

English Linguistic Hegemony

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Language Use of the British Council and the American University of Afghanistan in the Promotion of English

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Bachelor Thesis

English Language and Culture

Abstract

Post 9/11, Afghanistan emerged as the new context for discourses about modernization and globalization. All of a sudden, English became an important language and a key for Afghanistan's prosperous future. As a result, English has gained an extraordinary role in less than twenty years. Two main agencies are providing ELT programs in the country. This paper studies the language that the American University of Afghanistan (AUAF) and the British Council use in their written publications to promote English Language Teaching (ELT). The purpose of the present study is twofold. On the one hand, it outlines some common discourses of English and on the other hand, it examines, critically, how those discourses have patterns and signs of Linguistic Imperialism. To this end, I apply a combination of two focal approaches towards Critical Discourse analysis, namely the Discourse-Historical Approach and socio-cognitive approach to find out how English is legitimized, glorified, and rationalized in Kabul through discourse. The findings will be interpreted in the light of theories of Linguistic Imperialism developed by Robert Phillipson (1992) and Alastair Pennycook (1998) as well as Van Dijk's principles for analyzing ideology. By providing evidence from a new context, this study can contribute to debates over the phenomenon of Global English.

Key words: Linguistic Imperialism (LI), Language Promotion, Critical Discourse analysis (CDA), Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), Sociocognitive approach (SCA), English Linguistic Hegemony (ELH)

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Chapter One: Introduction

New social processes and change give rise to “new discourses” (Fairclough, 2011, p.213). In some contexts, change can be sudden and radical. Afghanistan, more specifically Kabul, witnessed such changes after the military intervention of the United States post 9/11 attacks. Discourses of globalization traveled there after the regime change. Political and social changes were sudden and radical; in few months, values such as democracy, human rights, and freedom of speech were imported. Fairclough (2001) refers to ‘globalization’ as an “ideological discourse of change” which he directly links to the rise of ‘global language’ — ‘global English’. As expected, teaching and learning English was prioritized to make the country ready to take part in the globalized world. Two main English language agencies, the British Council and the American Embassy in Afghanistan, took this responsibility. The latter even established the first English medium university called the America University of Afghanistan (AUAF). Right now, English has taken over as the only foreign language taught in schools and promoted strongly by the US Embassy and British Council as a key component of nation-building process superseding the role of Persian and Pashto languages. It happens in the absence of a logical connection between development and the English language while knowing that it might adversely affect the state of education in peripheries of Kabul where Persian and Pashto still remains the only medium of education.

Fairclough (2001) sees such radical and sudden changes in a certain society in itself as “the root of problems”. This view makes Afghanistan a perfect context for the emergence of discourses about globalization and the English language. This very idea serves as the initial motivation for the current study too. A second motivation for conducting this research was my personal fascination with the critical study of language and discourse, especially when the power of it in directing thoughts and actions is completely taken for granted. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used to analyze discourses of English in the publication of these organizations. As an analytical framework that set critique at the forefront of its objectives, CDA deems the critical study of language —especially in the face of great changes and transformations — very significant. This paper argues that an uncritical acceptance of English or any other international language might have negative consequences, thus should be confronted on the basis of theoretical and empirical studies.

The phenomenon of English as a global language became the subject of criticism in the 1990s. Two seminal works that appear in this period were *Linguistic Imperialism* and *English and Discourses of Colonialism* written by Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1998) respectively. These works lay the foundation for the critical study of (English) language spread. Until then,

language diffusion was considered a natural process. Both authors claim that the modern promotion of English by its agencies resembles the promotion and consolidation of English during the colonial period with respect to their argumentation schemes, claims, and the construction of images that may have ideological implications. Phillipson pays a special attention to the activities of the British Council and some US organizations that teach English. It is argued that the main motive behind their establishment was not only the teaching English, but also the consolidation of its dominance for political and economic reasons.

Furthermore, these authors study and analyze the language use of a large number of historical documents to find out how English was promoted in the past, what was English associated with and why. Phillipson concludes that three types of arguments dominated the promotion of English which revolved around *what English is*, *what English has* and *what English does*. He adds that except the second type, the two other types are most of the time fallacious and easily challengeable. Likewise, Pennycook (1998) pays particular attention to discourses of English that contain stereotypical *East* and *West* representation in binary oppositions. He claims that these traditional representations have continuity and are still used in discourses about English in the modern times. Most scholars relate English to Gramsci's notion of hegemony. It is argued that hegemony as a concept assists the understanding of English as the international language (Macedo, Dendrinis, & Gounari, 2016; Tsuda, 2011; Yoo & Namkung 2012; Modiano, 2001; Nye, 1990).

Many studies emerged in the twenty-first century which provided empirical evidence for the dominance of English from various new contexts. For examples, studies in Bunce, Phillipson, Rapatahana, and Tupast (2016) testifies most of the claims and arguments made by Phillipson (1992). Studies in this book support the fact that English has hegemonic dominance in most of the former colonies and is being promoted based on a number of myths and fixed arguments. Many scholars criticize and even blame English agencies, especially the British Council, and other international organization for propagating English at the expense of local languages and for creating unequal access to education.

As mentioned before, the British Council and AUAFA are actively promoting and providing English teaching programs and Western-style Education in Afghanistan. However, how they promote English is not explored yet. What patterns do they follow, what arguments they usually employ, and to what extent those arguments are valid? This thesis, therefore, examines the language use of the English language agencies to find out how are they legitimizing and justifying the role of English. Moreover, how they represent various social actors and what ideological implications it might have. Ultimately, I aim to find an answer to the following research question. Do texts published by the British Council and AUAFA have any sign of Linguistic Imperialism? To answer this question, I will first outline discourses of English in their publications. Secondly,

I will examine how those discourses are ideologically driven. To this purpose, I apply a combination of two approaches of CDA on discourses of English languages in the publications of British Council, AUAF, BBC and VOA News.

