionnaires appears to be grounded in western ideologies and exclusive of other ideological, and cultural perspectives. Therefore, they appear to maintain an individualistic positionality within the Nigerian education context. Practices within these schools appear to depict a historical pattern of western colonialism of knowledge and its production, and reflect contemporary neo-colonial imposition on developing countries through agencies like international schools. In the light of the analyses, this thesis argues that the schools in this study are models of neo-colonial education. Although the political apparatus for their control is no longer in place as it was during the colonial era, they are able to enact the same practices though the strategy and purposes have shifted. This is mostly achieved through the promotion of what is perceived to be global education which in reality appears to be a universalised form of western education (Wylie, 2011). These contradictions are embedded in the indigenous student's schooling experiences at an international school.

In addition, this study argues that the host country's culture and knowledge are relegated to an object that is studied or entirely absent from the indigenous students' schooling experiences. The impact of western educational provisions on indigenous

students' behaviours and responses to local cultures in Vanuatu was previously examined by Wylie (2008). He concluded that the continuation of the colonisation of Ni-Vanuatu was enabled by the transmission of western education and questioned the role of international education in a new global imperialism (ibid).

Apart from the complexities and contradictions embedded with the schooling experiences discussed above, there are other issues within the context of their development that send conflicting signals about the value of indigenous cultures. Analyses of data from the parent interviews provide insight into those issues.

### **Subtheme 2: Parental Quagmire**

This section examines the parents' conflicts relating to their children's schooling experiences. Drawing on the data analysis of the parent interviews, this section argues that the parents experience a dilemma between purchasing the education that the schools provide and the realisation of its undesirable influences on their children's behaviours. This dilemma creates contradictions and conflicts that are likely to place onerous demands on their children's identities. The section begins by discussing the conflicts of interests that are embedded in their choices to send their children to an international school. It then examines ways that they manage this dilemma. These issues are discussed under two headings:

1. Dilemma of value and aspiration
2. Managing the dilemma

#### ***Dilemma of value and aspiration***

Analyses in this section consider parents' positions about the role the international schools play in their children's cultural development. It examines the contradictions within the data about the values that the parents want their children to learn. The discussions will show the dilemma for parents who perceive international education to



be attractive because of its benefits and a possible threat because they believe their children are losing out on learning about their country and culture.

- *International Education as an Attraction*

The increasing growth of international schools rests on factors such as the fact that parents in developing countries are keenly attracted to their educational provisions and perceived benefits. Mackenzie (2009) examined the reasons behind Japanese parents' attraction to international schools. The results showed that the desire for their children to have an international education ranked the highest. This was followed by first impressions about the schools and the curriculum in use (ibid). Hayden and Thompson (2008) claim that the learning of English language was the significant attraction of parents in developing countries to these schools. In a previously colonised country like Nigeria where English is the lingua franca, international education becomes an attraction for even more complex reasons. Perhaps, Mackenzie's reasons bear more resonance with the justification given by parents in this study.

A significant attraction to international schools for parents in this study was that, they provided much better and sophisticated educational experiences, and outcomes than Nigerian schools. This sentiment was shared by all parents in the interviews. This is exemplified in the comments of two parents who said:

*International schools are obviously better than Nigerian schools and that is why my kids are here. I want my kids in the best schools as long as I can afford it (Parent G).*

*My child is actually gaining a lot compared to when she was in a Nigerian school. The teachers pay attention to detail and they really work hard with the students using various ways to ensure that learning occurs (Parent K).*

The parents appear to have observed differences between international schools and Nigerian schools. These appear to be reasonable causes why those who can afford it will choose to enrol their children at an international school. The parents blamed the failing Nigerian education system for this difference. This is reflected in one parent's comment:

*Nigerian educational system has failed the students and it has left them ill-equipped to face the challenges of a changing world in terms of technology, science and so on (Parent O).*

The same narrative of failing national education systems given by Japanese parents in MacKenzie's (2009) study as a reason for sending their children to international schools appear to be reiterated in this study. The idea that parents consider international education as a preferable alternative to local education systems is recurrent in the literature (Hayden and Thompson, 2008; Mackenzie, 2009; Brown and Lauder, 2011; Bunnell, 2014). It does appear that the growth of international schools is hinged on this narrative. One related reason the parents in this study gave is the widening opportunities that attending international schools provided for their children. One parent said:

*I want my children to fit into the global market and not be tied down to their local community (Parent O).*

In other words, the parents believe that the schooling experiences gave their children access to progress towards being players in the global terrain and not mere workers within the local economy. From their perspectives, most parents in this study appear to suggest that the Nigerian system of education failed in a way that it is unable to prepare students to compete globally. One parent said:

*Let's face it, the world is a global community and this is the type of education our children need. They can fit into any part of the world (Parent E).*

It can be argued that the concept of the education that children of the local elite 'need' is one that better equips them to fit in the west rather than globally or one that equates their cultural identity with those of western students as one parent suggests:

*I had the opportunity of taking my son to start university in Indiana, USA and the lecturers were very impressed at their first impressions of him. He was quite different from other international students. It didn't seem that he had just arrived from Nigeria. They were amazed that my son talked and reasoned like an American student (Parent U).*

Parent U's comments suggest that being commended by westerners about how similar her son appeared to other American students gave validity to her preference for international education. However, there are doubts as to how well a lecturer in a US university would understand what it truly means to be a Nigerian and how this is different or similar to being an American. It does point out, however, that indigenous

students might find it easier to integrate into western communities and leaves the question as to how they fit into their local communities.

Another aspiration related reason some parents mentioned was based on the class of people who enrolled their children in such schools. For example one parent said:

*Apart from the fact that there is the desired social presence and I mean both the affluent and the international, international schools give you value for your money (Parent R).*

It appeared that it was quite important to the parents that their children socialised with other children of the Nigerian elite. This is consistent with Brown and Lauder's (2011) claim that international schools play a role in the maintenance of social inequalities in previously colonised states. Song (2013) also argues that within the South Korean context, international education facilitates social reproduction of the elite. One parent said:

*All of my children's major relationships were formed in this school. I think they understand that the school makes them stand out and it has made them who they are in society today (Parent U).*

One value related factor mentioned by all parents in this study was that their children developed autonomy of thought from their schooling experiences. One parent said:

*I value the exposure and the fact that my children are not restricted from expressing themselves. I like the fact that they have a mind of their own unlike when they were in Nigerian schools, I had to choose and make their decisions for them (Parent D).*

Autonomy of thought was also found to be an important ability that some parents of international school students in Japan (MacKenzie, 2009) and South Korea (Song, 2013) thought their children acquired from their schooling experiences. This may be reflective of the globalist mission of international schools (Cambridge, 2003) that includes globalising outcomes such that their products could be said to have similar individualistic attributes irrespective of the location of the schools and the students' ethnic backgrounds. This mission is reflective of Ritzer's (2006) mcdonalidisation

which suggest the globalisation of uniformity in institutional practices such as those of international schools.

The parents appeared critical of the ideological influence of Nigerian schools which led the students not to be autonomous in their thinking. However, autonomy of thought is valued variously in different cultures. When compared with valued conventions of restraint embedded in Nigerian communitarianist cultures, the parents were quick to disregard the latter as pretentious and expressed a preference for the individualistic values that international schools helped their children develop. This was especially expressed by one parent who said:

*In Nigerian culture, there is a lot of pretence and people do what others want them to do unlike the western culture where people are more open to expressing themselves, not minding what anyone thinks about it. This school gives them the opportunity to stand up for themselves and what they believe in (Parent O).*

Parents in this study were seen to assume the same stance towards western values as they did for the nature of educational provisions that international schools provided. From their perspectives, Nigerian schools could not match these advantages. The acculturation that international schools offered was thus a major attraction for these parents. Individual autonomy as was presented by the west was preferred to indigenous submission to community will. This implies that some aspects of neo-colonialism are actively welcomed by the parents.

Another value oriented reason some parents gave was that their children developed intercultural dexterity because of the multicultural nature of the school communities. One parent said:

*I value the fact that my children appreciate other cultures because of the exposure that the international education gives them (Parent U).*

More often in the literature, the notion that international schools are multicultural with regards to their student and staff composition is more visible. The schools are referred to with the metaphor of a 'melting pot' (Cambridge, 2009) to describe the mixing

together of cultures to produce a hybrid. International schools are also noted for their ability to cultivate intercultural dexterity in their students (Hill, 2006). This appears to be a strong selling point for the schools as parents in this study refer to this value as an attraction. Given the student composition of the schools in this study and the cultural inclinations of the schools, the melting pot of cultures appears to take the form of a crucible, and more time is spent burning off dross than in the refinement of precious metal (Stout, 2005). In other words, instead of the forming of a hybrid culture from the mix of many cultures, a variant of the dominant western culture emerges (Cambridge, 2009). It does appear that the parents in this study, are unmindful of the fact that there are more indigenous students than foreigners in the schools. Maybe they refer to the school aims, the nature of curricula, pedagogies, schooling experiences in general or behaviours they have observed in their children. Some parents appeared to boast about their children's intercultural abilities. One parent said:

*My children can interact with anybody no matter the culture because they are exposed to that life here (Parent C).*

Heyward (2002; 9) defines intercultural literacy as the 'understandings, competences, attitudes, language proficiencies, participation and identities necessary for successful cross-cultural engagement'. Whether the schools are truly able to furnish their students with such competencies is questionable given their exclusive practices. The parents however, appear to believe that their children can navigate across cultures as a result of their schooling experiences. The development of interculturalism may also be an aspiration related rationale for the parents because it becomes a valuable asset in the pursuit of careers in the very competitive global job market (Jones, 2013). Intercultural dexterity thus positioned their children as more advantaged in terms of global opportunities.

One related value their children acquired, according to some parents was equality with white people. One parent said:

*I value the fact that my daughter doesn't see white people as strange or different like we did when we were young. She see them as equal members of society with her (Parent J).*

It appears that this parent perceives international education plays a decolonising role but in actuality it reinforces the same neo-colonialisations that are being avoided. Nigerian education is rejected for its inferiority and the education that the schools provide is embraced as it appears to confer equality with western status. This points at the extent to which parents are purchasing more than is desired as it shows that the means by which they attempt to rid their children of a neo-colonial mentality only serve to further its course.

In summary, the attraction to international education by parents tends to have neo-colonial underpinnings of the superiority of the value of western education and the associated benefits, and the furtherance of the maintenance of social inequalities. The parents appear to be all too aware of these and are happy with what they believe they are purchasing. However, with the associated benefits of sending their children to an international school come unwanted social and cultural costs. The next section offers an alternative perspective that the parents expressed as undesirable costs accrued from the pursuit of an international education.

- *International Education as a threat*

International education was seen as a threat to Nigerian values by most parents in this study. The analyses suggest that the parents thought their children's schooling experiences contributed to the gradual or eventual loss of their indigenous cultural identities. It appears that over time, parents realised the influence of the schooling experiences on their children's behaviours. Most parents were critical on this subject and this is exemplified by one parent who said:

*One of the greatest disadvantages of international schools is that my kids are losing their own culture because of the exposure to the western cultures in this school. I am concerned that my kids are losing the ability to be true Africans because of trying to imitate white people. I don't like this. They are too vocal. In Nigeria we are more careful with what we say and how we say it, especially to adults (Parent N).*

Individualistic behaviours such as independence of thought appeared to be interpreted as rudeness in their interactions with adults who were more inclined towards practicing

Nigerian cultures. These were seen as an undesirable accompaniment of schooling internationally. Thus, these parents indicated they were happy with their children being independent thinkers, but they expected them not to portray such behaviours in their relations with other Nigerian adults. This was mainly related to how such behaviours were interpreted as unseemly in Nigerian cultures. The parents may therefore be sending conflicting messages to their children. On one hand, they express their approval of their children's independence of thought and individualities. On the other hand, there is a limitation placed on where and when the latter are allowed to display them. This suggests that parents contribute to the issues of conflicts experienced by their children discussed in the next chapter. The parents on their own are also faced with the dilemma of weighting the perceived advantages of international education against the loss of indigenous cultural values.

Another dilemma expressed by most parents was the exclusion of Nigerian cultures from their children's schooling experiences. One parent said:

*It looks like there is a down play of our culture and it makes us feel that our culture is inferior when people come here and cannot learn about us (Parent S).*

Parent S feels undermined that other people come to Nigeria and do not learn anything about it but she does not refer to the fact that her children are also not learning about their indigenous country. Perhaps, this is an oversight that is articulated in other references to the undesirable influences of their children's schooling experiences. However, her statement points to the extent to which some parents seem at ease with the cultural effects of the schooling experiences. In essence, the parents complain about the neo-colonial experiences, they and their children being subjects of such cultural onslaught by the school. For their children, it is about the form of education that excludes local realities and cultures. For the parents, their neo-colonial experiences tend to stem from feelings of inferiority that arise from the concept of western education in their country that excludes knowledge about Nigeria and indigenous cultures. Feelings of anger were also expressed as well. One parent complained:

*I feel my children are learning very little about their country. It's no wonder that our kids know very little about their own country. During the education*

*fair, my children kept talking about the history of America and my husband was very angry (Parent N).*

It was as though the parents did not have a clear picture of the nature of the educational provisions before they enrolled their children in the schools or that their expectations did not match the schools'. Parent N's comment may provide an insight into the degree of some parents' acquaintance with the contents of their children's learning, either they were too busy with their work to look in their children's books or the schools did not deliver the provisions that were expected. However, it is clear that there are some communication issues between the parents and the school which may have led to dissonance. This situation is consistent with reports from Tucker and Fail's (2007) research at an international school in Thailand which showed that there was a serious divide between the Thai parents' and western teachers' educational expectations for students in terms of curriculum and learning.

One parent questioned the lack of Nigerian content in the school curriculum in relation to how US curricula is presented in the US:

*In this school, there is little or no reference to local literature or authors. In the US, Chinua Achebe's works are required reading in Maryland and I think International schools should incorporate this in their curriculum. How much of our contemporary authors do our children know about? (Parent D)*

Parent D's comment implies that the international schools in question are using a particular version of US school curricula rather than those that embrace African literatures or other cultures. Building on arguments on the nature of the school curricula in the previous section, this suggests that the international schools may be selective in their choices of curricula that exclude Nigerian content, thus revealing their neo-colonial orientation.

One parent suggested that the subjugation of the Nigerian cultures is made possible because Nigerians also engage in inferiorising their own cultures:

*How can you be in Africa and you don't read our books or know our authors? But Shakespeare is very widely read and known here. When we*



*down-play our culture and our quality, then people can ride all over us. It's funny that our children school here and they know so little about the culture and what is going on around them. How many of our children have really participated in cultural dances or even seen our cultural displays? When you want to subjugate a people, you teach them your culture and make them sing your song, read your books, things they can't relate to (Parent T).*

Some parents did not appear to have expressed any objections to the degree of inclusion or exclusion of Nigerian content in their children's learning to the schools. During this aspect of the interview, some of them needed to be reassured of the anonymity clause included in the information about the research because they did not want to be identified as those raising such contentious and sensitive issues. However, it is likely that others may not have been given the opportunity to voice their concerns or when they did, their complaints were not addressed. One parent said:

*We have mentioned this at the Parents Teachers association meeting before and nothing has been done about it (Parent T).*

This is suggested because the discussions during every parent group interview seamlessly led to this point even though no question was asked regarding the inclusion of Nigerian cultures in their children's learning. This situation suggests that there may be some unexpressed tensions between parents and the school about their children's learning. It was as though, the interviews provided the chance to voice these concerns. Thus, the interviews gave voice to the parents' views. This may be a good focus for further research.

It is also possible that the perceived gains of international education outweighed the parents' concerns (Mackenzie, 2009). The actions or inactions of the parents suggest that the very much desired goals of gaining or maintaining elitist status and acquiring global mobility (Hayden and Thompson, 2008) which fuels the pursuit for western knowledge referred to by Smith (1999) as a neo-colonialism, is worth the loss of their children's cultural identities. Therefore, parents may play an unconscious or perhaps conscious role in encouraging the development of neo-colonial attitudes in their children.

Notably, Parent T suggests that the very practice of the international schools is aimed at subjugating the local people and this is consistent with Thiong'o's (1986) argument about the erosion of indigenous identities as a result of western education. However, some issues arise from the parents' criticisms in the interviews, such as why international schools seem to be increasing in developing countries with more enrolment of indigenous students when such sentiments abound; why the parents do not put up a resistance against such cultural invasions as some of them appear to be feeling very strongly about it and what the local educational systems are doing about regulating international schools' practice. The points raised by the analyses also question the parents' role in familiarising their children with indigenous cultures. For example, Parent T's questioning of the number of children who had seen their cultural displays or participated in local cultural practices is suggestive that the parents appear to entrust their children's cultural upbringing to the schools to a large extent. Perhaps, the schools perceive this cultural heritage dimension to be a parental responsibility since they do not entirely mask their western orientations. However, there are explicit contradictions in their claim to be international and yet, provide education that is based on a single western individualistic perspective.

In summary, it is clear from the data that some parents feel unhappy about the culturally eroding influences of the international schools but unclear about their ability to resist the force of neo-colonialism. They appear to attest to the superiority of western cultures over indigenous cultures while being critical of the international schools for treating them as inferior. The parents may not be exempt from the blame since sending their children to the schools is a choice that they have made and appear to be enjoying some benefits. Thus, the parents present conflicting narratives of their ambitions for their children and this is likely reflected in the cultural expectations as well. The perceived privileging of their children by the experiences and qualifications of western education appears to be the driving force behind this, hence the source of disarmament of their resistance to such cultural colonisation.

### ***Managing the Dilemma***

The discussions above have suggested that parents appear to be disarmed by the gains of schooling internationally and they seem to be victims of the cultural dominance in the practices of international schools. However, the data also shows that in managing this dilemma, some parents appear to be facilitators of the western acculturation process while others genuinely make an effort to teach their children to appreciate their indigenous cultures. The analyses suggest that indigenous cultures appeared not to hold as much importance as the benefits of international schooling and parents are prepared to put their apprehensions aside because of the perceived privileging social, and economic advantages that international education confers on their children. Having said that, these apprehensions are not shelved lightly by some parents and some employ several approaches in managing this dilemma. Two of these ways are

1. Strict adherence to Nigerian cultural practices in their homes
2. Withdrawing their children from the schools

#### ***- Strict adherence to Nigerian cultural practices in their homes***

It is suggested that dutifully following Nigerian cultural practices in their homes is one way that parents try to counter some of the perceived undesirable cultural effects of their children's schooling experiences. These parents did not condone their children's western behaviours in their homes or outside the school premises. One parent said:

*My kids are not very compliant and so I have to remind them. They want to bring the way they behave in school to the home but I would have none of that (Parent R).*

It is possible the parents want their children to adapt behaviours to the contrasting environments in which they find themselves. However, this situation appears complex to deal with since the children are sent to the schools by their parents in the first place. The parents may confuse their children by being selective of places and situations where their children could exhibit western behaviours. Thus, they may be engendering conflicts within their children as well. For example, parents corrected their children's behaviours in the presence of other adults. One parent said:

*My kids are reprimanded immediately, when they say 'Hi' to adults, they must greet – 'good morning sir or good morning ma' (Parent K).*

It is assumed the parents were keen to ensure their children did not embarrass them with their perceived western behaviours in the presence of more traditional Nigerians. In addition, they may not want to appear to be encouraging their children's western behaviours before Nigerians who found this distasteful.

Chimamanda Adichie, a Nigerian writer whose stories exemplify the current inclinations of Nigerian cultures (Adichie, 2013; 458) in her novel, 'Americanah', reflects this idea in a conversation involving one of her characters:

I realized that if I ever have children, I don't want them to have American childhoods. I don't want them to say 'Hi' to adults, I want them to say 'Good morning' and 'Good afternoon'... Is that terribly conservative?

This excerpt is reflective of how some Nigerians resist cultural influence from the west or object to losing elements of their cultures. It also shows that the conflict of cultures and ideologies is present within cultural communities in Nigeria even though the country has been an independent nation since 1960. So, for parents who share such opinions expressed in Adichie's writings or who tend to associate with other Nigerian people who do, the strict adherence to Nigerian customs in their homes appears to be a solution to the eroding of their children's Nigerianness. They tend to impose restrictions on their children's freedom of choice of what behaviours to present in the presence of certain audiences. For example, one parent said:

*The moment they leave school my children are only allowed to speak Ibo (a Nigerian language). English language is not allowed in my home (Parent P).*

In the case of some parents in this study, they appeared to have resolved to compel their children to conform to cultural expectations by the use of force. One parent said:

*Sometimes it comes with some aggression and we have to be very aggressive and firm, force them to do things our traditional way (Parent D).*

Given the way the parents feel about their children's conformity to indigenous cultural expectations and the extent some are willing to go to ensure their children fall in line, it is expected that they should be more pro-active about complaining to the schools on the nature of educational provisions. Rather than do this, some parents choose to withdraw their children from the international schools and send them to Nigerian boarding schools.

- ***Withdrawing children from the school***

This appeared to be an option that was expressed by few parents in the interviews and it does add interesting contributions to the arguments made so far. One parent said:

*It is because of this [referring to international school's influence on her children's cultural behaviours] that I took my older son to a proper Nigerian boarding school, so that he can go and learn our culture, at least he is now independent minded, no one can take that from him (Parent O).*

There is a contradiction in Parent O's earlier claims of low educational standards in Nigerian schools if they are seen as an alternative to counter the culturally eroding influence of international schools. It may, however, suggest that the parents feel so strongly about the loss of indigenous cultural identities that they are willing to eschew the other benefits of international education to ensure their children learn their indigenous cultures. The transition to Nigerian schools was not without difficulties but the parents appeared not to mind. One parent said:

*My kids transit from here to Nigerian schools easily, although they struggle a bit in the first year to catch up, especially with the maths (Parent K).*

It may be that Nigerian schools have good standards after all if their children struggle to settle and earlier reference to difference in standards may just be related to curriculum and pedagogical approach. Withdrawing children from international schools was also noted by MacKenzie (2009) as a way that parents managed the dilemma. Potentially, this has consequences for indigenous student populations in international schools within developing countries like Nigeria or countries where indigenous cultures are necessary for the individual's integration to societies like South Korea or China. The root of this may be the obvious mismatch between the parents and school expectations. Parents in

this group appear to sieve what they can from international educational experiences before moving their children on to Nigerian schools.

This section has examined the dilemma of value and aspiration faced by parents in this study and provided a brief insight into some ways that it was managed. The tensions and contradictions shown in the analyses point at a new type of colonialism where the pursuit of western knowledge and the acquisition of western cultural capital appears to disarm the parents' resistance to what is an interruption in the development of indigenous cultural identities. This is considerably different from the old colonialism where indigenous people were forced to take on new cultural identities. The parents in this study are key players in this process and are complicit in the development of their children's neo-colonial identities.

International schools offer what seems to be a desirable quality of education but in actuality there are other unwanted accompaniments in the entire schooling package which are undeclared. However, when the parents become aware of this, they appear to be disarmed by the perceived gains in the outcomes of schooling internationally and very few put up a resistance. Most accept it but complain at the same time. Their attempts at resistance are not aimed towards the schools except for the few who withdraw their children. Rather, their children are given contrasting expectations in an attempt to help them retain aspects of their indigenous identities. Thus, the parents present contradictory narratives of their ambitions for their children with potential implications on their cultural identities.

## **Summary**

This chapter has examined the complexities that surround the indigenous students' development and the analyses have shown that the school and parents contribute to conflicts that they are likely to experience. The schools in this study employ western approaches with marginalising implications for Nigerian knowledge and cultures. There are also variances between the teachers' perspectives and what they allude to be their

actual practices. These contradictions are bound to influence indigenous students' behaviours and their perceptions of indigenous cultures. The parents also send contradictory signals through their conflicted positions on the benefits and disadvantages that come with the international education package. It is within this barrage of contradictions and conflicts that indigenous students negotiate their identities. The next chapter examines the theme: 'A conflict of worlds' which provides an insight into the students' perceptions and attitudes towards indigenous cultures.

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **MY PARENTS WANT ME TO LIVE IN THEIR WORLD**

#### **Introduction**

The previous chapter examined the complexities of contradictions and conflicts embedded in contexts within which students negotiated their identities, drawing on teachers' and parents' voice. This chapter draws on the data analyses of the student interview and vignettes to examine the conflicts expressed in the students' perspectives and attitudes towards indigenous cultures. The main theme under which this is discussed is 'a conflict of worlds'. The analyses show that the students appear to be living in two conflicting worlds as they navigate between Nigerian cultural communities and the school. The conflicts that they experience are as a result of trying to make sense of both worlds within the context that they find themselves. Through these conflicts, their neo-colonial orientations are reinforced. These issues are discussed under the following subthemes:

1. Perceptions and attitudes towards indigenous cultures
2. Conflicts at personal, home and community levels

#### **Subtheme 1: Perceptions and attitudes towards indigenous cultures**

This section argues that the students idealise western cultures and denigrate their indigenous customary practices to validate their choice to present western behaviours. According to David and Okazaki (2006), colonial mentality bestows an inferior status to one's indigenous culture and nation whilst attributing superiority to cultures, and values of western origin. A neo-colonial mentality was implied from the students' narratives. This is presented in two different ways:

1. The cultures are too hard to follow
2. Nigerian cultures are outdated



### ***The cultures are too hard to follow***

Most students in the interviews considered the indigenous practices too hard to follow and wanted what they thought to be a more simplified lifestyle that they perceived the western cultures offered. One of such indigenous customs is deferring to adults which contrasted with their inclinations to relate with both young and old as equals. These were reflected in their interactions with older Nigerian people. One student said:

*All these traditions about not looking adults in the eye when you speak to them or not being free to air your opinions are just too demanding (Student 6L).*

These students did not see the need to defer to adults. Young people (within Nigerian cultures) are generally expected to show a level of respect to adults that they would not usually accord their friends (Gannon and Pillai, 2013). Children who do not exercise the expected caution in their speech and mannerisms when speaking to adults are considered ill-mannered (Timyan, 1988) and a source of embarrassment to their parents. Parents do their best to present their children in the best light. For example one student said:

*My parents expect me to look quiet and respectful when an older relative comes to visit and you are not expected to join in their conversations or disagree with them (Student 10B).*

These conventions were noted to be quite contrary to the expectations in international schools where the one student claimed they were free to express themselves and could relate freely with their teachers as children in the west do. One student said:

*Nigerian traditions are just too difficult, for example, when adults are talking and a child tries to contribute to the conversation, the adults shut him up because they think it is disrespectful ... It's not the same in our school or in England (Student 10C).*

In comparison with their notions of western cultures, these students considered the behavioural expectations of their cultures quite restrictive. Their perceptions of the indigenous cultures do not take into account the values and the nuances in certain cultural practices. This suggests a conscious or unconscious act of using western cultures to measure the genuineness of indigenous cultures. In other words, western cultural practices are positioned as a yardstick for measuring and authenticating acceptable ways of behaving or interacting (David and Okazaki, 2006). By doing so, the

students mirror what their parents do as discussed in chapter 7. This contributes to the argument that some parents are facilitators of the subsuming of their children's indigenous identities. It also raises questions about how much of western traditional behaviours the students understand and upon what sources of knowledge they base their perceptions of the west. It could be argued that travelling to western locations for educational trips, frequenting the west during school holidays and the use of technological media, amongst other factors, afford students a glimpse of western societies. These cannot, however, provide the broad appreciation that being part of a culture gives. It could then be argued that their schooling milieu and experiences provide an imagined screen through which they can form these assumptions as the data suggest. One student said:

*I think home and school are just two totally different places. Our school is modern ....but our homes are just Nigerian (Student 9C).*

The use of the word 'just' in Student 9C's statement is a way of diminishing the importance of their home and participating in Nigerian cultures. It positions the home as less important and inferior, and this might be reflective of the student's imagination. Thus, these students may be colonised by their own imaginations which are fed by the realities in their schooling experiences.

### ***Nigerian cultures are outdated***

According to Anand (2007), chronopolitics, the politics of time, is a medium for forms of representations by the west to justify claims of modernity. Hence, this is one way by which neo-colonialism is realised (Hindess, 2008). This idea is replicated in the students' perceptions of their indigenous cultures in comparison with western cultures. One student said:

*Nigerian cultures are old-fashioned. There are newer and easier ways of doing things now (Student 10M).*

The students assumed they were operating from a modern and hence much more superior position than their parents, and other members of their communities who were inclined towards indigenous cultures. For example, one student said:

*Nigerian customs are not important to me but they are important to others [other Nigerians] because we are 21<sup>st</sup> century people. Other people see*

*these customs as a sign of respect. We don't show respect any more but others do (Student 6E).*

There is a sense that the realities of their indigenous communities are exterior to their world and it appears that they suggest that they have a modern, and civilized identity. It is also clear from the statement above that the student once showed respect like other Nigerians but does not do so anymore. This suggests that the gradual subsuming of traditional community orientations that is the main finding of this thesis.

According to the students, the local cultural practices could not be accepted as modern and did not seem to suit their concept of modernity, which appeared to be navigated using western cultural behaviours. One student complained:

*Times have changed. It is modern times now; people shouldn't dwell on old values, we have to adapt to newer times, you have to let go of the customs that are not necessary like the killing of twins. If people let that go, why can't they let other unnecessary customs go? (Student 9B)*

The killing of twins referred to by student 9B was eradicated in the city of Calabar in southern Nigeria with the intervention of western influence personified by the much celebrated Mary Slessor. She was a missionary in the southern regions of Nigeria between the late 1800s and early 1900s (Obinna, 2011). At that time, the birth of twins was perceived to be an evil omen and they were killed at birth. Student 9B appears to note the historical shift in cultural behaviours but still equates present cultural practices with the past traditional beliefs that were stopped by the influence of western colonialism. According to Friedman (1994; 82):

Authentic culture tends to be seen as blockage and superstition and is lumped together with the natural, irrational, savage and juvenile, also relegated to the spatial and temporary periphery of civilized identity.

One student said:

*I always wonder why we can't extend our civilized attitudes from school to home but most of the things we do at home are traditionally African (Student 9J).*

This idea reflects underlying colonising concepts which suggest the indigenous people are uncivilised (Welch, 1988). Living in modern and civilised times from the students'

perspectives thus required non-conformity to indigenous cultural standards. Student 9J's comment reflects the views that African cultures are not a significant constituent of global cultures and brings up the contradictions that lie in present globalised terrain. Westernisation as a notion is seen as the driver of modernisation, the latter concept having developed into today's globalisation (Jiafeng, 2009). Globalisation appears to be the universalisation of modernity as prescribed by the west (Escobar, 2010) or the imposition of western 'provincialism as universalism' (Quijano, 2010; 31). Consequently, when the students refer to a state of being modern, they imply living what they see as western lifestyles. It appeared that conventions requiring conformity to indigenous cultural standards were rejected and substituted with what was thought to be modern, and therefore western. This is synonymous with David and Okazaki's (2006) definition of neo-colonial mentality where anything from the west is considered better than the indigenous by the colonised. In choosing western customs over indigenous cultures, the students display a degree of neo-colonial mentality. These perceptions about Nigerian cultures are expressed through attitudes towards indigenous customs. Nigerian dress and greeting were aspects of the local customs frequently referred to in the interviews. These are discussed in the next sections.

#### - *Nigerian Dress*

Findings from the interviews showed that the students had mixed feelings towards wearing Nigerian clothes. One student said:

*I can't be seen by my friends in my traditional clothes. I can only wear them to church because my parents insist but to nowhere else (Student 9J).*

It appeared that it was embarrassing for this student to be seen wearing indigenous attire. Some students noted Nigerian clothes were uncomfortable and that they were required to wear them regardless of the weather even though they were unwilling. One student voiced her preference for wearing western attire during ceremonious occasions which involved the playing host to dignitaries:

*Nigerian clothes are so hot and uncomfortable. You have to have a certain dressing because you are meeting traditional dignitaries and you have to spend a long time attending to the customs. The most annoying thing is that you are not even allowed to wear a tank top and I don't like the situation (Student 9P).*

The construction of African clothes as ‘traditional’ in comparison to western clothes is rooted in colonial dualisms and stereotypes. These stereotypes represent African cultures as traditional and western ways as civilised or modern (Rovine, 2009). The word traditional is used to refer to the exotic or the historical today. This dualism continues to exist today in the western popular imagination (ibid) and is evidenced by such casual references to anything African as traditional and west as modern as most students’ comments exemplify. From this perspective, western dress shows a person’s individuality, autonomy of mind and character in contrast to non-western attire which is presumed to be monotonous and artefact-ish, and is preferably worn as a costume (Craik, 1994). One student said:

*There’s just no point wearing beads and tying a wrapper, you can wear normal clothes like jeans and t-shirts (Student 10S).*

Thus, it appeared that Nigerian cultural attires as described above were considered to be in the range of artefacts or abnormal while western clothes were seen as the normal. This is consistent with Simandiraki’s (2006) argument that representations of the indigenous cultures within the international school setting is fossilised and categorised with the historical. This idea is reflected in student 10S’ comment. In all, the students suggest that the traditional attires are not contemporary. Their attitudes may appear justified since the contemporary fashion in Nigeria is seen to mix a wide range of local and foreign cultural styles, sewn with local fabrics. Western-styled clothes sewn with traditional material seemed to be more acceptable to the students. One student noted wearing such clothes when they travelled to western countries distinguished them and drew some positive attention:

*When we travel overseas like America and London, people there love to see us dress up in the latest styles made with our local materials and they think they are fashionable and unique. It’s the same styles as their clothes but with fabrics from our country (Student 10C).*

African materials sewn in western fashion symbolise the kind of identity portrayed by some students in this study, particularly those who appeared not to claim any cultural affinity with their indigenous communities. This is discussed later in this chapter. The choice and style of dressing reflects a person’s values, and inherent identity (Unger and

Raymond, 1974). It also reveals particular feelings towards the culture which it represents. These students appeared to appreciate the clothes because of the approval from people with western backgrounds. The data appears to suggest that the current trends of western styled Nigerian clothes are fashionable and that is why the students tend to wear them. Those who show disapproval of the students' choices to look more western are said to have cultures that are fixed in time, especially where issues to do with perceptions of dressing with modesty are concerned. One female student said:

*In terms of dressing, Nigerian people have a fixed mentality. They are a bit judgmental when I show a little skin (Student 12I).*

In summary, most students in this study appeared to be dismissive about wearing Nigerian clothes unless they were styled in western fashion.

#### - ***Greeting***

In Nigeria, greeting is a very important way that respect is conveyed and there may be interplay of factors which determine what is considered an appropriate way of showing respect during greeting. One effect of colonial rule in Nigeria is the considerable disintegration of cultural forms of greeting (Shaka, 2005). Modern Nigerian cultures are a hybrid of African and European cultures (ibid). This is reflected in the degree of difference between how greeting is exchanged in rural and urban Nigerian communities, with the latter having less time and interest in the extended traditional approaches to greeting (ibid). These differences may also be noticeable in the students' interactions with Nigerian people who were more inclined towards practicing their indigenous cultures and with those who appeared to be less inclined. Generally, when greeting an adult in English Language, a younger person is expected to say 'good morning', 'good afternoon' and further inquire about the other person's wellbeing (Enahoro, 1998). Some students appeared to be more inclined to rushing the greeting process:

*What is wrong with just greeting hello and walking away? (Student 10D)*

Some parents would usually be embarrassed if their children were to greet adults in that manner because culturally, it is interpreted as disrespectful. In Nigeria, the Yorubas (an indigenous people who predominantly originate from south-western Nigeria) for

example, use greetings to create an air of sociability, communicate cultural information and for value reinforcement (Schleicher, 1997). In that light, it ought not to be rushed or taken lightly (Enahoro, 1998).

The students appear to navigate between complex social groups with differing cultural expectations. For example, one student asked:

*You meet a lot of people. If you bend down for everyone what will happen to your legs and would they all understand that form of greeting (Student 9P)?*

Student 9P's statement appears to be underpinned by individualistic currents and this contrasts with Nigerian cultural expectations of submitting one's self to the will of the community. She also appears to consider the cultural diversity of people she meets but does not imply the adapting of behaviour to accommodate this diversity. So, the students in this study tended to assume a more individualistic stance in their approach to greeting, choosing to greet in the way that they preferred and not as other Nigerian people would expect. Thus, tensions underpinned by ideological differences are bound to emerge as the students interact with Nigerians who are more inclined towards practicing their cultures. Their preference appears to be attuned to a different community's 'will': the will of the West rather than the community and culture that surrounds them. Their justification is couched in individualistic terms. For example, some students indicated that indigenous forms of greetings were seen as humiliating and challenging one's individuality. This was mainly because the greetings tended to require submissive physical gestures such as prostrating and bowing. This sentiment was mentioned by one student who said:

*I think lying down flat to greet an older person in the Yoruba culture is ridiculous because that person is not your God (Student 9K).*

In showing dismissive attitudes toward the Nigerian forms of greeting, the students appeared to situate their indigenous cultures as irrelevant to their personal social climate. One student who said:

*My teachers don't expect me to prostrate when greeting them like that or the parents of my white friends or even some Nigerian people (Student J).*

Thus, comments like this reiterated in the data, reinforce the finding that the students consider Nigerian customs the least relevant to be considered in their intercultural communications. This is also implied by a student who considered customary greeting expectations as weird:

*Bowing my head to greet feels weird (Student 6E).*

There was a sense that the cultures were more of a nuisance that the students had to deal with. For example, one student said:

*I think kneeling to greet is going overboard because it is a little too much and the whole respect issue demands more than what someone can truly give, if you are honest (Student 10T).*

It is interesting to draw from the comments above that, in dismissing their indigenous cultural forms of greeting, these students appear to mirror the cultural superiority that is evident in the practices of international schools.