This paper has the following structure: Chapter Two begins by describing three phases in the study of language spread. It goes on to explain the critical study of English in details by introducing key concepts and notions of LI followed by a description of the history of the agencies that promote English. This part also outlines important aspects crucial to the understanding of LI and back them up by citing additional academic sources. The special focus of this literature review is on the arguments and images used in the promotion of English and their growing sophistication in the neocolonial era.

The Third Chapter describes the theoretical framework employed to analyze the data. This part starts with a brief introduction to Critical Discourse analysis. Then, the two approaches that are preferred for this study, Discourse-Historical Approach and Socio-cognitive approach, are explained. This chapter also covers the explanations of the data collection the analysis procedures.

The Fourth Chapter presents the findings. It first outlines which nomination and predication strategies were used in the texts to construct social actors, events, phenomena, and objects. Then, it describes the result of the argumentation strategies followed by the findings of strategies of perspectivization, intensification and mitigation. Each part is accompanied by quotation examples in tables.

In Chapter five, I discuss my findings on the basis of the theories explained in Chapter Three and Four. Each part is interpreted separately. This part also presents context-specific information about Afghanistan and its language and culture. Additionally, extra references present are presented to support any new claim that I make. This part finally explains how the propagation of English in Afghanistan might indirectly serve the interest of the state. Moreover, it demonstrates how English is starting to contribute to cultural and structural inequalities in Kabul and in the country at large. This section is followed by a brief conclusion in which I summarize the present study.

Chapter Two: Literature Overview

2.1 The critical study of the phenomenon of Global English

As a special case of language spread, English has been widely studied by scholars in different periods of time. García (2001) identifies three phases in the study of language spread; “*the beginning*” (1970s-80s), “*the critical period*” (the 1990s), and “*the postmodern period*” (the twenty-first century) (p. 399). Informed by the modernist schemes, scholars of the initial phase perceived language spread as a “natural phenomenon”. They advocated global language as a solution to problems stemming from diversity and multilingualism. However, works published in the *critical period* offer a critical evaluation of the English language spread focusing on the English language expansion from the point of view of the critical theory. They study language spread in relation to race and class conflict from an anti-imperialist stance. Finally, in the twenty-first century, language spread is studied from a postmodernist perspective within the framework of language ecology, that is, the study of the interaction between language and environment. This paradigm ensures that language spread is always interpreted in relation to globalization and technological advancements of the twenty-first century where individual agency is crucial to language spread (García, 2001). Admittedly, each phase’s definition of language spread, approach towards it, motives and theoretical framework differ from one another. Despite that, they are not mutually exclusive.

Linguistic Imperialism, written by Robert Phillipson (1992) marks the beginning of a new phase in the studies of language spread called the *critical period*. Phillipson studies English in the light of Center-Periphery relationships by employing theories of imperialism. In this context, Center refers to the core-English speaking countries and Periphery refers to the former colonies of the British Empire where English was imposed. Unlike linguists who see language spread as a natural phenomenon, Phillipson believes that active forces caused the spread of English. Such systematic spread of English by particular bodies is seen by him as a sign of LI. LI is identified as a subtype of cultural imperialism in the neo-imperial era. In particular, English linguistic imperialism (ELI) entails that “the dominance of English is asserted ... by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages” (p. 47). Phillipson asserts that the “Empire of English” has replaced the British Empire and now has continued to rule the world in new forms (p. 1). To study ELI, Phillipson employs a multidisciplinary theoretical approach from different academic disciplines. Some of them are sociolinguistic fields such as language spread, sociology of language, language planning, language

pedagogy, and linguistic human rights. By doing so, he aims to answer the following fundamental questions: how English is promoted; how the dominance of English is asserted; and finally what arguments are used to justify the position of English.

Another seminal work of the *critical period* is Pennycook (1998)'s *English and the Discourses of Colonialism* in which he argues that colonial discourses are still very much alive in today's promotion of English and the construction of language politics. He believes that the spread of English is the result of the empire. in two ways: Firstly, English was central to the development of the empire and secondly, it was "deeply interwoven with the discourses of colonialism" (p. 2). Like Phillipson, Pennycook also sees colonialism as a good context for studying discourses of English. To find evidence, Pennycook examines colonial documents from various contexts and from a range of different genres like travel and student writings, news articles, educational policy reports and minutes.

The critical study of English does not end in the 1990s. Phillipson and Pennycook's works inspired a number of scholars to question the role and dominance of English in the twenty-first century. A recent work edited by Bunce, Phillipson, Rapatahana, and Tupast (2016) is an attempt to provide evidence, both theoretical and empirical, to manifest the negative consequences of English's hegemonic dominance. Evidence from various contexts collected mostly by the Periphery country researchers challenge the myths of English. According to the title of the book, *Why English? Confronting the Hydra* is inspired by a vice figure of Greek Mythology. Hydra, a serpent with several heads, is used as a metaphor to describe the current position of English in the world. The book aims to advocate a mother-tongue-based multilingual approach to language education.

2.2. Language Promotion

Two main factors helped English gain its today's status; the British Imperialism and the emergence of United States as the world new military and economic power after the World War II. This is one of the points on which the critics of the anti-imperialist readings of English (Crystal, 2003; Svartvik & Leech, 2006) also agree. Phillipson (1992) argues that English has become a dominant language for being directly promoted by these two world powers who shared the same language. Both were eager and had to find "platforms" for language promotion. Therefore organizations were established to meet the purpose. Phillipson sees the suppression of other languages and the consolidation of English as the Great Britain's official policy (p. 18). The British Council, founded in 1934, had political and commercial interests. Phillipson argues that its establishment was a countermeasure for the propagandist activities of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy in the Middle East, Latin America, and South Europe. Although the organization claims political independence, Phillipson argues that it has been receiving funds from political bodies (p.

141). The following quotation by the Prince of Wales at the official inauguration ceremony in 1995 clearly illustrates that the purpose of the establishment of the British Council, indeed, was more than just teaching English.