In summary, the narratives above showed certain imagined representations of Nigerian cultures which are reflective of the nature of the stereotyping of indigenous cultures that was characteristic of colonial practices (Anand, 2007). This stereotyping still occurs in the current global cultural order as argued above. Using examples of dress and greeting, the students' perceptions and attitudes towards Nigerian cultures have been shown to suggest firstly, that they were inferior to western cultures. Secondly, indigenous cultures should not be practiced because they were not modern. In other words, their narratives appear to suggest that modernity was exclusively a western property. The next subtheme discusses conflicts that students experience on two levels: self and community.

## **Subtheme 2: Personal, home and community level conflicts**

Under this subtheme, conflicts ensuing from the students' perception and responses to indigenous customary practices are examined. The interpretation of the narrative (NV) and pictorial vignettes (PV), and student interviews form the data pool employed in this



analysis of student subjectivities. Verbal and written narratives provide insight into how individuals come to understand and perceive their world, and how they wish to be identified (Bamberg, 2004). The conflicts are discussed on three levels: personal, home and community.

- *Personal-level conflicts*

This section examines student narratives of themselves, how they define their identities or want to be understood. It also suggests the ideological positions from which the speakers enact their identities (Bamberg, 2004). It draws upon this to suggest an incoherence in the expression of indigenous student identities.

Although the students appeared to undergo a process of western acculturation from their educational experiences, there were two main narratives regarding how they considered their individual identities: Not belonging and pretended belonging. These were mostly expressed in their responses to issues of belongingness to their indigenous communities and conformity to customary expectations. The first group which comprised of most of the students in the study, made representations of themselves as not having a sense of belonging toward the local cultural communities and did not conform to cultural expectations. The second group represents those who were inwardly rebellious of their indigenous or school cultures but chose to project a chameleon identity to avoid conflict. These categories are discussed below.

- *Not belonging*

Students in this group perceived themselves to be something other than Nigerians. This is evidenced from responses to the questions in the pictorial vignette which featured a picture of a classroom in an international school. The teacher was of white ethnicity while the students appeared to be from diverse backgrounds. The class appeared to be happily engaged in a lesson (See Appendix 10). One student's response to the question: 'How do you see yourself in relation to others?' exemplifies this narrative of *not belonging*:

*I look like many other Nigerians but in my mind, I am an American (PV6).*

Conceding that they were of Nigerian heritage, they were also quick to verbally establish some cultural distance between themselves and other Nigerians. Although the student above was not asked to explain his conception of what it means to look like a Nigerian or to be an American, the statement suggests that there are perceived cultural distances between such students and the people referred to as ‘other Nigerians’. It is likely that the student sees him/herself as belonging to the culture that is predominant in the educational setting as reflected in the pictorial vignette.

This group of students negotiated their identities by differentiating themselves from other Nigerians. For example, one student said:

*We have a different background to the Nigerians. We do things differently (Student 10U).*

According to Pollock and van Reken (2001), representations of the self are made in terms of the ‘other’. In comparison with other Nigerians who were more inclined towards indigenous cultures, this group of students saw themselves as different. It also appears that they relied on social interactions and structures within their schooling experiences to cultivate a sense of self as evidenced by the statement of one student who wrote:

*Sometimes people tell me I don’t behave like a Nigerian because of my attitude which has changed since I started attending this school and inside me I say that’s because I belong to everywhere. I also think it’s because I have become more intellectual because of the way we do things here (PV10).*

In other words, the students’ representations of themselves were therefore grounded in the nature of interactions within a particular context (Pham and Saltmarsh, 2013), which in this case, are their schooling experiences. However, these representations appear to portray a neo-colonial mentality which assumes that there is less or a lack of intellectual capital in the educational practice of Nigerian schools. Thus, the link between having superior intellectual capital to western schooling experiences is reinforced by the students. This was also reflected on the international school websites and evidenced by data from parent interviews discussed in the previous chapters. Notably, the above

student claims to belong everywhere but this is also woven into the idea that the western schooling experiences confer this identity. The claim is also consistent with how colonial education portrayed British culture and interests as universal, and boundless (Risvi, 2008). However, it was only a means of universalising British provincialism (Quijano, 2010).

The claim to be different is reinforced in their assumed ownership of a different culture as exemplified in responses to the narrative vignette which presented the story of a cultural clash between a girl who attended an international school and her neighbours who attended a Nigerian school (See Appendix 11). One student recounted a similar experience to the story:

*I actually was in her place. I felt different because I wasn't like them but it's my culture and that's the way I behave. People should respect that (NV9).*

It is not always possible for these representations to be accepted by other Nigerians, given that these students live within their indigenous cultural communities (Onishi and Murphy-Shigematsu, 2003). The insistence that 'people should respect that' as stated by this student, depicts that there are likely to be some resistance from Nigerian people who were more inclined towards practicing their cultures. This reveals the potential for conflicts which stem from a refusal to be considered as belonging to their indigenous cultural communities. This is elaborated more upon in the section that examines students' conflict at the community level. The data suggest that there is a cultural gap between this group of students and their local cultural communities.

Hanchanlash (2004) had similar findings in her discussions with sixth formers of Thai heritage who attended an international school in Thailand. She recalled having a sense she was interacting with young foreigners. From her interactions, she observed that the students' representations of themselves lacked some form of connection to their Thai roots. In this study, the gap between the students and communities was widened by their refusal to fit into their indigenous social milieu. One student wrote:

*Others try to fit in, but I am me; not what you want me to be .... So I am nothing like other people (PV 12).*

This group upheld their sense of individuality above the demands of their individual cultural communities which required some degree of conformity to cultural expectations. Thus, they presented themselves as autonomous and this truly reflects the finding of the subsuming of traditional community by neo-colonial individualism in this thesis. Individualism was also seen through the students' expression of a lack of inclination towards being citizens of Nigeria. For example, the singing of the Nigerian national anthem which is a customary practice in Nigerian schools appeared not to hold any meaning for one student who said:

*I never sing the national anthem because there is no need. It's not like we have an assembly like the Nigerian schools that sing the national anthem as a sign of allegiance. We don't do that here because this is an American school and it [the Nigerian national anthem] is not important here (Student 12R).*

The national anthem embodies a nation's founding principles (Pontiff, 2005) and its singing reinforces those values. This data suggest that the indigenous students feel that they do not need to show allegiance to Nigeria since they attend an American school. It appears that is the sort of message the students receive by the exclusion of such practices from their schooling experiences. It raises such questions as to whom or where they owe allegiances and to which community's rule they conform to. One student said:

*We are not conformed to society like Nigerian students [who attend Nigerian schools] (Student 12M).*

In other words, Student 12M believes that they are significantly different to others who attend Nigerian schools in terms of conforming to set rules within their communities. It is assumed that students of Nigerian schools engage with their communities and participate in citizenship roles. However, students in this group appear to live in a 'foreigner's bubble' with no apparent inclination towards their indigenous country. One student said:

*I don't have any responsibility towards Nigeria - just go to school and live abroad (other students nod and laugh) (Student 9T).*

They thus appear to consider themselves to be more adaptable to living abroad (it is assumed that the word 'abroad' from this student's perspective means 'the west' as it is commonly referred to by Nigerians). It seemed that acquiring Nigerian cultural values was not needed if the students are going to live in the west, be globally mobile or become elite members of the Nigerian society. The emphasis on the pursuit of what favours the individual rather than the indigenous community in terms of economic wellbeing is likely to influence the relationships between individual and community or how the former is taught to prioritise his/her commitments to society. These students noted that they were equally considered as different by others. This difference was observed in the way other Nigerian people treated them. One student said:

*I feel random and I don't feel free because we have different backgrounds. They treat me like one 'oyibo' [westerner or white skinned person] (Student 11N).*

It appears they were treated as such because of their social behaviours which reflected a perceived western cultural capital. It goes to show that other people regarded the students with the representations they chose to give of themselves. In other words, they were being positioned in the same way that they positioned themselves (Bamberg, 2004). This has implications on how other Nigerians responded to the behaviours. In summary, students under this group were more individualistic and did not feel that they belonged to their cultural communities. Their stance on the claim to be western or different based on their schooling experiences is open to question.

#### **- *Pretended Belonging***

Although findings from the data analysis could situate most student identities along individualistic lines, there is evidence that not all of them can be placed along this axis. The second group of students was fewer and appeared to conform to expectations from both cultural environments. They appeared to have avoided conflicts by doing so. However, internal conflicts were expressed. One student said:

*To me, it's all about doing what is expected of me in different places. I know how I am expected to behave at home and school. Though they are different and sometimes I am not happy, I just try (Student 11B).*

This student's statement suggests that he knows that it may sometimes be undesirable to behave in a certain way when dealing with cultural demands from both environments. The statement also expresses a sense of resignation to being in that situation. On the surface, it looks like this group of international school students appears to have developed multiple identities, and hence easily adaptable to any cultural environment as Willis et al.'s (1994) and Sears' (2011) studies amongst others appear to indicate. However, this data may suggest that what is perceived to be 'adaptive adjustment may be really hopeless resignation to an unchangeable reality' (Gould, 2001; 79).

Students in this group made different meanings of the experiences. While some did not feel particularly inclined towards the home cultures, others preferred it. Two students suggested the former:

*At home I am not who I am but in school I am who I really am (Student U11)*

*Going back home from school every day is a very big difference for me because it feels like I am living in two worlds. I am free in school but at home, I am expected to act in a certain way to look responsible and respectful (Student 9B).*

Others feel their sense of Nigerianness is repressed at school because of the differences in cultural expectations and the adherence to the set way of behaving which appeared burdensome as two students complained:

*Whenever I go back home I just feel like I can do what I am not usually allowed to do in school. It is really not very easy to act in the way that I do in school. At home I can take off my 'oyibo' [white man's] behaviour and be myself again (Student 10M).*

*It's quite tiring. When I am in school, I have to worry about how I speak but when I go home, I don't have to keep my British accent. I don't talk like this originally, I have to use this accent in school (Student 9C).*

This illustrates how deeply the social demands in these schools require the students to change their way of life or put up a front to survive each day at school. For these few students, this appears to be a direct implication of the form of educational experiences the international schools provide. The students are able to resist the cultural imposition of the school and retain some sense of Nigerianness of value to them. In a way, they

may have felt pressured while others perhaps welcomed the opportunity to leave behind their cultural practices to cope with the complex demands of being a member of the school community. This was particularly so for one student who was new to the international school setting. The student experienced peer pressure to acquire the western cultural capital required for perceived acceptance and assimilation into the schools' social milieu:

*When I first came to this school from a Nigerian school, I tried to change my accent and become more "American". Someone pointed out that I was "faking" and I felt humiliated (NV9).*

It appears that speaking in an American accent was a cultural ticket for social integration in the above student's school. Those who did not have this ticket were made to feel uncomfortable. Their narratives suggest that they put on a chameleon identity to be able to fit into the schools' social environments. The implication is that these students may be developing a false image of self to receive the much desired social acceptance and integration human beings crave, and align themselves with their parents' goals for their education.

The above narratives provided a context through which the negotiations of the student identities could be understood and consequently ideologically situated. The claim to an identity was based on individual feelings towards the school culture as well as the cultures of the host country (Fail et al., 2004). The students appeared to display different identities in relation to the degree to which they conformed to expectations to both environments. At one end, there is the majority who do not wish to be associated with their indigenous cultures and have their loyalties on the side of the cultures their schools provide. At the other end, there are those who found it difficult to reconcile the daily demands from two very different worlds. Students in this last group can be situated on various positions on an identity spectrum ranging from those whose loyalties lie with their local culture to those who are conflicted by the entirety of the experience. However, it may be presumptuous to claim to accurately situate these identities since the narratives only provide an insight into how they are making meaning of their experiences and not the actuality of those experiences (Josselson and Lieblich, 1995).

Two significant groups of indigenous students emerge from these narratives: those who feel liberated by their schooling experience and those who feel constrained by it.

- ***Home-level conflicts***

The students in this study put up some form of resistance towards participating in their indigenous cultural practices, resulting in conflicts with their parents. One student who said:

*My parents bring religion into everything and they say there are demons in harmless video games like 'assassins' and they can't stand my behaviours. They want me to live in their own world and I will not (Student 9B)!*

There is therefore a sense of some sort of rebellion which reflects a rejection of the Nigerian cultural way of life. This student's statement suggests that there is a (perceived) difference between the world he lives in and that of his parents. Thusly, a conflict of worlds may be at play in their homes where the students feel they do not hold the same beliefs or cultural notions as their parents and resist the nudge to participate. The concept of 'world' may be, however, stronger than beliefs and cultural notions. It appears to refer to something wider that encompasses everything the students understand about themselves and the things that surround them, including the laws of nature. This thesis argues that the students' world is an imagined space created by a number of factors such as contradictions and conflicts surrounding the development of cultural identities as discussed in the previous chapter. Such resistance to Nigerian cultures is replicated in the data and it is suggested that it is borne from their inclination towards the world the school introduces them to.

One student who deliberately avoided relations that might lead to conforming to indigenous cultures said:

*I hardly relate with people at home and I am mostly by myself. So there's no cultural influence on me (Student 9S).*

This suggests that some students express their individuality in the choice of what cultural identity to take on and are willing to go to considerable lengths to resist being drawn into participating in their indigenous cultures. In other words, some students



deliberately isolate themselves from their indigenous culture in a bid to preserve the western identities they acquire from school.

The difference in their cultural backgrounds is what one student feels accounts for the conflicts between his father and himself:

*My dad's traditional Nigerian upbringing affects his reasoning. It's different from mine. We process information differently and we can't see eye to eye on most things (Student 12R).*

It follows that the students' attitudes and perceptions about indigenous cultures influence relationships with their parents and even though the parents fund their international education, there are still fundamental differences in how they perceive issues. Although these data might appear to be reflective of the usual tensions between teenage children and their parents, the students' comments reflect a sense that there are existing ideological underpinnings because of how the conflicts are perceived. For example, one student who compared Nigerian parents to American parents said:

*I think American parents are more supportive, they understand that you are doing your best and they listen to you but most Nigerian parents always argue with you and put you down and I think it is a Nigerian thing (Student 12B).*

The notion that the conflicts are exclusive to Nigerian parents indicates that the students feel their parents' cultural backgrounds are to blame. They make judgments about the cultural circumstances in their homes based on their observations of a perceived western way of life.

The students appear to desire the kind of homes they imagine their western counterparts live in and this is related to their suggestions that their homes are not modern. One student said:

*My opinion at home doesn't matter because my parents want me to do what they want. So I stay at school to do sports, so I can go home late and not face them. They are too traditional, they try to be modern but they still keep on falling back to old traditional rules (Student 9M).*

As such, their schools were seen as safe havens from their homes, where interactions were characterised by cultural clashes, resulting in conflicts. The phrase “falling back to old traditional rules” indicates the student’s mental positioning of Nigerian cultures.

Some students also noted that they felt compelled to take part in customary activities despite their reluctance.

*Because we are royalty we have to go to my dad’s village to attend to some customs and traditions. I don’t have a choice. I have to go even if I don’t want to. Sometimes, I would like to spend my holidays elsewhere but that never happens because there is always one traditional ceremony or the other we have to take part in. Even if I want to I can’t even ignore them (Student 9P).*

In other words, they participate in cultural practices but may not be as willing as expected. One student notes:

*I understand my responsibility, but I don’t really see the need to do them, for example, assuming the female role in the family. I can’t cook and I don’t see the need to learn to. I don’t really follow my responsibilities (Student 12G).*

In summary, the students show an unwillingness to conform to the indigenous cultural expectations in their homes and in cases where they do, it is likely to be as a result of compulsion. For the students, the situations translate into a conflict between conducting themselves in the way the schools encourage them to behave and meeting the Nigerian cultural expectations.

#### **- Conflict on the community level**

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the students are likely to navigate between diverse cultural communities in Nigeria. Family and community events often necessitate interactions with other Nigerian children within their age groups as well as adults. The students in this study made clear that they were put off by the perceived crude and uncivilised behaviours of Nigerian people inclined towards practicing their cultures.

They were particularly assertive about their views of students who attended Nigerian schools. The students who complained about the constraining effects of the school cultures as discussed under the previous theme did not appear to object to the views. One student said:

*Nigerian students are very aggressive and crude and I can't stand them (Student 10P).*

While most students in this study acknowledge that they have different cultural behaviours to other Nigerian students, it appears they have come to associate any attitude the latter portrays as crude and uncivilised. Recurrent in the data, is the reference to students who attend local schools as 'Nigerian students' and this goes to reinforce findings that some students like to assert some form of cultural distance between themselves and the other Nigerian people.