“The basis of our work must be the English language... we are aiming at something more profound than just a smattering of our tongue. Our object to assist the largest number possible to appreciate fully the glories of our literature, our contribution to the arts and sciences and our pre-eminent contribution to political practice. This can be best achieved by promoting the study of our language abroad...” (as cited in Phillipson, 1992, p. 138).

These goals were emphasized in many other publications. For instance, *The Diffusion of English Culture Outside England: A Problem of Post-war Reconstruction*, written by an adviser to the British Council in 1941, pleaded for establishing English language and culture based on their own. He believed that this will make a whole new career for ‘linguistic missionaries’. The following quotation from *Dorgohede Report Summary* (1954), demonstrates the centrality of English and the British Council in the post-war British foreign policies.

“...we need to build up our export trade and to protect our overseas’s investments, which are increasingly threatened by the extreme nationalism in many parts of the world. In our opinion, the Information Service can help in this regard by explaining our economic situation and commercial policies; by maintaining an atmosphere of good-will towards this country; and by increasing the use of English as the common language in the East ... In the very long term, we have no doubt that the world of the British Council, especially in regards to the teaching of English in Asia will be highly beneficial to our overseas trade” (as cited in Phillipson, 1992, p. 146).

English language promotion also constitutes an important component of the American global policy. Like Britain, the US has been promoting English, and through English their culture by a set of government and private organizations. Forty of such agencies were active in providing educational aids in the 1960s. In 1964, the Peace Corps, a volunteer organization, had over 7.000 volunteers teaching English in different parts of the world. According to Mazuri (2016), the US promotion of English has caused even more inequalities globally. Yoo and Namkung (2012) demonstrate how the United States uses what Joseph Nye (1990) calls ‘soft powers’ as an instrument to dominate the world; teaching and testing English is their biggest instrument (p. 225).

The two major powers started to coordinate on English teaching mission during the 1950s and 1960s. The result of their cooperation was the establishment of the English language teaching (ELT) projects. Their main goal was to find a place for English in the global education system. They claimed to have the expertise to solve the language learning problems worldwide. Both powers have promoted English by similar means employing similar strategies and benefited from it. This idea that native speakers of English have a monopoly over the language is rejected by Svartvik and Leech (2006). They assert that “native speakers [have lost] their proprietorship of English” after English had become the lingua franca (p. 232), thus “the native speaker no longer rules”(p. 236). This argument is problematic since organizations of the Center still function as gatekeepers of English by being in charge of English language tests for instance.

2. 3. Arguments in English Linguistic Hegemony

Typical arguments are used to promote English in popular and academic discourses. Phillipson (1992) divides them into three categories, *English-intrinsic* arguments, *English-extrinsic* arguments and *English-functional* arguments. The first type of argument revolves around the capacities of English or “what English is”. For instance, during the colonial times, English was seen as a noble and civilized language, the language of the Bible with a rich literature. The second type is about the resources or “what English has”. An example of this is the constant tendency to give reference to English material resources such as libraries, books, teachers, and experts. Resources of English are glorified while resources from other languages are perceived unimportant or made invisible. Phillipson notes English resources are the output of historical investments. Therefore, inequality between the resources of English and other languages also exemplifies imperialist patterns of *development*. Finally, the third type is all about “what English does”. English-functional arguments equate English with progress, modernity and attach important roles to it. Knowledge of English is seen as a gateway to all life facilities. Labels like ‘international language’, lingua franca, given to English is problematized by Phillipson. All three arguments together make English and its dominance very powerful and hegemonic.

Phillipson applies Galtung (1980)’s framework for analyzing power to study the dominance and power that the English language holds. He categorizes power in three types, *innate*, *resource*, and *structural* power. Galtung uses *ideas*, *carrots*, and *sticks* as metaphors for each type of power. The first type, *ideas*, operate through persuasion. For instance, persuading people about the intrinsic qualities and superiority of English. The second type, *carrots*, work through bargaining, that is, what one can get in return once they accept English. It may provide access to science and technology, a great civilization, modernity, and rationality. And the last type, *sticks* operate through explicit or implicit forces. Most arguments contain hidden threats about what

will happen if one does not learn English. Such agreements single out that conflicts may be created if English is ignored or less valued. These three types of power render the receiver (people from periphery counties) submissive and to the Center. Phillipson concludes that discourse analysis of English linguistic imperialism can show the interrelatedness of these arguments.

Phillipson (2016) compares arguments and claims of two texts written in different periods of time to find similarities between them. These text are ‘*Minute on Indian Education*’ by Thomas Babington Macaulay in 1835 and *English Next India*, by David Graddol (2010). He concludes that the type and the nature of arguments in both texts are similar. For example, both have the same part of departure, (“India needs English”), both refer to local languages as inappropriate for academic usage, and both consider English as a universal language, a basic skill. In short, both text glorify and rationalize English by a set of intrinsic, extrinsic and functional arguments. One of Graddol’s biggest claim is that India will fall behind the world if the country does not start to teach English language skills from an earlier stage in schools. This statement can be seen as a perfect example of *stick* (structural power, functional argument) which reminds the audience the consequences of not paying enough attention to learning the English language.

Likewise, Pennycook (1998) finds out particular representations and images of English learners, colonies, and English teachers in an *us* versus *them* framework. He notes that English was argued for from an Anglicist point of view in the former colonies. Common discourse involved an exaggerated glorification of English and degradation and under-treatment of local languages and culture. His claim is that even the postcolonial arguments of English contain images that were constructed during colonialism. For example, images of the *other* (learners) has fixity, they are described as “lazy”, “passive”, “imitative”, “child-like”, “feminine” who lack originality (pp. 58, 65). Similarly, negative construction of the countries are highlighted; dirt, poverty, and crowd are shown as norms (p. 64). Backwardness is another word that reoccurs in the description of *the other*. What is more, local learning practices are looked down upon and considered ineffective. All these perceptions echo down to the present and shape ideologies. Interestingly, *Anglicism* interlocked with discourses of liberal humanism and civilization. Pennycook notes that *Anglicist* discourses resurface in the language policies of the neocolonial era every now and then. Old descriptions about English and predications of its future had a celebratory and triumphalist tone. As a matter of fact, today’s liberal and neutral description is no different. Pennycook argues that these discourses are not neutral or free of the traditional *East* and *West*, and *self* and *other* dichotomies. Current discourses characterizing the *self* and *other* in dichotomies are actually the cultural constructs of colonialism.