Conflicts in the students' interactions with other Nigerian people are reiterated in the data and these stem from factors such as their unwillingness to meet, and accommodate Nigerian cultural expectations. One student said:

*My aunt is always shouting at me because I will not kneel to greet her. She always wants me to greet her in my language but I don't really care. I can greet her but she shouldn't expect me to kneel when I do (Student 9D).*

Although this student expresses a willingness to relate with her aunt, she makes it clear it would have to be on her terms, reinforcing her individualistic identity. This appears then to collide with the communitarianist expectations within her immediate indigenous community where the codes of behaviour are more inclined towards Nigerian cultures. One student also appeared to find Nigerian adults to be controlling when they display social responsibility towards him:

*Adults always feel they have some control over you especially when they know your parents. They don't mind their business and they want me tell them stuff about myself and tell me what to do (Student 9M).*

Student 9M's comment further demonstrates the underlying ideological struggle, in this case, translates into 'my business versus our business'. In Nigeria, such sayings as 'it

takes a village to train a child' reflect the strong communitarian values within Nigeria. Adults often carry a social responsibility to look out for their neighbours' children or other people within their communities. The students in this study appear to see this as an imposition and an unwanted intrusion into their individual spaces. Culturally, Nigerians tend to relate with people on a very informal basis and a simple convention of exchanging pleasantries is usually accompanied by parties divulging some degree of personal information (Enahoro, 1998). In most cases, one person prompts the other to do so. This illustrates the more elaborate rituals that surround social interactions in Nigerian cultures as opposed to western cultures (ibid). In other words, basic interactions might show different attitudes towards physical closeness and polite distance. The students' perceived refusal to recognise and accept these differences in cultural attitudes shows a lack of dexterity in intercultural communication. Although they and their parents appeared to brag about their dexterity in intercultural communications, their accounts of the conflicts experienced within their communities showed they did not apply the skills. One student said:

*During the traditional ceremony in Benue, other children were greeting the elders in the traditional way but I didn't feel I needed to. Many of them just ignored me after that even though my father was an important dignitary there. The other children were saying that I was very proud (Student 10B).*

Some students felt children who attended Nigerian schools did not show any intercultural skills. One student said:

*Their spoken accent is different and they don't understand our British or American accents. They just laugh. A normal Nigerian child would not know about what to expect from people of other cultures and how to behave towards them but we do (Student 10C).*

What does Student 10C mean by 'a normal Nigerian child'? It seems that by saying this, she infers that Nigerian children inclined towards traditional values lack intercultural competence. However, it would appear that it is the student who does not show cultural dexterity given that they appear not to accommodate differences from other Nigerians. Perhaps, the suggestion is that cultural dexterity is best applied with foreigners

(Molinsky, 2013) or those Nigerians who have been exposed to global or western cultures as noted by one student who said:

*Some of them are cool especially those who travel abroad often (Student 10R).*

It is important to recognise that it is the markers of internationalism that is given status here rather than anything else, a status that equates anything to do with Nigerian culture as intellectually inferior and thus revealing colonial undertones (Hindess, 2008). This in itself reveals the inconsistencies that follow the claims made on the mission statements of international schools about fostering intercultural education and brings to question what intercultural space is shared within those schools. It is paradoxical to make such a claim and to have the students, who are products of that system, strongly negate it through their conduct. It is ethical to suggest that such claims could only be validated through the students' conduct.

The students also made a direct association between their perceived cultural capital and superior intellectual capacity. In other words, there is a sense that they assume that they feel that they are smarter than students who attended local schools. One student from a British school said:

*We think at a higher level and our mentality is somewhat British. We have a broad perspective towards things. I think this is because we learn about the UK. When we talk we seem to be more versatile than they [students who attend Nigerian schools] are (Student 9J).*

The issues raised here are similar to what Fanon (1968) conceives to be the lived experiences of neo-colonialism where Africans who had some familiarity with western cultures considered themselves better than their fellow kinsmen. Their behaviours are likely to engender conflict or admiration. In cases where there appeared to be positive relationships with students who attended Nigerian schools, they indicated that the international school students had the upper hand. Thus, the relations did not appear to be on equal grounds. One student said:

*Because I am trendy and act like an American, they [friends who attend Nigerian schools] want to speak like me and use the same expressions that I use. That is why they come home with me after church (Student 10U).*

The relationships were not borne out of mutual respect but were characteristically dependent on the extent to which international school students were accorded some level of superiority. It appears to be the root of the conflicts with those children who did not appear to be intimidated by their perceived western behaviours. Whilst the students in this study claim they are just being themselves, such students who attend Nigerian schools interpret their social behaviours and mannerisms as arrogance. This is voiced by one student who said:

*Whenever I am with my friends and I am talking, they can't understand me because I am talking too fast and they can't understand my accent and they say I am forming [showing-off]. They speak in Pidgin English and have proper Nigerian accents. My best friend says I either speak in Hausa[a Nigerian language] or pidgin English or I don't speak to her at all because I make her feel small but I am just being myself (Student 9P).*

On the surface, the conflicts appear to be misunderstandings based on differences in cultural behaviours. However, student 9P's comments suggest that no effort is made to adapt behaviour to make for more amicable interactions. Their behaviours appear to be snobbish and condescending, and they display little patience for what they suggest are the crude behaviours of students who attend Nigerian schools. They seem to expect others to accept their behaviours and would judge them for being crude, and not exposed to global cultures if they do not. One student wrote in response to the narrative vignette:

*I would feel more superior to them [students who attend Nigerian schools]. They lack the social skills and decorum to accommodate someone with better diction and decorum (NV12).*

Allport's contact hypothesis suggests that positive intergroup relationships are underpinned by equal status ascribed to all involved in the contact, common goals, intergroup cooperation and support by authorities, law and custom (1954). The findings suggest that the circumstances under which the students in this study and other Nigerian students interact do not meet these conditions and therefore, relations are likely to be conflicted as discussed above. Perhaps, further research into how students who attend

local schools perceive or make meaning of these interactions would throw more light into these conflicts.

The students also appeared insensitive towards cultural ethics and nuances and this was construed as cultural arrogance in their interactions with more traditional adults outside of their school communities. Two students said:

*My mum's friend told me off the other day for criticising her beliefs about circumcision. I didn't understand why I should accept her view just because it is what our tradition says. It was such a big deal to her that I had different views and disagreed with her. She even told my mum to watch me that I was becoming rude and that I needed to be put in my place (Student 12D).*

*Not showing your teeth when talking to an adult is absolutely ridiculous. I don't bother about making older people feel I care about what they are saying when I am not (Student 6E).*

Such perceived disregard for local customary conventions is likely to attract conflicts. The students stand at risk of being alienated in such social milieus if their behaviours are seen to be contradictory to the social expectations. Two students said:

*You stand a chance of being isolated from the family, I mean our extended family, if you don't conform (Student 12Y).*

*My uncle feels I am a bad influence to my cousins. They hardly come to our house anymore just because he thinks they pick up disrespectful behaviours from me (Student 10C).*

In summary, the analyses have shown that the students' behaviours are perceived to be contradictory to Nigerian cultural behaviours. This is argued by this thesis to be a direct consequence of their educational experiences. The conflicts in relationships result from the implied rejection of Nigerianness as reflected in their perceptions and attitudes towards Nigerian cultures. The substitution of western conventions for Nigerian is seen as rude and disrespectful by adults. These are the very issues Fanon (1968; 224) suggests are characteristic of people with a neo-colonial mentality: 'Insofar as he conceives of European culture as a means of stripping himself of his race, he becomes alienated'. The suggestion is that, if the students deliberately present western behaviours when they know what is expected of them, then there is likely to be conflict.

## Summary

Fafunwa's (1995) description of the nature of interactions between students who attended missionary boarding schools in Nigeria during the colonial rule and other Nigerian people can be associated with some experiences described in this chapter. The semblance is apparent in the students' attitudes of inferiorising Nigerian cultures and those who practiced them as this chapter has shown. More recent representations or conceptualisations of Nigerian cultural milieus and identities found in media, and literature (Adichie, 2009; Gannon and Pillai, 2013) depict a nation with a hybrid of western and African cultures with a tendency for people in urban areas to be more accepting of western traditions. However, this appears not to affect the students' perceptions of the cultures as shown above. Their perceptions therefore, point at the enduring secondariness of colonised people (Said, 1989). The students appear to have found residence in the rhetoric that their indigenous cultures are inferior to western cultures and that their perceived cultural dispositions confer a more superior social status over Nigerians more inclined to practicing their cultures. They also appear to be colonised by their own imaginations about western life. However, these imaginations are fed by idealistic representations and cultural expectations within their schools which conflict significantly with those of the indigenous communities. Therefore they navigate between conflicting worlds, resulting in personal conflicts regarding their ideological positioning of themselves and in their relationships with other Nigerian people. This thesis argues that these experiences underpin the subsuming of the students' indigenous cultural identities by post-colonial individualism that is cultivated by their schools on one hand and by their parents' complicity on the other.

This thesis also argues that the tensions and conflicts are of a different order to what may be characterized as 'normal' inter-generational conflicts experienced between the young and old across cultures (examples – Chunxia and Chao, 2005; Vdovina, 2006; Smol'kin, 2011) or as the usual cultural conflicts between people of varying traditional values and beliefs. The students experience conflict in their relationships with Nigerian people of all ages who did not appear to possess their perceived cultural capital. The conflicts are therefore underpinned by deeper ideological struggles with implications of the emergence of a new type of colonialism which sees neo-colonial individualism



being reinforced and propagated within indigenous communities by the indigenous peoples themselves.

The thesis reaches a conclusion that indigenous students attending international schools can possibly relate with the 'third culture experience'. This is because they are developing their identities from the meanings that they make from the varied experiences in their schools and communities. This study emerges with the conceptualisation of indigenous students as "Third Culture Indigenous Kids" (TCIKs). The concept indicates the forming of a third culture where indigenous students cannot identify and relate with Nigerian culture and cannot be said to have a grasp of the western cultures embedded in their schooling experiences. They reside in a third space which is a product of complexities and contradictions embedded in the contexts in which they are immersed. This is elaborated upon in the next chapter which brings together the theory and the empirical findings of this study.



## **SECTION D**

### **SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSION**

### ***Section Outline***

The conceptual framework of this thesis argued that neo-colonialism was a context for international education and indigenous student identities. The methodological framework aimed at arriving at an understanding of the contexts within which indigenous students negotiated their identities and how they made meaning of their experiences. The findings chapters tell the story of the complexities and contradictions which lead to student identity conflicts. This section which concludes the thesis, brings together theory and the evidence to present warranted arguments, and conclusions reached by the study.

Chapter 9 presents a summary of the findings of the empirical research. Using a model that depicts the various contexts with which students are negotiating their identities in hierarchal order and the outcomes, the chapter synthesises the conceptual framework and the evidence from the empirical research. Chapter is the last chapter of the thesis. It addresses the research questions and provides the concluding arguments of the thesis. It discusses the implications of the findings, the contributions made by the research, recommendations, limitations and a reflection of the PhD journey.

## **CHAPTER 9**

### **NEO-COLONIAL INDIVIDUALISM SUBSUMES TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter discusses the contribution of this thesis to the subject of international education and its associated discourses. It provides a conceptual understanding to knowledge about identities, contexts and experiences surrounding the development of indigenous students attending international schools in Nigeria. Drawing on the context embedded within the conceptual framework and informed by the empirical research, the chapter synthesises the key ideas raised by this study. Seeking to position this thesis in the context of a broader discourse of globalisation, neo-colonialism and international education, this chapter also presents a conceptual model of the nature, sources and influences of the conflicts that emerged from the findings. The arguments that are made are intended to offer a perspective drawn from the findings of this research regarding the extent to which education that is franchised by international schools results, in the development of neo-colonial identities and cultural conflicts.

This thesis argues that indigenous students attending international schools are cultivating neo-colonial identities and this is a direct result of the complexities and contradictions within the contexts of their schooling experiences. The conceptual framework drew on contemporary discourses on the converging relationship between globalisation and neo-colonialism; and how this is different to internationalism to develop an argument that international schools by their practice facilitate the spread of neo-colonial values. In other words, they promote the growth of a neo-liberalistic capitalist culture and the continued reproduction of a transnational capitalist class (Sklair, 2001) as well as strengthen social inequalities based on elitist, economic, and cultural interests. Neo-colonialism and the cultural implication on student identities were central to this argument.

## Summary of Findings

The main finding of this study is ‘neo-colonial individualism subsumes traditional community’. Table 9.1 presents a summary of the overarching theme and the subthemes including the data sources from which the analyses were made.

**Table 9.1** Overarching theme, themes and subthemes

<b>Overarching theme: Neo-colonial individualism subsumes traditional community</b>			
	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Subtheme</b>	<b>Data source</b>
Phase 1 Websites	Inequalities	social inequalities Economic inequalities	Integrated data - content and semiotic analysis
	Western hegemonic dominance	Culture and values Superiority of educational provisions	
	Neo-colonial aspirations	Educational aspirations Career aspirations Citizenship aspirations	
Phase 2 Teachers and Parents	Complexities of contradictions and conflict	Marginalising nature of schooling experiences	Teacher questionnaires Parent interviews
		Dilemma of value and aspiration	
Phase 3 Students	A conflict of worlds	Perceptions and attitudes towards indigenous cultures Conflicts at personal, home and community levels	Student interviews and vignettes

From the analyses, it was clear that neo-colonial ideologies are explicit in the schools’ status and practices. Secondly, the parent narratives of their perceptions of the educational provisions and the implications for their children’s cultural behaviours also reflected a neo-colonialism. Thirdly, the findings showed that the students’ positioning of themselves within their social milieu revealed an incoherence in their identities. The findings lead this study to suggest that the contexts within which students negotiate their identities facilitate the subsuming of their traditional community orientation by a neo-colonial western individualism. The conflicts that they experience are a reflection

of the complexities of the contradictions in the schooling experiences and their parents' dilemma.

The colonial history and present of the indigenous people plays a prominent role in the spread of colonial imperialism of western thought and cultures. Putting it simply, the inherent colonial mentality of the previously colonised which accords supremacy to western epistemic beliefs even when they are contrary to indigenous ideologies becomes a vehicle for further propagation of colonialism (David and Okazaki, 2006). The students appear to have found residence in this rhetoric by reason of their educational experiences and are consciously expressing the cultural perceived gap between what they perceive to be their cultures and those of their indigenous communities. They reject indigenous cultures as inferior and claim an identity that is perceived to be western. They appear to be colonised by their own imaginations of what is modern and this comes across strongly in representations of themselves and relationships with people in their Nigerian cultural communities. A rather significant issue arising from this study is how strongly the students appear to hold the idea of western superiority over indigenous cultures. Reference to their indigenous background with profound colonial diction suggests how deeply this is embedded within their psyches. This leaves a lot for future research into the long term implication of international education on indigenous student identities as has been carried out previously for TCKs.

Although this study agrees with the results of Wylie's (2008) studies about situations of international schools with regards to the implication of western education on non-western contexts, it provides much detail on the distinct contextual factors and processes which influence the acculturation of the students. It explores the contexts within which they negotiate their identities, the nature of conflicts that they experience and provides detailed explanations, and arguments on the ideologies that underpin the conflicts. This study also identifies with Hanchanlash's (2004) article about indigenous students attending international schools in Thailand. She argues that the students appear to be travelling on an 'international cultural overpass' and lacking (although

seeking) connections to indigenous cultures (ibid). In contrast to Hanchanlash's observations, students in this study did not display an ignorance of their indigenous cultural practices which also implies they have had opportunity to make those connections. They seem to constantly resist making them, preferring to exist in a foreigner's bubble. Rather than riding on an international cultural overpass, their traditional community identities are subsumed by neo-colonial individualism.

This thesis puts forward the idea that indigenous students within international schools are a variant of TCKs (TCKs – students who spend most of their schooling years in a foreign country) and may be referred to as TCIKs (Third Culture Indigenous Kids). They appear to hold a third culture, not as TCKs but as TCIKs. This is because the indigenous students appear to neither have a grasp of indigenous cultures nor can they be said to have western identities. The students' appreciation of indigenous cultures is based on the premise that they are inferior to the western cultures that the schools promote. They are therefore positioned somewhere between the school and community cultures.

Having investigated the complexities and contradictions embedded in the contexts of the students' experiences which feed into their experiences of conflicts, it is clear that the personal, home, and school are dimensions that play a significant role in the way the students understand their world, and how they want to live in it. It is also evident that the school exerts a much stronger influence on how the self is negotiated within these dimensions. The final task to be achieved by this thesis is to present a model to represent the nature, sources and extent of the conflicts that indigenous students experience in the context of their schooling experiences.

### **Neo-colonial Aspirations, Positions and Identities**

This thesis argues that neo-colonialism is masked in the nature of globalisation that is propagated by international schools. The schools' positions, the parents' aspirations for their children and the resulting identities of the students are all underpinned by a neo-



coloniality. The model depicts the tensions and conflicts that this thesis talks about, and illustrates several factors that underlie them. What the model is saying is that, there are conflicts that surround the negotiation of the student identities because of the pressure that the home/community and school dimensions exert. The student identity is a product of the history and interactions within these dimensions. However, the set rules in each of them do not necessarily complement the other. The model thus shows the contexts within which the students are negotiating their identities and how this is linked to the development of neo-colonial identities.

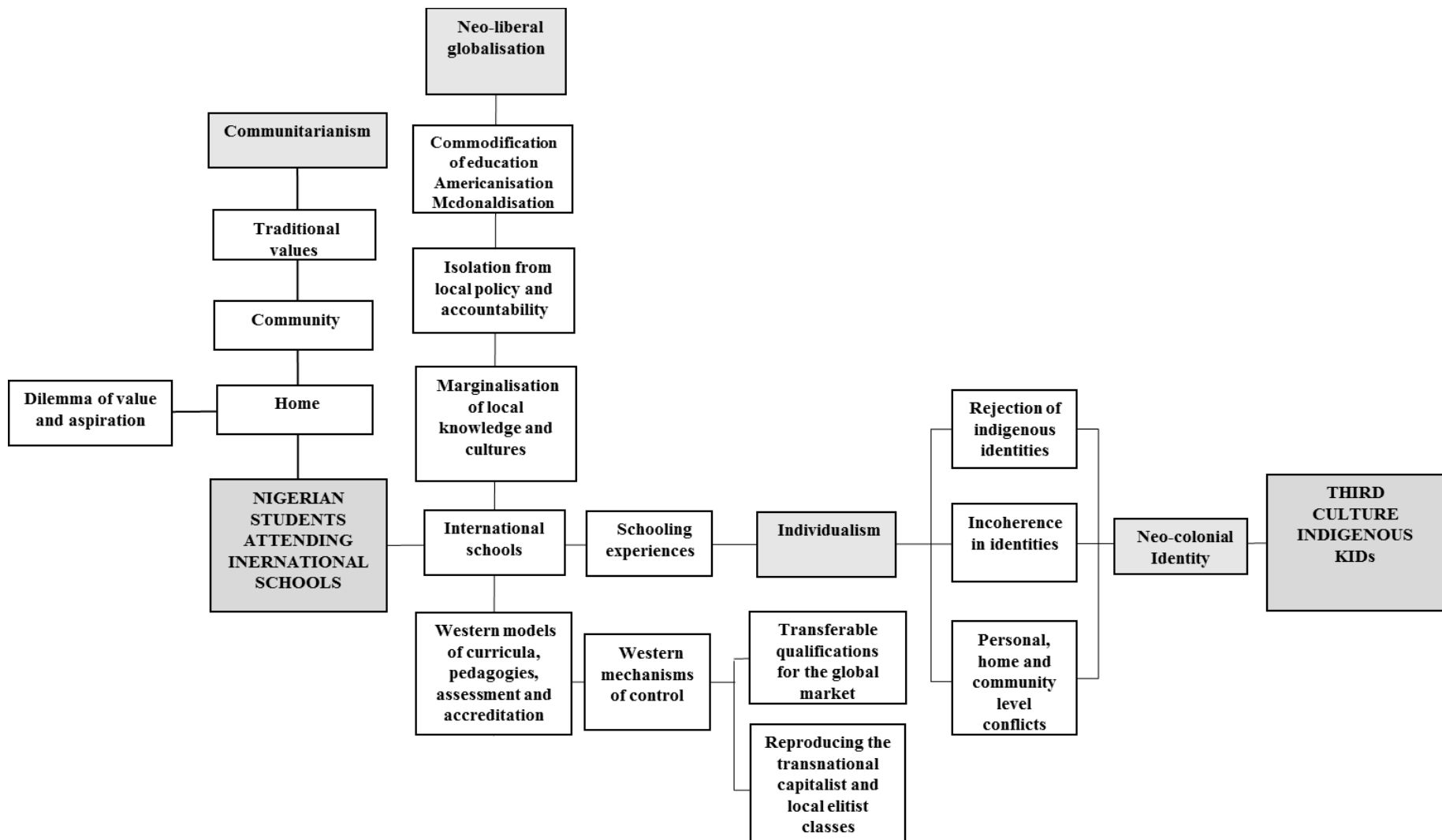


Figure 9.1 Development of neo-colonial identities within contexts and conflicts

## **The Home and Community**

This study acknowledges that Nigeria is a neo-colonial nation and that this status is evident in the social fabric of its society. This status does not however, diminish the value that is placed on indigenous cultures. The expression of the students' individualistic behaviours and their perceived disregard for local customs within indigenous communities engendered conflicts. One factor underlying this conflict is the struggle between the parents' aspirations for their children and complacency on one hand, and the indigenous cultural expectations on the other. The students encounter indigenous cultures first from their homes and then, as they interact with members of their Nigerian communities. There appears to be a difference in the degree of relevance that is placed on Nigerian cultures from both environments.