Another important issue is who uses these arguments. In fact, both Center and the Periphery elites do so. *Ideas* are more often used instead of *carrots* and *sticks* which signifies the sophistication of the arguments. By sophistication, Phillipson means that the work of the seller or

the Center is made simpler since people are persuaded to believe that using and learning English is good for them. In this process, the seller “appears as helping or doing aid rather than forcing or bargaining with the victim”. According to Marianne Gronemeyer (1992), helping is the “elegant way of exerting power” (as cited in Clarke, 2012, p. 22). In ELT, the intention to help teachers can be seen as “expressing a desire to colonize them” (p. xviii). Ironically, in the helping process, the helper benefits. This process perpetuates inequality and positions the *helper* higher in the power relations. Ultimately, the *helppee* does not revolve to become an agent to question the unequal relationship which renders him/her powerless. This practice is referred to as *rationalization*, in which the helping ideology legitimizes the exploitative relationship between the *helper* and *helppee*. *Stigmatization* and *rationalization* finally lead to the *glorification* of English as the must-learned language and the initial requirement for employment. It can also operate in a reverse manner. Likewise, the seller claims to be neutral and non-political. Moreover, English is referred to as an instrument. Phillipson believes that describing English as an instrument focuses on it as means (what English is) which is different from the purpose of English (what English has and does).

Apparently, ELT is one of the contexts in which claims and all three types of arguments about the English languages are mostly articulated. Additionally, ELT is believed to be of the biggest means through which the dominance of English is asserted. Phillipson claims that the creation of ELT was a step forward to creating a ‘professionalism’ that serves the interest of the Center. Tenets through which ELT operates is problematic. They are made by the native speakers and place great demand for native speakers. In this way, it increases the dependence of the Periphery to the Centre which exemplifies colonial ideology by consolidating the dominance of both English and its speakers. In the context of ELT, one can also find fixed aforementioned dichotomous representation of *East* and *West*. In other words, every positive aspect about the *West* (the self) is emphasized positively while the *East* (the other) is constructed negatively in every aspect.

Many scholars dwell on the notion of hegemony and its relation to ELT practices. English and ELT practices are hegemonic if they support the ideology of dominant group(s) and if their dominance is overlooked and evaluated uncritically. Sometimes there is no choice but to learn English provided that it is a compulsory subject because and the state education system supports it. There hardly exists any literature on the hegemony of English before the 1980s (Tsuda, 2011). However, later on, a great number of researchers have become concerned with the topic and examined the influence of it theoretically or empirically. Some prominent works include Macedo, Dendrinos, & Gounari (2016), Tsuda (2011), Yoo and Namkung (2012), Modiano (2001), and Nye (1990). Here I outline some of them. (moved from ELH part, paragraph one)

2. 4. Neo-Imperialism?

It is usually claimed that ELT project is for the benefit of the Periphery countries since it can help them take part in the globalized world. Great emphasis on ELT indirectly paves the way for Educational Imperialism (EI), that is, importing western models and examples from the Center to Periphery. Here, the term *professionalism* comes into play, the function of which is three-fold: institutional transfer, training and education, and the diffusion of occupational ideologies (p. 62). The Professionalism of ELT, Phillipson argues, operates in an alike manner: (1) the underdeveloped countries educational curriculum is organized based on Western models, (2) ELT's activities are central about education and training, (3) and the hidden aim is transferring ideology. Ironically, what is overlooked in the whole process is the Periphery countries' needs. Phillipson mentions an additional aspect of cultural imperialism, that is, Periphery agents are supposedly not passive but active decision-makers with some degree of freedom. However, things are mainly controlled by the Center.

Drawing on Altbach's ideas, Phillipson defines the hegemony of the English language through theories of neoimperialism, which denote controlling through means other than force and military power. Phillipson claims that neo-imperialism is the present day form of imperialism". The dependency of Periphery to Center is great especially with regards to education. This "indicates the prevailing structure is imperialist" (p. 71). The history of aid agencies proves that they had immense difficulty in recognizing problems of the local communities and finding solutions for them (Phillipson 1992, p. 63). However, whether their English teaching plans succeed or fail, once English becomes a medium of education it can have structural and cultural implications. Structural in a sense that it shapes social practice in the domains of education, employment and community relations. Cultural in a sense that it creates norms and values for the classroom and shapes attitudes towards different languages (Phillipson 1992, p. 64).

Agencies of both powers were active in Afghanistan before the civil wars (the 1990s). Five volunteers of the Peace Corps first came there in 1962. By the time they left, their number reached over two hundred volunteers (Irwin & Irwin, 2014). Two years later, the British Council established itself in Kabul with the overt aim of developing relationship and teaching English to Afghanistans. The Civil War and the Taliban period forced both agencies to leave the country for security reasons. Several years later, the US military invasion brought them back. The British Council reopened in 2002 and the US began English teaching activities through their Embassy. AUAF is the US biggest institution for teaching English.

The US invasion of Afghanistan attracted thousands other NGOs to move in. On the one hand, it created great demand for English translators to national languages in order for foreigners to communicate with their Afghanistani counterparts, on the other hand, it encouraged a large number of youth to learn English in order to seek employment with foreign troops and NGOs as

a career choice. Dramatically, the use of English language in governmental and NGO events, conferences and talks became the need of the hour. A number of print newspapers such as *the Voice of Freedom* and *Kabul Times* started promoting bilingualism (Pashto and English or Persian and English) writing the same text in two languages in the same page. Some other domestic newspapers like *Outlook* and *Afghanistan Express* were entirely English. While they were all dependent on foreign donations for their longevity, they certainly normalized the usage of English language in Afghanistan.

In schools, students suddenly started feeling the invisible pressure to learn English. Taking private English language courses became talk of the town among youth serving them as a short-cut to employment. Moreover, the teaching of English language as a school subject shifted from seventh grade to fourth grade, while fourth grade students can hardly read and write in their native language in Afghanistan. Furthermore, ex-President Hamid Karzai's suggestion about adopting English as the language of instruction in medical and engineering colleges shocked Kabul university students and staffs (BBC Persian, 2012). Meanwhile, certain private universities were consequently founded with either having English language as their main language of instruction like the American University of Afghanistan or as one of the two languages of instruction like Kardan and Dunya institutes of higher education. While most of these changes were taking place in Kabul, capital of Afghanistan, the situation in the rest of the country was not very different from the past. Yet, Afghanistan remains one of the poorest countries with one of the lowest literacy rates and weak educational infrastructures in Asia, where very few people can afford college fees of private universities and very limited number of people can speak and understand English language properly.

The literature reviewed for this paper has covered the role of English in numerous Eastern countries. However, Afghanistan is not a case study in any of them. Crystal (2001) mentions the name of Afghanistan only once and links it with the role of the military in the spread of English pinpointing the following open question: "is it likely that an English-language presence of a few months, or even years, would have a long-term influence on local language awareness?" (p. 106). Indeed, the military intervention of the US reintroduced English in Afghanistan but it is the presence of some international organizations that have increased the demand for English in the country. What arguments and images of English are embedded in the publication of these agencies will be explored in this paper. Do their discourses embody any traditional stance? Are there traces of colonial *us* versus *them* dichotomies? And Finally, can one call the presence of English in Afghanistan hegemonic? Finding answer for such questions requires Critical Discourse Analysis. The approach is described in length in Chapter Two.

Chapter Three

Analytical Framework

3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) refers to an analytical framework, a research method, or a “body of work” (Simpson and Mayr, 2010, p. 51) that studies language within its different social contexts and brings forth the hidden ideological meanings (intentional or unintentional). It aims to “understand, expose and ... resist social inequality” (Van Dijk, as cited in O’Halloran, 2003, p. 11) Historically, CDA originates from Critical Linguistics (CL), which in turn draws on Critical Theory. According to Critical Linguistics, texts contain ideology which has the power to control readers mind and can only be demystified by a through a structural systematic analysis of text by applying a set of linguistic procedures. For instance, one can interpret the missing of by-phrases in passive constructions as a way to conceal the doer of an action which can have ideological consequences. Simpson and Mayr (2010) states that a single unified approach towards CDA is lacking. Consequently, several approaches to CDA have been developed. In fact, each approach pays more attention to one particular aspect of the discourse. CDA is multidisciplinary and problem-oriented in nature and attributes equal importance to both linguistic units and the social phenomena.

Critique, power, ideology, and discourse are important inter-related concepts within CDA. The first term, critique, is a crucial one. Overall, in any research methodology, the concept implies situating data in the social context in order to find “political positioning of discourse” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p 87). Different types of critique have different aims. In CDA, criticism is done with the aim to produce awareness or knowledge that can help combating ideology and unequal power relations. As Wodak & Meyer (2009) emphasis that the purpose of criticism in CDA is not only understanding and explaining society but also changing society. In short, inspired by Critical Theory, CDA transfers critical knowledge aimed at emancipation elighthqment and self liberation from domination and abuse.

The second concept, power, also is conceptualized differently by various scholars. Wodak & Meyer (2009) outline three main approaches to power. Weber defines power a “chance” that an individual can achieve. French and Raven (1959) see resources of social actors central to the achievement of power. Their conclusion is inline with Phillipson description English Extrinsic arguments that originates from the resource power that English posses. CDA sees power the way it is theorized by Foucault, who is known to be the ‘godfather’. He regards power as a “systematic and constitutive” feature of society (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 9). Foucault sees power dependent on knowledge since, he believes that knowledge in itself is produced and maintained

through power structures. For him, power is more than just the result of achieving chance and possessing resources, but he overall structure. CDA researcher believe that the language of those in power have typical feature that produce, legitimize and perpetuate inequalities. Analyzing power (which is mostly invisible) helps in reveling the dynamics of control in modern societies.

The third concept central for CDA is ideology. In Althusser's theory, ideology receives a completely new definition and characteristics. Like language, ideology works as a filter in our relationships with the outside world. Althusser further links ideology to Freud's notion of the '*unconscious*' and says that we, as subjects, perform according to the dominant ideology as the result of the internalization of certain principles perceived as normal or natural. For example, we remind ourselves to be feminine or masculine and perform it accordingly. Adhering to such ideology is thus *unconscious* (Walton, 2012). Likewise, Van Dijk (1998) refers to ideology as a "shared framework of social beliefs" or "the basis of social representations shared by members of group" that organize and shape social actions and interpretations of a group and control power relations between them (p.8). Ideology is seen as "one-sided world view" that helps the establishment of hegemonic discourses and unequal power relationships by functioning as a gatekeeper or filter between us and the world. (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 88).

The last and the most crucial concept in CDA is discourse itself. According to Foucault, discourse includes the production of knowledge, ideology and the use of power, which mediates between human beings and the outside world and consequently prevent them from accessing the truth even about their own selves. There is a deeper level of truth which is concealed from us by discourse. Wodak and Meyer (2009) explain how CDA perceives discourse. For them, discourse is both the use of language in texts and talks as well as "a form of social practice" (p. 5). Discourse and society are in a dialectical relationship; discourse is framed by society and meanwhile shapes social actions and behaviors. It contributes to the maintenance of status quo, the creations of social relationships between groups, and the legitimization of illegitimate power. Most importantly, discourse has structural and ideological implications such as producing categorical division between the majority and minorities (pp. 7-88).