### **- *Community Values as Translated by the Home***

It is important to understand the context of the students' background and the factors that underpin the conflicts that they experience within the family dimension. As has been mentioned previously, the students are children of the local elite whose purpose of enrolling them in an international school is solely pragmatic. From the parents' perspectives, the schools are a means to achieving their desires of reproducing privilege for their children. These desires are reiterated in the literature about reasons the local elite in developing countries patronise international schools (for example, Mackenzie, 2009; Hayden and Thompson 2008). This ambition appeared to consume any objections there might be to the cultural and ideological imposition inflicted by the schools. However, their objections are not swept under the carpet. They do realise that the education they are buying is causing their children to lose their indigenous cultural inclinations but the value of western education is overwhelming in the present age. It therefore, outweighs any resistance they may want to put up. Their grievances with the nature of the educational provisions are not expressed with the will or power to do something about it or to initiate a change. Rather, they sound like 'the oppressed' within a helpless situation. There is no answer to the question of why the parents continue to put up with what some express as the denigration of Nigerian cultures which lead to the loss or erosion of indigenous identities

This scenario reflects one characteristic of neo-colonialism whereby the neo-colonised appears powerless to resist exploitation (Altinbas, 2011). This thesis however, argues that the parents are not passive actors in the loss or subsuming of their children's indigenous cultural identities but are active contributors. Perhaps, they are naively so because they may not be initially aware of the extent to which this is realised. On the other hand, it may not matter because of the present globalising climate of job opportunities and the mcdonaldisation of western cultures. In addition, by their socio-economic status, the parents are cosmopolitan and are likely to have experienced a diversity of cultures both nationally and internationally. They do however criticise aspects of indigenous expectations but do not outrightly reject their cultures. Maybe they want their children to attain that sort of criticality but this may not be to the extent of disowning their indigenous cultures. However, the parents' references to western cultures tended to be less critical and they often appeared to accept some perspectives with a finality. This shows that their intentions, though well-meaning, are shrouded with complexities and inevitably, contradictions that would relay directly into the nature of cultural expectations that they pose to their children in their homes. From the evidence produced by the empirical study, the degree of importance placed on the parents' aspirations for their children which is achieved by inculcation of western values embedded in the schooling experiences, outweighs the need for the development of Nigerianness.

- *Values expressed within the Community*

This study argues that the conflicts experienced within the family and community do not take the form of usual parent and growing children troubles or cultural conflicts between people of different ethnicities, but rather are more ideologically based. Colonisation and now globalisation have had far-reaching consequences on the degree of westernisation of Nigerian peoples and social structures (Nwegbu et al., 2011). However, this impact within its society is better described as a merger (Bisong, 1995) rather than a total subsuming by the more powerful western cultures. Nigerians are increasingly engaging in asserting their cultures and resisting aspects of western cultures that are perceived to devalue indigenous norms. Adichie (2013) captures this in one of her novels - 'Americanah' where a character expresses a distaste for western

influences on children's behaviours. She writes: 'I don't want a child who ... talks back to adults in the name of self-expression' (ibid; 458). The symbolic capital that is acquired as international school students in a post-colonial nation positions individuals as a different type of neo-colonial subjects who not only see nothing of value in indigenous cultures but reject their cultural identity.

Although the parents appear to accept some of their children's behaviours, they also want them to appreciate indigenous cultures especially as it has to do with cultures relating to respect in the wider community. However, these demands often collide with the expectations from school. The parents appear to want their children to automatically switch behaviours depending on the context and people involved in their interactions. One way of achieving this was to insist on conforming to Nigerian cultural practices once outside the school. However, the students preferred to relate with other Nigerians from a foreigner's bubble. This is exemplified in their presentations of neo-colonialist attitudes characterised by frustrations and resistance towards Nigerian customs, and is considered to fuel the conflicts.

The thesis finds common characteristics in the nature of education and disposition of Nigerian students who attended missionary boarding schools during the colonial era and the behaviours of students in this thesis. As Fafunwa (1995) explains, the students tended to act with superior attitudes in their interactions with other locals because they were taught to abandon their indigenous customs for the perceivedly more gainful culture of the coloniser. Similarly, the students in this study positioned themselves as superior to other Nigerian people who did not have similar schooling experiences. In relating with students who attended Nigerian schools, they proudly assumed the position of the superior party.

This study argues that it is the notion of western cultural supremacy embedded within the values and practices of international schools that is reproduced in the students' behaviours. The national goals for education in Nigeria which are based on the nation's philosophy of Education states clearly that individuals are to develop a strong sense of

national consciousness and the right values, and attitudes for living in the Nigerian society (FRN, 2004). The findings in this study suggest that this is not the case for the students and therefore, raise issues about how international schools are diverting students from national goals.

The students' claim to have developed cultural dexterity, also noted by the parents, was questioned by their inability to navigate the cultural nuances within the indigenous communities. It does appear that they chose to apply their intercultural skills with foreigners. This is a contradiction of what international education supposedly aims to achieve and a pointer to the neo-colonial expressions within such behaviours.

### **The Schooling Experiences**

The nature of schooling experiences reflect the missions, whether explicitly or implicitly stated, that underpin the practices of international education. It is important to explore how the schools' provisions reflect a neo-colonialism as evidenced by this study.

#### ***The International School***

It is suggested that international schools hold neo-colonial positions in terms of the influences they exert through the schooling experiences that they provide. It has been argued through the length of the thesis that international education is underpinned by neo-liberal globalisation. This is evidenced in its inclination towards the marketization and commodification of education, mcdonaldisation as a global franchise as reflected in the standardisation of curricula, and assessments. This contradicts its global mantra of promoting idealistic internationalist goals and there are therefore contradictions between what is stated as missions in theory and in practice.

The quality and purposes of international schools are argued to transcend those of national systems because they are perceived to be rooted in global notions of citizenship and intercultural understanding (Walker, 2002). The conceptual model introduced in

chapter three of this thesis (page 71) illustrates the dilemma that international schools encounter in their practice. This dilemma is between meeting their idealist missions of promoting global mindedness and intercultural understanding on one hand, and meeting globalist demands of reproducing the TCC, and the aspirations of the local elite on the other. This thesis suggests that international education is more inclined towards the latter with schools choosing to align with global trends and meeting the demands of their clientele whose financial contributions keep them afloat. This is consistent with Cambridge's (2003) argument that pragmatic realism appears to outweigh the idealistic missions in the practice of international education.

The tendency of international schools to privilege western forms of education over others perpetuates the transmission of western values, rather than harnessing several perspectives to further the course of a truly international education. The idea that the educational provision of these schools is global appears to decrease the significance of Nigerian knowledge, cultures and qualifications. The word 'global' is used to qualify the nature of education and qualifications that the schools provide, and values that their students are meant to develop. However, these are borne from a single perspective of what the purpose of education is, the knowledge to be transmitted and who should receive it. For example, the 'Theory of Knowledge' course undertaken by students enrolled in the IB programme has been criticized for its western approach to studying the philosophy of knowledge (Gellar, 2002). This supports Lewis' (2006) argument that international school programmes have been noted to fail to address global issues, especially current issues of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Gellar, 2002). Where such issues are addressed, it is done from a western perspective (ibid), emphasising the notion that international education adjust itself to 'shifting currents of international relations' (Burn, 1980; 1). As Cambridge (2002) argues, it is a response to global demands.

Thus, in the articulation of international education practices, the word 'global' becomes a problematic term as it (either) misleads those who are drawn to the schools because of its usage (or) and depicts the present capitalist-neo-colonialist order of the world. The schools may therefore be operating under the notion that western perspectives are not

just a part of, but are equated with global perspectives. The equation of western cultures with global cultures continues to feature in contemporary globalisation discourse. International schools are implicated in the propagation of this sort of ideology which also places a stereotype on non-western cultures. It is arguable that this is the idea that drives a reductionary perspective of globalisation and in the truest sense, it can be beneficial to all nations. It can also be argued that globalising flows do not necessarily imply the subsuming of local values. However, as Waters (2013) argues, the current state of the global milieu necessitates that all cultures adjust their positions in relation to western values. The degree of relativisation on societies with neo-colonial statuses is argued to be very low (Khor, 2000). The notion that globalisation furthers the course of universalising western provincialism (Quijano, 2010) and that it is conceptually fused with neo-colonialism, particularly drives the activities of international schools in post-colonial countries like Nigeria as this study argues.

Rather than the interrogation of western values, some societies may unavoidably imbibe them by reason of their neo-colonial statuses. It was noted from the empirical research that the parents engaged in interrogating the values the schools were cultivating in their children. They however appeared bound to continue to send their children to the school with the exception of a few in this study. The schools capitalise on the parents' desires and aspirations for their children. These desires are associated with the neo-colonial mentality of the local elite.

International education is supposed to be the harbinger of universal values, such as those promoted by the United Nations (UN). However, the idea that there is a distinct set of values which is common to all is highly contested (Pearce, 2003). Gellar (2002) argues that the pursuit of justice, peace, compassion for all is central to what the majority of the human race desire, and that these values should be embedded in international education philosophy and practice. With the current trend in global relations where everything is priced in monetary terms, the notion of universal values fades into an object that is constructed by dominant powers. This object bears resemblance to the values embedded within societies of dominant global powers.



In international education practice, the values are standardised, packaged and promoted through international bodies and assessment such as CIS, the IB and the MSA. These bodies accredit and regulate international school practices to ensure similarity and uniformity in the spread of a single approach to education. This clearly reflects the uniformity that Ritzer (2006) suggests is characteristic of mcdonaldisation. In other words, international education is replicated and franchised around the world and this ensures that the same value of education reaches those who can afford it in different parts of the world. This supports the notion that at present and reflected by the practices of these schools:

...benefits of globalisation are not taken to mean empathy and sharing of goods and ideas with other parts of the world but the establishment of 'price' as the only criterion by which everything in the world is valued (Gellar, 2002; 28).

Mcdonaldisation is concurrent with it the globalisation of neo-liberal ideologies and international education is a product that bears its emblem.

Theorists refer to the international education industry, markets, businesses and brands (Cambridge, 2001; Macdonald, 2006; Brummit 2007). The schools are positioned as supermarkets that sell a capitalist product that reproduces the very order for which they were established. Althusser (1971) notes that one purpose of such apparatuses of ideology is to reproduce the same discourse. Thus, as Sklair (2001) suggests, international schools reproduce the transnational capitalist class' ideology of neo-liberalism. As argued in the conceptual framework, their practices therefore imply the use of consumer pedagogies where their students and parents are buyers of a global brand with a view of replicating values of the brand. Ball (2004) argues that the commodification of education results in the compromising of genuine goals for the perceived value that such an education adds. It is suggested that this may be especially heightened in the case of international schools whose students pay exorbitant tuition fees. According to Matthews and Sidhu (2005), the fact that the schools have underlying business missions makes them global propagators of hegemonic social

practices such as the 'marketisation of education'. They thus miss out on developing genuine global identities (ibid).

Recurrent in the data is the explicit positioning of international schools as providers of a modern and first class system of education. These qualities were also considered higher than those of the Nigerian system of education. This has colonial undertones of equating western education with modern education and denying local education systems any contemporaneity. This position is reiterated by international education theorists who suggest that international schools are in a position to act as a force for change and challenge to national systems. For example, Walker (2002) asserts that national systems of education are parochial and provincialist with the primary goal of securing, and preserving national identities, and may not be relevant for the present global climate. Walker lists responsible citizenship, tolerance, compassionate thinking, diversity within a shared humanity and cultural understanding as the vocabulary of international education (ibid). Arguing that these are relevant for the present times that is characterised by the chaos that a clash of cultures and ideologies evoke, he fails to acknowledge or recognise the western parochialism that is embedded within the practices of the schools. This parochialism is what is sold as modernism within international education practices and it is a strong tool in the reputation of such schools. Modernisation and Americanisation are currently the newest forms of westernisation (Pieterse, 2006) and argued to be disguised imperialism or neo-colonialism. Therefore, in an attempt to sell a modern form of education, the schools are packaging western education as international. In the process, they appear to be passing on western and neo-colonial values to indigenous students.

Another axis on which international schools are positioned as neo-colonial agents lies in the unarticulated statements of their purposes that are explicit in their practices. One of such unarticulated but explicit purposes is the migration of their students towards western countries for higher education. This underpins its practice of offering transferable qualifications that meet admission requirements into western universities. For the indigenous students, this is an aspiration that clearly sets them above their

contemporaries who attend local schools or who are not be able to afford western university education in terms of future opportunities. A majority of these opportunities are located in the west and multinational companies serving western interests. The students in this study make reference to living in the west when they leave secondary school. Their parents also make reference to wanting their children to achieve equal status as their western counterparts. Such aspirations are forged by the schooling experiences and the idealised versions of the west that are presented to the students. Rather than developing a desire to contribute to positive change in their local communities, the students see themselves as belonging and fitting somewhere else which they perceive as more modern.

Walker (2003) suggests that the IB has reached its era of influence in terms of the positive challenge that international education poses to national systems and what the students who are products of that system bring to their communities. However, the influence that is alluded may not be the actual outcome as evidenced by findings of the empirical research in this study. Rather than a positive influence, international education is perceived by some as a threat to indigenous identities. Thus, the type of change that it brings to neo-colonial nations like Nigeria is questionable given the sort of aspirations that it forges and values that the students learn to uphold. Ironically, rather than being a force for change, international education appears to facilitate the subsuming of the indigenous students' identities and may be resulting in the switching of allegiances.

International schools are thus implicated in the neo-colonial phenomenon of draining human resources from countries like Nigeria. The neo-liberalistic currents underpinning their practices position the students as citizens whose obligation is to work for the sustenance of the individual and the global market (Apple, 2006). However, such education favours developed countries of the west whose economic interests dominate the present context of the global markets. A neo-colonialist agenda is implied with the west reaping the benefits, leaving the rest short in human capital needed to drive their ever failing economies. This reflects the instrumentalist agenda at work in the type of

education provided by international schools, which is also characteristic of western education systems (Marshall, 2011). This type of education aims at producing workers for the global economy at perhaps, the expense of the local economy. The economic impact of this trend on indigenous economies and societies in Africa is not yet fully known. However, this study dares to suggest that, potentially, this has far-reaching consequences on a nation's higher education institutions and future human resources.

In their positions as providers of qualifications required for entrance into universities in the west, international schools stake a claim to being able to help students meet their aspirations of attending the perceived best universities in the world. The universities considered to be high ranking are mostly located in the west. This notion is reinforced by international league tables such as the Times Higher Education league tables or the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). This thesis argues that such systems pose a new form of colonialism because recurrent on the top of the tables are western higher education institutions which sell the idea that western education is best. Emphasis on the league tables is on the high degree of success and employability rates that graduates from high ranking universities enjoy. There are no references to contributions of such individuals to society. This points at the individualistic nature of the education system that international schools first of all provide and encourage their students to continue with as they go on to higher education institutions. The mechanisms of control through which this is achieved are western curriculum models, pedagogies and assessments that international schools offer.

One idea that international schools thrive on is that national systems of education are failing or cannot adequately compete with the education provided by these schools. The parents in this study referred to this as one basis on which they hinged their choice of international schools for their children. They were seeking an education that would give their children an edge over those attending local schools and Nigerian education system did not seem to meet their needs. This sentiment is reiterated in previous research as well as in other literature (see Mackenzie, 2009; Hayden and Thompson, 2008). International schools are thus positioned as an essential commodity if the elite are to

maintain their status quo. Brown and Lauder (2011) assert that international schools are agents for the reproduction of social class inequalities. One interesting fact about the positions of international schools is that there is no evident involvement or influence by the Nigerian Ministry of Education on the practices of international schools as it concerns indigenous students. It is argued that such schools work in isolation to the host countries' policies or systems (Sylvester, 1998). Their association with the local elite provides the impetus for such isolation even with the presence of legislation. They are thus able to assert their difference and superiority over indigenous systems.

The case of international schools in Nigeria have been noted to expose class inequalities in education. For example, in January 2011, when the Federal Ministry of Education directed that all schools should be closed because they were used as locations for voters' registration, international schools remained open as usual. Government officials with children in international schools were criticised because their children continued attending school within this period while those who attended local schools stayed at home (Information Nigeria, 2011; Transparency for Nigeria, 2011). Therefore, it can be argued that there are contradictions in the government's claim to bridging the gap between the rich and the poor, more so when issues of affordability are a major consideration when attending international schools. International schools thus become an avenue through which neo-colonial inequalities are perpetuated. One irony is the degree of inclusion which the aims of international schools state and the high levels of selectivity which their practices reveal. According to Allen (2002; 114) 'selection and inclusion are uncomfortable bed fellows' and this is often a contradiction that is embedded in the international school practice. The schools are eager to offer a perceived 'superior product' but this comes with a price that only the elite can afford (ibid).