As can be seen, the influence of CT and CL has been profound on CDA. Since its emergence, the method has been widely applied to a variety of genres in various disciplines. Fairclough (2001) explains what accounts for the great fascination with the study of language in the postmodern society. He sees CDA as "part of the general self-consciousness about language" (p. 230). Turning now to the context of Afghanistan, discourses on English in the publications of the British Council and the American University of Afghanistan will be studied through CDA. CDA is preferred for conducting this study for two reasons. Firstly, the method has a critical dimension aiming at creating emancipatory knowledge and awareness. Secondly, it has been the main approach of most scholars involved in the critical study of the English language. In this study, I use

a combination of two famous approaches towards CDA namely: Discourse Historical-Approach (DHA) and Socio-cognitive approach. The next two subsections give an overview of both these approaches and will determine how they will be used to analyze the data.

3.2. The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

The DHA is one of the focal approaches toward CDA developed by Ruth Wodak. As the name suggests, the historical context of the phenomenon under investigation plays an important role in the analysis. Another aspect that differentiates this approach is that its methodology is developed as such that brings the issue of identity construction and discrimination into focus. The DHA aims at “demystifying the hegemony” hidden in discourse by looking at linguistic forms through which ideology is transferred and power is legitimized (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 87). Within this approach, discourse is defined as “a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social actions” (p. 89). This approach maintains that discourse is multifaceted and linked to other related discourses. This aspect of discourse is called *Interdiscursivity* (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 90). The role of context in the DHA is of high significance that takes text-internal immediate context, “extra-linguistic social variables”, and the overall socio-historical and sociopolitical contexts into consideration (p. 93).

As an analytical tool, Reisigl and Wodak (2009) propose three main dimensions and five macro strategies for analyzing texts. These three dimensions of analysis include 1) the identification of topic 2) the investigation of strategies and 3) the explanation of ‘linguistic means’ as well as ‘context-dependent linguistic realization (p. 93). The investigation of the strategies is an attempt to answer five principle questions. The first question answers how social actors or phenomena are discursively constructed (nomination strategy). Linguistic devices such as deictics, metaphors, and synecdoches are used to decode this strategy. The second step is to find out what qualities are attributed to social actors and phenomena (predication strategy). One way to do so is to look at the adjectives, collocations, and smilies used to describe things or people. The third question seeks to reveal fallacies and contradictions of a particular discourse which are justified as truths (argumentations strategy). The fourth question answers from which perspective nomination, predication, and argumentation are articulated (perspectivization strategy). At last, the fifth question asks how certain elements are intensified or mitigated? (intensification and mitigation strategy). This strategy is realized by linguistic means such as the use of direct or indirect speech and quotation marks. Devices such as diminutives or augmentatives, hyperboles, subjunctive expression help the realization of the final strategy employed by a speaker in a given text (pp. 93-94).

3.3 Socio-cognitive Approach (SCA)

Table 1. Summary of DHA's five discursive strategies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 94)

Strategy	Objective	Devices
Nomination	discursive construction of social actors, objects, phenomena, events and processes, actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions, membership categorization devices, deictics etc. tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches
Predication	Discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events and processes, actions positively or negatively	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative positive traits (in the form of adjective, relative cause etc). explicit predication or predicative nouns, adjectives, pronouns, collocations, explicit comparisons, similies, metaphors and other rhetorical figures allusion, evocations, presuppositions
argumentation	Justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> topoi fallacies
Perspectivization, framing or discourse representation	positioning speakers or writers point of view and expressing involvement or distance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> deictics direct, indirect, free indirect speech quotation marks, discourse markers, particles metaphors
Intensification, mitigation	modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or denotes status of utterances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diminutives or augmentatives (modal) particle, tag question, subjunctive, hesitation, vague expression hyperboles indirect speech acts (e.g question instead of assertion) verbs of saying, feeling, thinking

Discourse can be manipulative. Van Dijk develops principles for the study of the manipulative aspects of ideology. His approach is called socio-cognitive since it studies the functions of cognition in social representation of groups (Van Dijk, 1998). Ideologies embedded in discourse according to van Dijk affect group relationships. Van Dijk's developed model for analyzing ideology is called "ideological square", which is based on four principles: "to emphasize positive things about *Us*, to emphasize negative things about *Them* and to de-

emphasize negative things about *Us*, to de-emphasize positive things about *Them*” (as cited in Jahedi, Abdullah, & Mukundan, 2014, p. 33). A certain text is ideological if these typical representations of *the self* and *the other* come along. Strategies of SCA partly overlaps with that of DHA. However, the focus of van Dijk’s approach remains primarily on how power is exercised “in or by discourse” and how the context of texts are dominated by the ideologies of the ruling groups (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 28). In addition, while the DHA is interested in studying the (historical) development and the formation of various discourses, SCA mainly investigates discourses that are ‘unjust’. Van Dijk (2009) comes up with two basic criteria to identify unjust discourses. A particular discourse, according to him, is unjust firstly, if “it violates the recognized human rights of people” and secondly if it “contributes to the social inequality” (p. 63).

Ideologies expressed through discourse can be realized by some linguistic means (Van Dijk, 2000). Some linguistics indicators are stress and intonation, word order, lexical style, coherence, disclaimer, topic choice, speech act, schematic organization, rhetoric figures and syntactic structures (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, pp. 28-29). For example, influenced by ideology, actors can get positive or negative attributes and descriptions through a specific use of lexicons. The positive and negative aspects are defined by focusing on whether a certain discourse fragment carries ideological meaning or not. Moreover, they are also determined by examine whether they carry any kind of value and are value-free. Such descriptions can be precise or vague, general or specific, implicit or explicit. Moreover, categorization of actors can lead to in-group and out-group polarization in terms of *us* versus *them*. Sentence structure can be used as a strategy to de-emphasize positive and negative agency. Texts may contain argumentation structures based on stereotypes without any clear reference. Authorities are usually mentioned to support certain arguments. In short, the general strategy of discourse organization can be summarized as “positive self-presentation (boasting) and negative other-presentation (derogation)” (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 126).