Quist (2005) refers to the contradictions that such goals as tolerance and justice bring to the discourse of international education. He argues that in order for international education to be relevant, it must consider not only western perspectives and

conversations, but in addition, those of the ‘cultural others’ whose realities and histories are different from the west (ibid).

The marginalised positions of the local knowledge and culture reinforces the notion that the Nigerian government through the ministry of education has very little influence on what goes on in international schools within the country. Unlike countries such as Thailand and China where there are policies in place that regulate the practices of international schools as it concerns the indigenous student (Hanchanlash, 2004; Yamato and Bray, 2006; Clark, 2014), the schools in this study appear to be operating without meaningful regulations from the Nigerian Ministry of Education. One local authority was noted to have required the use of Nigerian curriculum if indigenous students attended a school that used a foreign curriculum:

Schools may operate a foreign curriculum if all of their students are foreigners, such schools shall, in addition teach Citizenship Education as well as aspects of Nigerian history, culture and economics, but must operate the Nigerian National Curriculum, provided there is a Nigerian student in the school (FCT, 2013).

It does appear, however, that such regulations are not enforced because of the status of the schools’ clientele as mentioned above. Perhaps this is intentional on the part of the government as senior government officials and other elite might see the schools as status signifiers. Self-interest is given as the reason why the local elite continue to further the aims of neo-colonialists (Attah, 2013). On the part of the school, exclusion or marginalisation of local culture may be a high selling point as such educational provisions are attractive to the local elite because it furthers their aims of maintaining their status quo or reproducing their social class. The schools therefore have free rein to cultivate values that may be contrary to indigenous values and required to perpetuate the inequalities that are characteristic of post-colonial societies. This is one way that neo-colonialism thrives.

This study argues that the schools assert the notion of western cultural superiority by marginalising local knowledge and cultures. It also argues that governments legitimise

this by allowing indigenous students to attend schools within their countries that do not follow a formal programme of studies for local knowledge and cultures for their citizens. Although it is known that present day education as with all other sectors in Nigeria is influenced by its colonial heritage (Abdurrahman, 2012), educational practice is largely regulated by local policies which are inclined towards the promotion of Nigerian nationalist ideals as reflected in the Nigerian National Policy on Education (FRN, 2004). For example, the nature of subjects taught in Nigerian schools have evolved in their representations of realities promoted in colonial times to more contextualised depictions of contemporary Nigeria's cultures. By marginalising Nigerian content and cultures, international schools do not equip the students with the knowledge they require to face realities in their country.

### **Third Culture Indigenous Kids**

As discussed in the conceptual framework, the notion of identity adopted by this thesis is based on the idea that it is developed from a person's social milieu and meanings made from interactions within it (Lawler, 2008). The behaviours of the students in this study strongly reflect the individualism that underpins their schooling experiences. The conflict of identities they experience is reflective of the complexities and contradictions surrounding the negotiations of their identities. They may result from weighing the choice of holding on to indigenous cultures or being fully integrated into the international school system that provides the associations and experiences necessary for their successes (Harrington, 2008). They also develop the values needed to acquire the much cherished privilege. The students are positioned in a continuum that is characterised by dissociation from Nigerianness and a progressive alignment with neo-colonial values.

Bourdieu's (1977, p. 214) notion of habitus as 'a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular, a disposition, tendency, propensity or inclination's' is very much related to how the students are positioning themselves as different to other Nigerian people. With notions of cultural and intellectual superiority, they mentally detach themselves from their family beliefs and indigenous communities.

The students are also more inclined towards questioning and resisting Nigerian cultures rather than interrogating the western cultures that is thrust upon them by the nature of their schooling experiences. It is ironic that western education is hailed for encouraging critical thought when in the case of these students, there appears to be almost a desperate alliance with western cultures. In addition, as evidenced by the empirical research, the students are cultivating a resistance and disinterests for local cultures and ways of thought. Tate (2013; 257) has argued that valid concerns have been raised about how international schools are associated with 'detaching some students from local allegiances and traditions'.

The allegory of the pied piper captures this phenomenon or narrative. The students appear to be drawn and captivated by the cultures in their schools that they so willingly give up their indigenous beliefs and customs, cheered on by their parents (though not so whole-heartedly), to follow what they perceive to be a western way of life. Their rejection of indigenous behaviours is undisguised and appears to be legitimised by their parents' submission to the schools' ability to reproduce certain qualities and opportunities for their children. Deliberate isolation was one way that some students in this study used to resist any indigenous cultural influences. Fanon (1968) suggests that people are likely to experience alienation when they distance themselves from their cultures. A clear case of the subsuming of traditional community by neo-colonial individualism is explicit in the students' resistance of indigenous cultural norms.

From the foregoing, it does appear the students are developing what Fanon (1968) referred to as people who have black skin and put on white masks. They are black as other Nigerian people but inwardly they presume to have western identity. This is an example of how the neo-colonial discourse is being reproduced by the reinforcing of ideas that the embodiment of whiteness such as language, culture and beliefs are the norm and anything different is less (Distiller, 2009). Said (1989) refers to this sort of scenario as the extension of colonialism that strengthens the inferiorising of the colonised peoples. The students' notions of the place of Nigerian cultures within the global order are reflective of the status they are given within their schooling experiences.



This is consistent with Thiong'o's (1986) observation about how children who attended colonial schools experienced the world as it was interpreted by the Europeans. This study argues that the process of the subsuming of traditional community or communitarianist identities of Nigerian students occurs by the colonisation of their minds. They thus reside in an imagined space (isolated and secure) where they actively believe that they are superior to other Nigerians who do not have the same experiences. More notably, the students and their parents also believe that they are at par with western children. The parents refer to this as benefits with pride. Thus, a neo-colonialism is inflicted on the students and their parents.

Another point worthy of note is that not only are the students developing a disinterest for local cultures, they also appear not to have allegiances towards their country. This is consistent with another concern raised by Tate (2013) about the detachment of indigenous students from the national roots as one implication of international education. The promotion of individualism, characteristic of international school practices, results in allegiances, first to self before a totality. This may be based on the notion that globalisation diminishes nation state boundaries. International schools may have a legitimate claim if they say they provide education towards global mindedness and their products turn out to be different from those of the Nigerian system. However, as this study argues, an education that rest on a single perspective cannot be said to be global. More so, the students cultivate a desire to leave their country after school because they prefer the western life that their schooling experiences represent. The long term implications of this trend for the indigenous students in Nigeria are not presently known but perhaps future research into how the schooling experiences relates to where they settle and live after school might shed some insight. It might also point to what areas of international schools' practices need to be reviewed or considered to reverse this trend.

There are more calls for national and state citizenships in countries like Nigeria and this is stressed in the National Policy on Education (FRN, 2004). These calls run contrary to international school aims. Thus, international schools offer a resistance to national

identities and cultures. It is this same resistance that is reproduced in the students. Walker (2002; 171) claims that the growing interdependence of the world's peoples makes international education more relevant and those national systems of education which promote local identities are attempts to 'maintain a mythology of nation state sufficiency'. However, the emphasis by international schools on global citizenships undermines the national attempts of countries like Nigeria, whose stability and territorial legitimacy is fragile, to build a strong sense of nationhood amongst all of its citizens. In particular, the ideological inclination of Nigerian people contrasts with the individualism that underpins international school practices. The ideological differences international education encounters as it transcends borders may be the reason why Walker (ibid) refers to National systems as a 'huge stumbling block' to the spread of international education. This study suggests that it is the difference between ideologies that strikes the contrast between Nigerian and international education. This difference is also reproduced as conflicts in the students claim to an identity and in their interactions with other Nigerians who are more inclined towards indigenous cultures.

In the true sense, the students are supposed to be developing global mindedness going by the aims of international education. Dualisms such as 'global versus local, self-centred versus other-centred, citizen of the nation versus citizen of the world' have been considered in the development of the concept of global mindedness (Andreotti, et al., 2014). Global mindedness is an inclusive term that refers to a belongingness, citizenship and commitment to an all-inclusive-world (both the local and beyond). Although the idea of an all-inclusive-world may be elusive, the contexts of diversity, complexities, contradictions and inequalities in Nigeria should be ideal for the cultivation of global mindedness by international schools. However, the rationale for the practices of international schools does not necessarily create the environment that enables the cultivation of global mindedness (Matthews and Sidhu, 2005). The students are thus emerging as self-centred victims of pragmatic instrumentalism that is embedded in international education practices and the aspirations of their parents. It is from this position that they relate with other people who do not have their symbolic capital and this results in conflicts in their home, and community dimensions.

In summary, this model is by no means absolutely representative of all contexts of the indigenous student experiences in Nigeria. It is heuristic and the ideas it presents can be used to better understand the conflicts underlying the negotiation of identities of indigenous students who attend international schools. Such a model has the potential to be more widely used but it requires further research in international schools.

## **Summary**

This chapter synthesised the findings of the empirical research and the arguments in the conceptual framework to suggest that neo-colonial individualism embedded within international school practices subsumes indigenous students' traditional community inclination. The complexities of the contradictions that are within the students' experiences leading to identity conflicts were presented in a model. The next chapter addresses the research questions, provides concluding statements to the arguments raised by this thesis and discusses the implications of the findings of this study. The contributions made by this research, the limitations and the researcher's reflections are also discussed.

## CHAPTER 10

### CONCLUSION: TOWARDS A FOCUS ON TCIKS

#### Introduction

This thesis has investigated neo-colonial tensions and conflicts of identity of indigenous students attending international schools in Nigeria. The previous chapter discussed the summary of the findings and synthesised the main ideas in a conceptual model. This chapter addresses the research questions and presents a conclusion of the arguments put forward by the thesis. This is followed by a discussion of the implications of the issues raised by the thesis for the indigenous students, Nigeria and international schools, and the contributions made by the study. Suggestions for further research based on the findings of the thesis are also made. The researcher discusses the limitations of the study and ends the chapter with a reflection on the PhD journey.

The main research question: How do indigenous students attending international schools in Nigeria manage neo-colonial tensions and conflicts of identity? is addressed through the sub-questions.

#### **Sub-question 1: What complexities and contradictions surround indigenous students schooling experiences that place conflicting demands on their identities?**

The complexities and contradictions embedded in the contexts within which the students negotiated their identities were seen to be on two dimensions:

1. The context of the schooling experiences
2. The context of their parents' dilemma of value and aspiration

#### *The context of the schooling experiences*

Major contradictions regarding the international schools' aims and missions were explicit on how they were positioned. Rather than the pursuit of global mindedness and interculturalism stated in their missions, the findings showed the intensifying

consumerist, and instrumentalist inclinations of the schools. The schools appeared to be supermarkets for the purchase of education that was highly exclusive for children of the indigenous elite, feeding on their aspirations for qualifications required for higher education in the west. These qualifications from the parents' perspectives and implied by the literature, set the indigenous students ahead of other Nigerians, ensuring the maintenance of an elitist status quo. The schools were also seen as a necessity in the achievement of these goals situating them beyond the reach of average Nigerians considering the high poverty rate in the country. There are thus implications for the continuously growing divide of social classes in the country. These positions ran contrary to the idealistic aims of international education and certainly to those of the Nigerian National Policy on Education which prioritises nation building and integration (FRN, 2004).

The claim to train students towards global citizenship which was a common mantra by the schools appeared to be aimed at preparing students towards living in the west or the global terrain that the west has so far created. The educational goals of the country whose curriculum the school adopts become the mission that is pursued through the school practices. More specifically, the content of the curriculum in subjects such as history, language, literature, moral and social studies as well as the structure of school life around national symbols and customs of different types prepare indigenous students for a life that are not related to local realities. The immediate local realities appeared to be exterior to the global community for which the students were being prepared, thus reinforcing the position of countries like Nigeria as a marginalised periphery in the global order. One way that this was reinforced was through the marginalisation or exclusion of Nigerian knowledge and cultures in the students' schooling experiences. The formal and informal curricula were geared towards attaining qualifications and skills required to study, live and succeed in places such as the United States of America, thus positioning the schools as highways to studying, and living in the west.

The schooling experiences served to acculturate the students and they were required to behave in ways that would often conflict with traditional community expectations from

their indigenous cultures. For example, the students were developing individualistic behaviours which were frowned at by other Nigerians. Although the schools claimed to promote intercultural education, because the message systems were predominantly western with a colonial approach to cultural diversity (Wylie, 2008), the achievement of this mission is held in doubt. The underlying problem is that other cultures are treated as objects to be studied, often regarded as exotic and peripheral (Cambridge, 2002). Such representations tend to assign a historical position to other cultures and are in no way appreciative of contemporary indigenous cultural identities. As Simandiraki (2006) argues, other cultures in international schools are antiquated and lumped together with the historic. If the local indigenous cultures are valued by the schools' proclaimed ethos of intercultural education, it brings to question why these cultural experiences are mostly excluded from the student's learning as seen from the evidence in chapter 7 of this thesis. However, this is insufficient basis to suggest that the students' cultural identities are eroded solely by this practice. It does however suggest that the indigenous cultures are devalued to a large extent and this is likely to contribute to the subsuming of their identities.

There is therefore a conflict between the intention of the international school and its practice. There are stated missions which depict a leaning towards internationalist goals. However, their positionality in the context of the schools in this study and from the literature suggest a desperate alliance with globalist trends in such a way that their genuine goals are defeated. Interestingly, even when the teachers in this study believe that Nigerian cultures should be included in the students' learning, they are still excluded. This questions whether teachers are bound to deliver the prescribed curriculum without questioning. It further reveals more complexities of the contradictions embedded in the schooling environment as has been shown in this research. This study argues that the schools may be wilful in their refusal to make Nigerian cultures more clearly part of the schooling experiences and therefore, revealing their neo-colonialist positions.

### *The context of parents' dilemma of value and aspiration*

More complexities and contradictions embedded within the contexts in which indigenous students develop their identities lie in the reconciliation of the quagmire that their parents face. The parents appear unhappy with some of the influences of the schools' cultures on their children's behaviours. However, they also seem to find certain aspects of indigenous cultures distasteful in comparison with western cultures. Their children's acquisition of individualism is hailed and appears to be a point the parents like to boast about. However, some aspects of individualistic behaviours are resisted by the same parents and other Nigerians in their social groups because they conflict with highly valued indigenous customs, such as greeting and respect. The parents reveal contrasting narratives of their ambitions for their children and invariably place conflicting demands on their children's identities.

It appears that parents are neo-colonial in their aspirations for their children to acquire the gains of international education but reject the resultant erosion of their cultural identities. The indigenous students' cultural background thus becomes complex to deconstruct because it is evidently unclear what constitutes the Nigerian or western cultures the parents want their children to be familiar with or what is generally accepted as appropriate conduct within the diversity of the Nigerian context. It is also hard to decipher what the parents truly want as their children continue to attend the schools which they so criticise. Although few of them eventually pull some of their children out of the international schools when they realise the influences on their behaviours, they still want some of the influences of the schooling experiences to remain. It is possible they want their children to acquire multiple identities but this appears not to work out as expected. The students emerge from this paradox as incoherent in their claims to an identity. This is partly because the parents appear to be inconsistent with the cultural demands they present to their children.

It is also suggested that there may be unarticulated tensions between the schools and their clientele because of how vehemently the parents expressed their distaste for their children's western behaviours. The parents appeared not to have been initially aware of

the extent of the influences of international education on their children's behaviours. However, when they do realise the contents of the full package of their purchase, they are disoriented but really see no way out because of what their children stand to gain from the schooling experience. This suggests that the parents value the privilege the school provides more than they value their children's social and psychological wellbeing. Thus, the distaste for the undesirable behaviours that the students present is outweighed by the desire for the benefits that accompany their children's schooling experiences. These parents appear to have internalised the values of colonialism and also engage in passing its heritage to their children by enrolling them in those schools or by their inaction of not raising the issues regarding the place of local cultures with the schools.

In summary, it is evident that indigenous students were situated within a number of contradictions and complexities. The western individualism which underpinned their schooling experiences ran contrary to Nigerian collectivist values. While the western cultures the schools promote appear to demand that students make up their own rules of behaviours, the Nigerian cultures have set expectations, especially with regards to social interactions and greetings. There were also conflicting demands from the parents who want their children to gain the capital that international school confers but also demand that they meet the local cultural expectations. In other words, the complexities and contradictions are reflected in the parents' anxieties. How the indigenous students emerge from this quagmire tells the narrative of how they are making meaning of their experiences.

### **Sub-Question 2: To what extent do conflicting demands influence students' perception and attitudes towards indigenous cultures?**

Students in this study displayed an understanding of the indigenous cultural expectations. However, they referred to Nigerian cultures with considerable disregard. A colonial stereotype of inferiority and datedness was appointed to these cultures. Their perceptions deny Nigerian cultures any contemporaneity and genuineness. Consistent through the data from the students is the principle of 'invidious comparison' which



inferiorises indigenous cultures and systems (Dascal, 1991). Western cultures assumed the position of a yardstick for interpreting their indigenous cultural behaviours. In other words, the west is positioned as the validator of authentic culture.

It is likely that such behaviours are reinforced by the adults around the students as the parents also spoke condescendingly about aspects of Nigerian cultures they found distasteful. This situation is also compounded by the fact that they appear to be receiving mixed messages from their parents who believe international schools provide the necessary values and qualifications for their children's future successes but also want them to retain aspects of Nigerianness that are valued within their immediate indigenous circles. The students appear then to be left with no option but to take a stand which is reflected in their resistance to indigenous customs and the ensuing conflicts. The conflicting expectations thus leads them to align with the cultures that their schools promote. The student also perceive their parents and those who practice Nigerian cultures as crude, outdated and difficult.

The schooling experiences were a central point from which the students acquired their perceived western cultural capital and this also fed their imaginations about the freedom western cultures appeared to give. They seemed to accept this as ideal and modern without questioning but engaged frequently in questioning the rationality behind indigenous cultures. Their schooling experiences and other examples within their school communities such as western parents were often used in the comparison. Such questionings were heightened in their opinions about aspects of Nigerian cultures like conventions regarding dress, language and greeting. In some cases, the students appeared to be embarrassed or angered when made to participate in local customs. It was as though participating in indigenous cultural practices was belittling and not worthy of their superior status. It was interesting to note that the students who were uncomfortable with their school cultures still engaged in denigrating indigenous cultures as well as complaining about conflicts at home, and at school. This suggests that this group of students may be gradually developing those attitudes and perceptions

towards local cultures. In all, it appears that the espoused notions about Nigerian cultures among the students were condescending.