3.4. Current Study

I will conduct this study following Reisigl and Wodak (2009)’s three-dimensional model. My aim is to find instances of their proposed strategies in texts that either directly or indirectly concern the English language in Afghanistan. A reason for choosing the DHA among various approaches of conducting CDA is threefold. Firstly, it provides a concrete analytical tool for the analysis of discourse. Secondly, it allows for the incorporation of the historical context, which can prove beneficial for studying the development of discourse about English in Afghanistan. And finally, the first two strategies of the DHA (*nomination* and *predication*), identify social actors and their attributed qualities which form the basis for the application of the principles of “ideological square”. Likewise, van Dijk’s model of “ideological square” will help me find out

how ideology is at work in the way English is propagated in Afghanistan. The two last macro strategies of the DHA (the strategy of perspectivization, mitigation and intensification), aims to find the underlying ideology. At this point, the two selected approaches show overlap

3.4.1. Data Collection and Preparation

Articles analyzed for this study were searched for on Google, Google Scholar and then separately on the websites of the British Council, the US Embassy, VOA news, BBC and (AUAF). Every article which discussed English in Afghanistan — even once — was downloaded. I preferred digital data for this study because of their easy accessibility. Including print materials was unpractical due to time and place limitations. As an initial collection criterion, only articles written in English were selected. Finally, a total of 22 articles were retrieved. The collected data became prepared for the detailed analysis after they were downsized according to criteria such as “frequency, representativity, (porto) typicality...influence, uniqueness and redundancy” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 98). After the application of the inclusion-exclusion criteria, only fourteen texts qualified for further analysis, six from the British Council websites, six from AUAF website and two news articles from VOA and BBC news. Text from these two news agencies were selected for analysis since they represent the British Council and AUAF stances. They actively take part in the promotion of English in Afghanistan and propagating ideology by through publishing articles and news reports. Adhering to a specific genre was not a criterium in both stages. Text genres include autobiographies, students writings and testimonies, news articles, policy, mission and vision statements, and education reports. Sticking to only one genre was not a choice since there were not enough texts available online from one specific genre. Three texts retrieved from AUAF website were University Yearbooks which included (Afghanistani) students’ biographies, articles, and testimonies. They were regarded important data for this study to examine the hegemonic aspect of used discourses.

3.5.2. Analysis

A free trail of a quantitative data analysis software, *Atlas*, was used to organize and categorize the data. Despite its limitations (trail version), the software allowed for various layers of systematic analysis which was the aim of my project. As the initial exploration, discourse topics (what the discourse is about) were identified in each retrieved article. Subsequently, to guide my first layer of analysis, I tried to answer the following two questions: 1) What is the discourse doing? 2) How is the discourse constructed to do this? (Paulus & Lester, 2017). I therefore, explored whether a certain segment or unit of analysis is glorifying and rationalizing English or stigmatizing the native language and culture. Those segments were coded accordingly. Afterwards, I specified (using codes) what strategies from the five macro strategies of DHA were used

to achieve those aims. At this stage, firstly, I focused on the nomination and predication strategies to find out what categories of social actors and phenomena are constructed by the text and which category is absent. Secondly, I examined arguments and claims about English to identify the “fallacies and topoi” that are used as justifications. I finally looked for the strategy of perspectivization, intensification and mitigation. Each of the relevant instances were assigned codes.

For the second layer of my analysis, I once again reviewed my analysis units to find instances of ideology in them. After the codification process was done, specific discourse fragments were first listed and then interpreted within their socio-historical contexts according to the theories discussed in Chapter One. Van Dijk’s four principles of “ideological square” were used for the interpretation of the ideological consequence of the discursive constructions and argumentation schemes found in the texts. In sum, each five of the discursive strategies in the texts were investigated, analyzed and interpreted with a special attention to their ideological implications and consequences.

Chapter Four: Findings

4.1 Nomination and predication strategies

The texts construct certain social groups, objects, places, and institutions discursively. The most important of them are the British Council, AUAF teachers and students, and Afghanistan. *Figure 1*, represents the summary of general predications assigned to these particular actors. With regard to the first two macro strategies, two main things can be observed in the articles dealing with AUAF (VOA News article and AUAF Yearbooks). Firstly, characteristics assigned to the university are abundant in number compared to the characteristics assigned to any other social actor. Secondly, the assigned characteristics are either neutral or positive. The “private, not government-owned” nature of the university specially designed to “strengthen English language skills” can be seen as neutral description. Some other characteristics assigned to the university are neutral but have positive connotations. For instance, the collocation “Western-style education” or more specifically “American-style curriculum” adds a lot to the value and prestige of the university. Positive qualifications of the university are the following: it provides world-class education, serves the need of Afghanistan, “contribute[s] to progress and prosperity,” prepares students for international jobs, produces “future leaders,” promotes democracy and secures Afghanistan’s future by “restoring intellectual capital”. Moreover, evaluative attributions of positive traits are also evident in the form of adjectives such as “outstanding”, “best”, “great”, “perfect”, and “best-equipped”. At last, the university campus is defined by positive means as well. It is described “a safe place for women” empty of any kind of ethnic biases and gender prejudice.

AUAF teachers and students are also discursively constructed by similar means. AUAF students are always referred to as the “future leaders” of the country, critical thinkers, “intellectual elites of the country”, “the brains of the future”, “the most determined, brave, enthusiastic and interesting young men and women”. They are “equipped with essential knowledge and analytical skills”. The collocation “future leader” re-occurs in the texts extensively. Within this group, separate positive attributes are assigned to female students. They are identified as “outstanding young women” who gain “self-worth” and confidence as the result of acquiring Western-style (English) education - a characteristic they lacked before becoming a student at AUAF. Likewise, AUAF teachers are described as experienced, professional and academic personalities. “Friendly” is another common attribute associated with them. They are described as well-wishers “who have left their native lands for the chance to make a difference to the people of Afghanistan”. In short, not much negative qualities were found in the discursive construction of AUAF, its students, and teachers.