Conflicts between students and people who were inclined to practicing indigenous cultures were centred on the former's perceived superior attitudes and on their refusal to meet the indigenous cultural expectations. The cultural dexterity they claimed to possess as a result of their schooling experiences was not applied in their relationships with people who were more inclined to the local cultures. This contradiction is reiterated in the data and it points at how naïve the students' understanding of intercultural competence is. The students' behaviours reflect the contradictions that lie in the claims of interculturalism that the international schools promote. Only people who had some form of international or western affiliation seemed to receive cultural approval. In addition, aspects of Nigerian cultures such as dress that seemed to have been shaped by western influence appeared to be accepted. Thus, the students' attitudes and behaviours were western-centric.

Their refusal to engage in practicing their local cultures was also based on the fact that they were under no obligation to do so at school. The schools are therefore implicated in the development of such attitudes towards indigenous cultures. The students' perceptions were consistent with representations of the local cultures in their schooling experiences where there was evidently hegemony of western cultures. Western cultures were considered by the students as modern and this is associated with how they are represented as global cultures in the schooling experiences. This is indicative that the nature of globalisation that the international schools promote is consistent with neo-colonialism as this thesis argues.

One significant aspect of their practice, as seen from the findings of the empirical research, was the marginalisation of Nigerian knowledge or culture in the students' schooling experiences. This suggests the promotion of a reductive perspective of the host country and a heightened relevance of the dominant western values within those schools. This is tantamount to a neo-colonialism because even though they claim to

promote intercultural education, Nigerian cultures are not significantly included in the intercultural mix. Hence, the values that underpin such practices are imbibed by the students who depend on the schools to help them meet their aspirations.

This thesis argues that what underpins this process of transformation is the struggle between the neo-colonial individualism embedded in the schooling experiences and the traditional community orientation of Nigerian cultures. This is reflected in the complexities and contradictions surrounding the negotiation of student identities. The conflicting demands from the schools, homes and community influence the students' perceptions and behaviours in such a way that they reject indigenous cultures.

### **Sub-question 3: How do students negotiate their identities between two contrasting worlds?**

Two groups of students were identified from the data analysis: those who claimed they did not belong to the Nigerian cultural community and those who had to pretend at school or at home, and within their communities to show that they belonged to either environment. Both groups of students appear to be caught up in a web of conflicting expectations. The first group which comprised of a majority of the students were quick to assert the cultural difference between them and the Nigerian cultures. They also aligned themselves to western cultures, thus appearing to be existing within a foreigner's bubble in their country of origin. However, their conception of western identities and cultures appeared to be informed by occasions, such as schooling experiences, travel abroad and perhaps, technology. Claiming to have acquired a western identity from such experiences is questionable as there are other cultural influences that the students are exposed to.

They appear to be more accepting of other cultures, yet finding it somewhat embarrassing to practice indigenous cultures. They are consciously or unconsciously engaged in comparing their local cultures with what they perceive as western cultures, such as the cultural expectations from their schooling environment and from parents of

their friends of western origin. They thus reject Nigeria's cultures as inferior to western cultures. These experiences tend to colonise the students' imaginations. Their claim to a cultural identity emerges from how they compare themselves with the more traditional Nigerians and how they are positioned within their indigenous communities. In addition, their identities are also enacted from the nature of their interactions with more traditional Nigerian people. This thesis argues that the framing of the students' identities emerges from how students identify themselves, how they are identified and the nature of their interactions with others.

The second group which comprised of a minority of the students presented contrasting representations of identity from the first group. Some of these students appeared to have been new to the international school environment. They were faced with pressure to conform to the accepted code of behaviours. It appeared that this was required for their belonging to the schools' social milieu. They presented a chameleon identity and conformed to cultural expectations from school and home as they tried to fit in both environments. Other students in this group did not willingly comply with indigenous expectations. It appeared they pretended to do so to avoid conflicts. On a superficial level, it would appear that they were developing multicultural identities and would defer to their individualistic, and communitarian identities when contextually relevant. However, they also appeared to be apprehensive about being expected to put up certain behaviours in different environments.

In summary, two types of indigenous students were identified in this study: those who think that their schooling experiences are liberating and those who feel their Nigerianness is inhibited by the social demands in the school. However, it does appear that the second group may be migrating towards the first as they get more immersed in their schooling experiences. In addition, all students experience a conflict of between home and school because of the contrasting demands in both environments. Thus, this study argues that the students make a judgment of rejecting their cultures because of the way it is weighted by the neo-colonising influences around them.

## **Concluding arguments of this study informed by the conceptual framework and the empirical research**

1. International schools propagate neo-colonial values by their practice.
2. The students negotiate their identities within a number of contradictions, complexities and conflicts involving their school practices and their parents' aspirations.
3. Their traditional community orientations are subsumed by neo-colonial individualism. This results in their rejection of Nigerian identities, incoherence in claims to an identity and personal, home, and community level conflicts.

## **Implications of the study**

It was observed by this study that there is a paucity of research on students from host countries of international schools. There is regular mention of students attending an international school in a foreign country but very scarce details of those who are indigenous to the host nation. Perhaps, this is an indication that the discourse of international education has not fully engaged in acknowledging the diversity of students within the schools. With the current trends in international education where a greater proportion of the students are indigenous (Bunnell, 2014; ISC, 2014), it is important to discuss the implication of this study for their students and countries in which they are located and for the schools.

### ***Implications for Nigerian students and Nigeria***

Perhaps, a starting point from which to view what the experiences highlighted in this thesis imply for the indigenous students is to examine what they bring into the schools in terms of background and aspiration. The indigenous student comes from an elite background and is already situated in a place of privilege within the local community that is marked with the inequalities that stem from the country's colonial past. This form of symbolic capital is an unarticulated but explicit requirement of the school. Without the symbolic capital, the student cannot access the desired advantages that attending the school helps to gain. In terms of aspiration, the student is coming in to

be immersed in an experience that is necessary for future successes. In other words, attending an international school almost comes with an assurance that the student will be at least successful (if not more) than students who attend schools that are following a Nigerian system of education. It is this aspiration that the student brings to the table.

The relationship between the schools and the indigenous student appears to be symbiotic with both parties supposedly gaining from the association. However, this thesis has pointed out the significant influences of international school experiences on Nigerian students' identities. The implication is that the indigenous students lose a sense of their cultural background and belongingness. It can be argued that this implication may not seem to be of any relevance given the perceived benefit of the schooling experiences but it suggests a level of exploitation whereby the oppressed is grateful for being in that position.

The significant absence of a specific policy which would regulate the practices of international schools by the Nigerian ministry of education leaves room for international schools to continue with the status quo. Countries in Asia such as China and Thailand place demands on international schools with regards to indigenous student enrolment and the contents of their learning (Hanchanlash, 2004; Yamato and Bray, 2006). This is likely to promote a sense of nationalism and preserve the students' cultural identities. Without the implementation of such policies in Nigeria and with the continued increase in numbers of international schools, Nigeria loses the opportunity to cultivate national and cultural values in indigenous students who attend international schools. There is also the potential for the country to be a fertile ground for the continued perpetuation of the type of neo-colonialism described by this thesis. Underpinning its furtherance, is the self-interest of the indigenous elite who would shield international schools from public scrutiny and accountability to the national education authorities.

This study proposes future scenarios for such individuals and Nigeria.

1. The potential conflict based on ideological and cultural interest that might arise from a new elite body who unlike their parents do not appear to have and are not looking to develop roots with the indigenous cultural communities are of a new order. They would form the minority who will (continue to) try to promote a neo-colonial individualistic society that Nigerian people inclined towards practicing their cultures tend to resist. An individualistic society will only further the course of inequality that the Nigerian society is plagued with today.
2. The statuses of the students as children of the country's elite, who have political, economic and social influence on the Nigerian society, might be significant for the future. They are likely to become members of this class themselves if they choose to return to Nigeria after their studies in western universities. On the other hand, they may choose to become globally mobile workers or decide to live in the west. Either of these scenarios has implications for the continuation of neo-colonialism in Nigeria and significant for the nation's stagnant development. Therefore, the loss of human and financial capital through the agency of international education are issues that will continue to draw Nigeria's progress backwards.

### ***Implications for international Education***

The positions of international schools as reproducers of neo-colonial values appears to be beginning to resonate with the indigenous clientele who are presently the main financial contributors to the schools. From this study, the parents are beginning to question the influences of international education on their children's behaviours. This has led a few of them to withdraw their children from the international school. Although this number may be marginal and the parents are not seen to possess the radical will to effect change at present, it does have the potential to grow and lead to a loss in the number of indigenous students. Perhaps, the issues raised by this thesis present a platform for international schools to begin to assess their purposes and actual practices in relation to the diversity of students in their care.

### **Contributions of this study including generalisability**

This study has investigated neo-colonial conflicts experienced by indigenous students attending international schools in Nigeria. The findings have led to the development of a model in chapter nine which provides a new perspective for exploring the context within which the students are developing a sense of who they are in relation to their indigenous communities and the wider world. The model is a heuristic device which can be used to think about and understand the social experiences of TCIKs, and the often conflicting discourses that underpin their identity negotiations. The device may also be useful for researchers who are interested in comparing the model with the experiences of students in other contexts.

One important contribution of this study is the development of the new idea of indigenous students as TCIKs. Previous studies on student experiences and identities have explored foreign students attending an international school. This study presents an innovative contribution by focusing on a different type of student population which is growing in increasing measure within the international school landscape. Like TCKs, the students in this study are seen to neither have a firm grasp of western cultures nor particularly have a desire to hold on to indigenous cultures. They are situated somewhere in the middle but cannot be said to be TCKs because they may not fit the profile of students who have been described under this category. Through this thesis, it is hoped that this group of students and their experiences will enjoy some level of visibility that they have not previously known. This is because TCIKs now make up the majority of student numbers in international schools around the world (Bunnell, 2014; ISC, 2014).

Other definitions and situations ascribed to international school practices have focused on the school purpose, message systems and underpinning purposes (Sylvester, 1998, 2002, 2005; Cambridge and Thompson, 2001; Wylie, 2008; Hayden and Thompson, 2008). These authors provide valuable contexts by which the purpose and positioning of international education can be best understood. This thesis also highlighted what



international education means through the context of the experiences of indigenous students in this study.

While it is acknowledged that this study does not expect to generalise to all international schools in Nigeria or in similar contexts, it provides a reference to others in similar positions to understand the context of their experiences. In addition, this study continues the discussion on how the perspectives of international education can be reframed around the various practices in different parts of the world. Suggestions with regards to how research on TCIKs can broaden the international education discourse are included in the next section which discusses areas for further research.

### **Further Research**

This thesis agrees with Quist (2005) that international education discourse has only involved ‘west to west’ conversations and suggests that it needs to include a variety of perspectives from the diversity that forms its current pool of educationists. This will profoundly unearth the contradictions in international education practice and allow for an appraisal, and improvement of current approaches. This is particularly important for developing countries like Nigeria where the indigenous students outnumber those from other parts of the world, so that international education does not reflect western attempts at neo-colonialism.

It will be beneficial for research to be directed at Third Culture Indigenous Kids (TCIKs) because their experiences are not sufficiently represented in the literature. Research into pedagogical interactions and curriculum development in international schools with predominantly high numbers of indigenous students are likely to elicit new directions for the field of international education. For example, researching what an international school curriculum should of necessity contain to cater for the cultural diversity of students will offer novel and transformative perspectives to improving the schools’ provisions.

## **Limitations of the Study**

The initial considerations of the research were conflicts of identities in indigenous students attending international school. The researcher proposed to draw links between differences in students' cultural behaviours and the nature of their schooling experiences, and to argue that the conflicts arose by reason of these differences. The emergent theme: 'Neo-colonial individualism subsumes traditional community' was unforeseen by the researcher. Advance knowledge of this could have informed the formulation of the questions in the questionnaires, interviews and vignettes to align better with the subject of interest. In addition, the data were collected in Abuja, Nigeria and the outcome may have been different from research conducted in the Islamic cultures of the North or the more liberal cultures of the Nigerian South. However, the research can be a starting point for others who would want to explore the nature and influence of international education on TCIKs in post-colonial communities. It would have been beneficial to have interviewed the school heads with regards to the school aims. This would have given a broader perspective of the individual school aims, missions and cultural contexts. However, the head teachers did not appear to have the time for the interviews. The websites' analysis and results from the teachers' questionnaire provided the insight needed into the contexts of the schools.

## **A possible ending to the journey?**

Coming from a natural science background to conduct research in a social science field posed a huge challenge because it is a new area for me. My background has however, helped me in my approach because I understand the importance of rigour in research and taking a dispassionate view of the methods that I used. This proved valuable in ensuring that the evidence to support any claims I have made was collected dispassionately as I would do if it were a natural science study. My science background proved to be an advantage despite the fact that I collected narrative data using interviews, vignettes and websites analysis. I also found this to be an advantage in the crafting of the conceptual framework because I was able to draw on the relevant literature to provide a basis for the arguments that I put forward.

I do not have the egoism to say that the journey has ended, for saying that would imply that I have reached my Eldorado. What was once for me a PhD journey that should end after I have submitted the thesis, is now a continuing commitment to self-discovery. My experiences are leading me to question facts I once held dear and I find that I am constantly repositioning myself as I progress in my journey. For example, this PhD has led to a transformation of my views about the extent of western influences in developing countries and especially in Nigeria. It has also challenged my purpose as an international educator, enabling me to question my practice and for that, I am grateful. I believe I have been liberated from the restrictions imposed by a neo-colonial consciousness embedded in my background. I am developing a counter-consciousness which gives me a holistic perspective of reality as a result of my academic pursuit. For some, a neo-colonial consciousness is a journey towards modernity and civilisation but as evidenced by my arguments, it involves enduring marginalising implications. It is hoped that the ideas discussed in this thesis will make a wider impact and contribution to challenging the neo-colonial culture that is now our heritage as a neo-colonial nation.

The journey continues with more research in the field of international education into aspects of the provisions as they concern indigenous students. It is hoped that the issues raised by this thesis would go a long way to encourage other indigenous researchers, perhaps, teachers in international schools like myself to question practices within their institutions and to embark on research that will effect change or at least bring to light hidden perspectives of international education.

Despite the challenges, undertaking PhD research has been an enjoyable and most rewarding experience.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1 Ethical Approval



Centre for Educational  
Studies  
T 01482 465988  
E j.lison@hull.ac.uk

#### ETHICAL PROCEDURES FOR RESEARCH AND TEACHING IN THE FACULTY OF EDUCATION

#### PERMISSION TO PROCEED WITH RESEARCH: ETHICAL APPROVAL

<b>Reference Number:</b>	12/267
<b>Name:</b>	Nkechi Winifred Emenike
<b>Student No:</b>	201020142
<b>Programme of Study:</b>	PhD
<b>Research Area/Title:</b>	Conflict of identity in Nigerian students attending International Schools in Nigeria
<b>Image Permission Form</b>	N/A
<b>Name of Supervisor:</b>	David Plowright
<b>Date Approved by Supervisor:</b>	18 March 2013
<b>Date Approved by Ethics Committee:</b>	22 March 2013



University of Hull  
Hull, HU6 7RX  
United Kingdom  
+44 (0) 1482 346311  
www.hull.ac.uk

## **APPENDIX 2** Letters to school heads requesting permission to conduct research

15<sup>th</sup> January 2013

The Head Teacher

...

Dear Mr ...

### **IDENTITY OF NIGERIAN STUDENTS ATTENDING INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS IN NIGERIA**

Permission to Undertake Research at the ... School Abuja

I am a Doctoral student in the Centre for Education Studies at the University of Hull, in the UK. My home is in Abuja and I have been an international educator for over ten years, working in Nigeria. I am researching student identities in international schools with a focus on Nigerian students. The study aims to obtain information on how students view their international schooling experience and to what extent they see themselves as international citizens.

I am writing to seek your permission to undertake my research in your school. This would take about two weeks, requiring an hour in each day. I plan to use a range of data collection methods with students and parents. In addition, I would like to interview you for about 20minutes.

Throughout the data collection exercise, anonymity of the participants will be maintained. The name of the school will not be mentioned in the final report or in any academic article published. In addition the data collection instruments have been designed in accordance with the guidelines of the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education, University of Hull. Therefore, all the potential ethical issues involved in this research have been addressed.

I will contact you with a phone call in the next few days, to enquire if you feel able to help me with my research. We'll then be able to arrange an initial meeting which, of course, will be at your convenience, when I can explain the research in more detail.

The results of the study, which is the first of its kind ever carried out in Nigeria, will be made available to your school. I'm sure you will find the results of interest and that they can be used to make a contribution to pedagogical practices in international education.

I do hope you will be able to help.

If you would like confirmation of the legitimacy of my research, my supervisor is Dr David Plowright, and you can reach him at the following address:

Centre for Educational Studies  
The University of Hull  
Cottingham Road  
Hull, HU6 7RX  
UK  
[d.plowright@hull.ac.uk](mailto:d.plowright@hull.ac.uk)

In anticipation, I look forward very much to hearing from you.

With thanks.

Yours Sincerely,

Mrs Nkechi Winifred Emenike  
Doctoral Researcher  
Postgraduate Office  
Centre for Educational Studies  
The University of Hull  
Cottingham Road  
Hull HU6 7RX, UK.  
[N.W.Emenike@2010.hull.ac.uk](mailto:N.W.Emenike@2010.hull.ac.uk)

### **APPENDIX 3** Letter inviting parents to participate in the research

Dear Parent or Guardian

#### **IDENTITY OF NIGERIAN STUDENTS ATTENDING INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS IN NIGERIA**

##### **Information for Parents/Guardians**

You are invited to participate in a research study about student identities in international schools which is focused on Nigerian students. The aim of this study is to understand the ways that students negotiate their identities.

I am carrying out the research as part of my PhD study at the University of Hull in the United Kingdom. I have been an international educator in Nigeria for ten years.

If you agree to participate, you will be invited to take part in a group interview with parents like yourself. The interview will feature questions about what you feel your children are gaining from their educational experiences in an international school and would take about 30 minutes of your time.

While you are encouraged to answer all questions, you are free to decline at any point.

The results of the study will be a valuable contribution to the body of knowledge about international education in Nigeria.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact the secretary to the Faculty of Education Ethics Committee, Mrs J. Lison, Centre for Educational Studies, University of Hull, Cottingham Road, Hull, HU6 7RX, UK

Email: [J.Lison@hull.ac.uk](mailto:J.Lison@hull.ac.uk) Tel. - +441482-465988.

I will be very grateful if you take a few minutes to fill out the attached consent form to participate in this study.

#### **APPENDIX 4** Parents' consent forms

##### **IDENTITY OF NIGERIAN STUDENTS ATTENDING INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS IN NIGERIA**

##### **PARENTS' CONSENT FORM**

I have read the attached letter and agree to participate in the study to be undertaken by Mrs. Nkechi Emenike.

Name

Signature

Date

Please return the signed form to the school tomorrow to your child's teacher.

## **APPENDIX 5** Letter requesting parental permission for students' research

14 April 2013

Dear Parent or Guardian

### **IDENTITY OF NIGERIAN STUDENTS ATTENDING INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS IN NIGERIA**

Permission for your child to take part in a research study

In the next two weeks I will be carrying out a research project on student identities in international schools, with a focus on Nigerian students. The study aims to obtain information on how students view their international schooling experience. The research is the first of its kind in Nigeria.

I would be grateful if you would give your permission for your child to take part in the study.

Students taking part in this study will be asked to write a narrative self-portrait. Afterwards, they will be interviewed in groups about their schooling experiences. Students who participate will do so during spare time created by the school. There will be no loss of academic class time.

The students will not be asked to give or write their names on the forms or in the event of data collection which means that all responses will be anonymous. No one at the school will have access to any of the information collected. The data will be accessible only to me.

Participation in the study is entirely voluntary and there will be no penalty for not participating. All students for whom parental consent is given will be asked if they wish to participate and only those who agree will be called to take part in the research. In addition, students will be free to withdraw from the study at any time.

The Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education, University of Hull in the UK has approved this study. Should you have any questions about the study please contact the

secretary to the Faculty of Education Ethics Committee Mrs J. Lison, Centre for Educational Studies, University of Hull, Cottingham Road, Hull, HU6 7RX, UK. Email: [J.Lison@hull.ac.uk](mailto:J.Lison@hull.ac.uk) tel. +44 1482-465988.

I'd be grateful if you would give your permission for your child to take part in the study by signing the enclosed consent form and returning it to his or her class teacher tomorrow. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. N.W. Emenike  
Doctoral Researcher  
University of Hull

#### **APPENDIX 6** Student Permission Form

#### IDENTITY OF NIGERIAN STUDENTS ATTENDING INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS IN NIGERIA

#### STUDENT PERMISSION FORM

Permission for my child to take part in a research study

I have read and understood the attached letter and agree to have my child participate in the study.

Name of student

Name of Parent/Guardian

Signature of Parent/Guardian

Date

Please return the signed form to the school tomorrow to your child's teacher

## APPENDIX 7 Teacher Questionnaire



### Teacher Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. This questionnaire is designed to explore your students' learning. The information you provide will be kept confidential. If any item requests information that you do not wish to share, feel free to omit it. Please tick the box of the option that best applies to you.

#### Section A

1. What is your gender?

☐ Female    ☐ Male    ☐ Would Rather Not State

2. What is your age range?

☐ 26-30    ☐ 31-35    ☐ 36-40    ☐ 41 and above

2. What part of the world are you from?

☐ Europe ☐ Asia ☐ US ☐ African ☐ Australia    ☐ South America

3. What is your age range?

☐ 20-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 40-50 ☐ 51 and above

4. The number of students in my class is

☐ Less than 15 ☐ Between 16 and 25 ☐ Between 26 and 35 ☐ 36 and above

5. My class is made up of students from three or more countries.

☐ Yes ☐ No    ☐ Unsure

3. Nigerian students constitute the highest population in my class.

☐ Yes    ☐ No    ☐ Unsure

#### Section B.

1. Our learning includes going on school trips.

☐Often ☐Sometimes ☐Rarely ☐Never ☐Unsure

Please go to page 2

2. We go to Nigerian locations for school trips.

☐Often ☐Sometimes ☐Rarely ☐Never ☐Unsure

3. We travel abroad for field trips.

☐Often ☐Sometimes ☐Rarely ☐Never ☐Unsure

4. My students appear to prefer field trips abroad.

☐Strongly agree ☐Agree ☐Disagree ☐Strongly Disagree ☐Unsure

5. I prefer to take my students abroad for school trips.

☐Strongly agree ☐Agree ☐Disagree ☐Strongly Disagree ☐Unsure

6. I prefer Nigerian locations for school trips.

☐Strongly agree ☐Agree ☐Disagree ☐Strongly Disagree ☐Unsure

7. I believe there is more to learn from trips abroad than Nigerian locations.

☐Strongly agree ☐Agree ☐Disagree ☐Strongly Disagree ☐Unsure

8. I think Nigerian locations are rich sites for learning.

☐Strongly agree ☐Agree ☐Disagree ☐Strongly Disagree ☐Unsure

9. I prefer to use foreign websites for my resources.

☐Strongly agree ☐Agree ☐Disagree ☐Strongly Disagree ☐Unsure

10. My students refer to foreign websites for their school work.

☐Often ☐Sometimes ☐Rarely ☐Never ☐Unsure

11. My students refer to Nigerian websites for their school work.

☐Often ☐Sometimes ☐Rarely ☐Never ☐Unsure

12. I believe there are few Nigerian websites relevant for our learning.



☐ Strongly agree    ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree    ☐ Strongly Disagree    ☐ Unsure

13. I think there are few reliable Nigerian websites for our learning.

☐ Strongly agree    ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree    ☐ Strongly Disagree    ☐ Unsure

Please go to page 3

## SECTION C

1. My students are engaged in cultural activities.

☐ Often    ☐ Sometimes    ☐ Rarely    ☐ Never    ☐ Unsure

2. These activities include Nigerian cultural activities

☐ Often    ☐ Sometimes    ☐ Rarely    ☐ Never    ☐ Unsure

3. Please give examples of these activities and state how often they are carried out.

---

4. My students appear to enjoy participating in Nigerian cultural activities.

☐ Strongly agree    ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree    ☐ Strongly Disagree    ☐ Unsure

5. My students appear to prefer Nigerian activities to other international cultural activities

☐ Strongly agree    ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree    ☐ Strongly Disagree    ☐ Unsure

6. It is important that students are engaged in Nigerian cultural activities in school.

☐ Strongly agree    ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree    ☐ Strongly Disagree    ☐ Unsure

7. I do not see the need to include Nigerian cultural activities in our learning.

☐ Strongly agree    ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree    ☐ Strongly Disagree    ☐ Unsure

8. Engaging students in their cultural activities is very productive.

☐ Strongly agree    ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree    ☐ Strongly Disagree    ☐ Unsure

## Section D

1. My students get along with each other.

☐Often ☐Sometimes ☐Rarely ☐Never ☐Unsure

2. I have observed they work well together in groups to solve problems.

☐Often ☐Sometimes ☐Rarely ☐Never ☐Unsure

3. I have observed friendships among students of different nationalities.

☐Often ☐Sometimes ☐Rarely ☐Never ☐Unsure

4. They appear to be comfortable in each other's company.

☐Strongly agree ☐Agree ☐Disagree ☐Strongly Disagree ☐Unsure

5. They appear to communicate effectively with each other.

☐Often ☐Sometimes ☐Rarely ☐Never ☐Unsure

6. Students of different nationalities get in fights with each other

☐Often ☐Sometimes ☐Rarely ☐Never ☐Unsure

7. Misunderstandings are caused by language barriers

☐Often ☐Sometimes ☐Rarely ☐Never ☐Unsure

8. My students exhibit a sense of belonging to the class

☐Strongly agree ☐Agree ☐Disagree ☐Strongly Disagree ☐Unsure

9. It is important that students learn about global citizenship in school

☐Strongly agree ☐Agree ☐Disagree ☐Strongly Disagree ☐Unsure

10. I could say my class was a little global community

☐Strongly agree ☐Agree ☐Disagree ☐Strongly Disagree ☐Unsure

11. It is important that students learn about citizenship of their individual countries in school

☐Strongly agree ☐Agree ☐Disagree ☐Strongly Disagree ☐Unsure

12. I believe my students learn to see the world differently from other Nigerians

☐Strongly agree      ☐Agree☐ Disagree   ☐ Strongly Disagree   ☐ Unsure

13. Most students who graduate from our school attend universities abroad

☐Often   ☐Sometimes   ☐Rarely   ☐Never   ☐Unsure

14. I believe my students can easily adapt and belong to any environment

☐Strongly agree      ☐Agree☐ Disagree   ☐ Strongly Disagree   ☐ Unsure

Thank you for taking time to fill out this questionnaire. It is very much appreciated.

## **APPENDIX 8** Student interview guide

### Student Interviews

1. How often do you sing the Nigerian national anthem?
2. What Nigerian customs do you know about?
3. To what extent are they important to you?
4. Why are they important?
5. Which do you choose to ignore?
6. Why do you choose to ignore them?
7. To what extent are you aware of your roles and responsibility towards your country?
8. What is it like going back home after a day at school?
9. What are the things you do at school that you do differently at home?
10. To what extent do you think you are different in terms of behavior and thinking from your friends who attend Nigerian schools?
11. To what extent do you think you are different in terms of behavior and thinking from your parents?

## **APPENDIX 9** Parent interview guide



1. What are the Nigerian customs you observe at home with your family?
2. To what extent does your child participate in these activities?
3. What are the things you value about your child attending an international school?
4. Does your child appear to enjoy talking about his/schooling experiences?
5. Why did you choose to enrol your child/ward at an international school?
6. Do you think they gain anything different from what they would get if they attended a Nigerian school?
7. Why is this important?
8. To what extent do you think your child's school experiences have affected their behaviour especially in their relations with other Nigerian students who attend local schools? If not, describe any issues you may have.

## **APPENDIX 10** Pictorial Vignette

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study. This pictorial vignette is part of the research on your student experiences. Please look at this picture and answer the questions that follow.



Open Culture, 2012

1. What can you see in this picture?

---

---

---

2. What comes to mind as you look at this picture? Write 3 of these

---

---

---

3. Imagine this picture represents your school and you were one of these people, how would you describe the person that you are in relation to others?

---

---

---

---

## Appendix 11 Narrative vignette



### Narrative Portrait through Vignette

**Please read the following passage written by a girl who attends an international school.**

#### **‘Skopie called me *Berekete*’**

The day finally came when my mum let me go play with the neighbours’ kids. I was so happy. We played ‘hide and seek’ and pretend play. I noticed that anytime I spoke,


Skopie would chuckle and say, “You talk funny Chimara”. For the most time I spent there, I felt very uncomfortable because I was just being myself and it seemed weird to be laughed at. At some point it was becoming annoying as I couldn’t understand why he was so amused at the way I spoke or acted. My annoyance and embarrassment grew when the others joined in and frankly, I was at the brink of tears. The final straw was when he said, “you are just so *berekete*”.

I burst into tears and it seemed to make matters worse as all the kids cracked up with laughter. His mum heard me crying and ran to the room thinking I was hurt. I was too teary to tell what happened. When Skopie had had his fill of laughter, he told her, “I called her *berekete* and she just started crying. I was only paying her a compliment”. She smiled and explained that Skopie was only trying to say I was so cool and he liked my posh accent and the way I acted.

I left their house thinking I wouldn’t be visiting them again for a long time if not forever. One thing was sure, I didn’t understand them and they certainly didn’t understand me.



Please write your answers to the following questions on this sheet. Try to write as much

as you can.  In fact the more you write the better!

a. Who is the narrator?

---

b. How did Chimara feel about going to the neighbours'?

---

c. What kind of games did they play?

---

d. What kind of games do you play?

---

e. Why do you think Chimara felt uncomfortable during her visit?

---

---

f. Explain how you think she felt about what happened?

---

---

---

---

g. Imagine you found yourself in the same situation as Chimara, how would you feel?

---

---

---

Please turn over to the next page

h. What advice would you give her about relating with the neighbours?

---

---

i. How could she have avoided the conflict?

---

---

---

---

---

Thank you for answering the questions. Please hand this over to your teacher.

**APPENDIX 12** Coding Schedule

Name of the school

Type of school

1. - American school
2. – British
3. – Nigerian

Tag line

1. Future leaders
2. Global citizenship
3. World class education
4. Other
5. none

Tagline statement

Mission/vision/purpose

1. yes
2. no

Reflects diversity

1. International diversity
2. Local diversity
3. none



Inclusion

1. yes
2. no

Individualism

1. yes
2. no

Responsible Nigerian citizenship/Nigerian unity

1. yes
2. no

International jobs

1. yes
2. no

Global citizenry

1. yes
2. no

Intercultural understanding

1. yes
2. no

Curriculum

1. American
2. British
3. Nigerian

Languages taught

1. Nigerian
2. International
3. Both

External examinations SSCE

1. yes
2. no

External exams – IGSCE

1. yes
2. no

External exams – SATs

1. yes
2. no

External exams – IB

1. yes
2. no

External exams – AP

1. yes
2. no

Other

1. yes
2. no

Other external exams listed

Type of higher institutions mentioned

1. Western
2. Nigerian
3. Other
4. None
5. both

Affiliations with higher institutions

1. yes
2. no

Student gender in photos

1. Gendered
2. Not gendered
3. Indeterminate
4. No figures

Student Ethnicity

- 1.
2. Black
3. Black and white
4. Black and white and other
5. Indeterminate
6. None

Intranet

1. yes
2. no

Parties in the intranet

1. School Community
2. Student and staff
3. Staff only
4. None

5. other

School trips location

1. Nigerian locations
2. Western locations
3. Both
4. Other African locations
5. African and Western
6. Nigerian and African
7. None

Associations, Examination Bodies

1. Western
2. Local
3. Both
4. None

Student council mentioned

1. yes
2. no

Role of student council

1. fundraising
2. organizing events
3. both
4. other
5. none

Student Houses

1. Named after foreign figures or landmarks
2. Named after Nigerian figures or landmarks
3. none

Cultural activities

1. Nigerian
2. Western
3. Both
4. International

Are events also scheduled outside school hours?

1. yes
2. no

Student uniforms

1. yes
2. no

Types of uniforms

1. Blazers
2. oxford shirts
3. casual clothes
4. common uniforms
5. other
6. indeterminate

Is there a uniform policy

1. yes
2. no
3. not clear

Location of recommended shops

1. rich areas
2. poor areas
3. school shop
4. none

Sports Mentioned

1. yes
2. no

Type of Sports Mentioned

1. locally played
2. typically western
3. both
4. not clear

Name of Sporting Activities

Sporting associations

1. international
2. local
3. none

PTA

1. yes
2. no

Events organized by PTA

1. Nigerian
2. Intercultural
3. Western
4. Weekends
5. none

Money issues mentioned

1. yes
2. no

Type of fees

1. Tuition
2. Students support
3. Other
4. None
5. all

Payment currency

1. dollars
2. pounds
3. naira
4. other
5. none

Ethnicity of school staff

1. local hire
2. western
3. local and western
4. more local than western
5. more western than local
6. none

Ethnicity of school head

1. white
2. black
3. other
4. none

School locations

1. elite neighbourhood
2. poor areas
3. not clear

Type of buildings

1. modern
2. old fashioned
3. none

Do classrooms look well equipped?

1. yes
2. no
3. indeterminate
4. non

Classroom size

1. Large
2. Small
3. None
4. Not clear

Number of students in classrooms

1. 10 – 20
2. 20 – 30
3. 30 and above
4. Not clear

What is the nature of school awards?

1. Nigerian
2. Western
3. Both
4. none

### APPENDIX 13 Numeric data of Websites' analysis

			ISW	NSW		
			n	%	n	%
1.	School locations	Elite	26	96	0	0
		Poor	1	4	7	78
		Unclear	0	0	2	22
2.	Images of school trips	Western locations	19	70	0	0
		Nigerian locations	0	0	3	33
		other	1	4	0	0
		none	7	26	7	77
3.	Fees mentioned	yes	20	74	2	22
		no	7	26	7	78
4.	Yearly school fees listed	Yes	9	33	1	11
		No	18	67	8	89

5.	Yearly school fees listed	Yes	9	33	1	11
		No	18	67	8	89
6.	Ethnicities of school heads	White	23	86	0	0
		Black	2	7	9	100
		Uncertain	2	7	0	0
7.	Ethnicity of School Staff	Black	6	22	9	100
		White	21	78	0	0
8.	Student ethnicities	Black	14	52	9	100
		Black, white and other	13	48	0	0
9.	Type of curriculum	British	9	33	0	0
		American	17	63	0	0
		Nigerian	0	0	9	100
10.	Teaching Nigerian Languages	Yes	6	22	8	88
		No	21	78	1	12
11.	Association and Examination bodies	Western	19	70	0	0
		Local	0	0	5	56
		Both	1	4	1	11
		None	7	26	3	33
12.	Types of Assessment	Nigerian	5	19	9	100
		Foreign exams	22	81	0	0
13.	Types of universities mentioned	Western	16	59	2	22
		Nigerian	0	0	3	33
		Other	1	4	1	12
		None	10	37	3	33
14.	Global citizenship	Yes	21	78	2	22
		No	6	22	7	78
15.	Fostering Intercultural understanding	Yes	14	52	2	22
		No	13	48	7	78
16.	Cultural diversity	International diversity	9	33	1	11

		Local diversity	4	15	8	89
		none	14	52	0	0

#### Appendix 14 Numeric data of teacher questionnaire

			n	%
1	Nigerian students constitute the highest population in my class.	Yes	79	91
		No	7	8
		Unsure	1	1
2.	Cultural activities include Nigerian cultural activities.	Often/Sometimes	22	25
		Rarely/Never	63	73
		Unsure	2	2
3	I prefer foreign websites for my resources	strongly agree/agree	72	83
		Disagree/strongly disagree	9	10
		unsure	6	7
4.	I believe there are few Nigerian websites that are relevant for our learning	strongly agree/agree	54	62
		Disagree/strongly disagree	14	16
		unsure	19	22
5.	My students refer to Nigerian websites for their school work	often/sometimes	14	16
		rarely/never	64	74
		unsure	9	10
6.	I think Nigerian locations are rich sites for learning	strongly agree/agree	72	83
		Disagree/strongly	8	9



		disagree		
		unsure	7	8
7.	I believe there is more to learn from trips abroad than Nigerian locations	strongly agree/agree	35	40
		Disagree/strongly disagree	41	47
		unsure	11	13
8.	I believe that my students learn to see the world differently to other Nigerians.	strongly agree/agree	68	
		Disagree/strongly disagree	11	
		unsure	8	

9.	I could say that my class was a little global community.	strongly agree/agree	79	
		Disagree/strongly disagree	6	
		unsure	2	
10.	It is important that students are engaged in Nigerian cultural activities in school.	strongly agree/agree	80	93
		Disagree/strongly disagree	3	3
		unsure	4	5
11.	It is important that students are engaged in Nigerian cultural activities in school.	Europe	18	21
		Asia	8	9
		US	9	10
		Africa	52	60
12.	What part of the world are you from?	Europe	18	21
		Asia	8	9
		US	9	10
		Africa	52	60
13.	I do not see the need to include Nigerian cultural activities in the students' learning	Strongly agree/agree	9	10
		Disagree/strongly disagree	75	86
		Unsure	3	4