Texts dealing with the activities of the British Council construct the agency in a similar fashion. The British Council is described as an international organization providing English education in Afghanistan. It is referred to as a trustworthy, independent, and powerful agency which, like AUAF, “provide opportunities for emerging Afghan leaders and influencers, to help in their efforts to stabilize and develop Afghanistan”. The country that it represents, the United Kingdom, is displayed as “the world leader in teaching English”. Moreover, it is mentioned multiple times that the British Council has the expertise to solve educational problems of the region and Afghanistan. In one instance, the victim image of the agency is evoked because its headquarter was once attacked by the Taliban in Kabul. Despite that, they restarted their work. This incident is invoked to manifest the determination of the agency in fulfilling their humanitarian actions.

In contrast, traits used to describe Afghanistani people, culture, history and educational practices hold negative connotations. Afghanistan is constructed as a country in the phase of economic transformation which “needs guidance from a professionally trained cadre of business leaders, in both public and private sectors, to ensure a stable future”. We also learn that the country “demand[s] a skilled workforce” who has the knowledge of English and can partake in global communications. The collocation “emerging country” re-surfaces occasionally. Historically, the country is associated with its immediate past, the Taliban era. The description of the present always entails a comparison with the past as a strategy to legitimize the US-lead intervention. At one instance, the past is defined as “the long dark days ... when schools were shuttered and the Afghan educational system all but completely destroyed”. Furthermore, the place is called a misogynist, male-dominated, society “where women were once denied access to education”. The fact that girls are “limited to gender-stratified roles” is exaggerated. Most negative predications are assigned to Afghanistan’s education system. The positive construction of the Western-style education gives implicit reference to local educational practices and regards them less effective and outdated. The legal system of Afghanistan is identified as “underdeveloped” and “ambiguous”. According to the British Council, Afghanistan is also a poor country where minority languages are at risk and need protection. The only positive thing mentioned about Afghanistan is its products such as organic chicken, potatoes and 32 varieties of melon.

Explicit references to the English language surface more in the publication of the British Council. Once again, all labels and qualities assigned to English are positive. Two common labels of English were found in the texts, namely English as medium of education and English as an imperial language in places where linguistic diversity is a problem. In one instance, it is called the ‘forbidden language’ to underplay the powerful position of English today. It is also referred to as the “gateway to a better future”. It is a language that Afghanistan needs at the moment, a language that which can have an impact on the national and individual levels. On the one hand, English increases the chances of employability of Afghanistanis, and on the other hand, it

helps Afghanistan to re-emerge as a prosperous country by enabling people to gain access to science and technology. English is assigned prominence as the result of the widespread need and demand for it. In sum, English is seen to be the best solution for Afghanistan's ethnic conflict over linguistic matters.

Figure 2. a summary of nomination and Predication Strategies

Social actor	Predications
AUAF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Text 11: world class education, Americans-style university, outstanding, make leaders, professional, up-to-date facilities, - Text 5: contribute to the progress and prosperity of the country - Text 10: producing future generations of leaders, the best university in Afghanistan, widely accepted as the best, have a long waiting list, constantly approached by outside organizations, have impressive future, has gained wide interest, serve the needs of all Afghanistan, prepare for domestic and international jobs, transform lives - Text 13: Private, not government-owned, designed to strengthen students' English-language and study skills - Text 9: AUAF must be more than an academic institution, the country's premier institution for higher education, part of the cultural and social fabric of Afghan society, a safe place for women - Text 7: Its curriculum follows the American liberal arts, instilled self-worth in female students, essential for a well functioning democracy, AUAF graduates surely will someday occupy position, has no prejudice, male students accept the females. It's great, the perfect place, one of the unsung effort undertaken in Afghanistan, making Kabul and Afghanistan by restoring intellectual capital, play a central role in securing Afghanistan's future, Afghanistan's best-equipped universities.
AUAF teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Text 10: most of whom have left their native lands for the chance to make a difference to the people of Afghanistan - Text 7: have international experience and most have PhDs. They are friendly with students
Afghanistan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Text 10: In economic transformation, needs guidance from a professionally trained cadre of business leaders, in both the public and private sector, to ensure a stable future, has an underdeveloped legal system, needs economic growth to lead In Afghanistan, women were once denied access to education, Many cannot reach their dreams of education problems, - Text 5: Had conflicted past, an emerging country, - Text 9: a male dominated society, have so many great products, Girls generally don't have a lot of resources or mentors inside the home, or in their families, and they are usually limited to gender stratified roles - Text 7: had long hard days, schools were closed and education destroyed - Text 1: poor, demand a skilled workforce, has a bad education system, fail to deliver quality

Figure 2. a summary of nomination and Predication Strategies

Social actor	Predications
The English Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Text 5: essential for Afghanistan to re emerge as a country - Text 6: brings development, neutral language in a particular multilingual context, a needed language for employability, a medium of instruction, have impact on national and individual level, is demanded by many, important for tourism, provide access to world, an imperial language has values in enabling access to science - Text 14: shortcut to development, key for the future
AUAF female students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Text 10: outstanding young women - Text 7: “Western style education has instilled self-worth in female students which they state is not available anywhere else in the country”.
The British Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Text 9: a problem solver of education in south Asia, attacked by the terrorists a victim of good will, helping the generation of next Afghan leaders, trustworthy, UK: the world leader in teaching English, - Text 1: support the development of 'English Skills for Employability'. - Text 4: victim of terrorist attack, helping to develop the next generation of Afghan leaders, create links with the UK and provide opportunities for emerging Afghan leaders and influencers, to help in their efforts to stabilize and develop Afghanistan, trustworthy
AUAF students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Text 11: critically, meet the challenges of a rapidly changing world, be competitive with graduates of other, - Text 10: critical to the future of Afghanistan, exceptional leaders, talented and ambitious, concerned about the future of their country, they shape the future of their countries, the future leader. - Text 9: the intellectual elites of our country, the brains of the future. - Text 7: contribute to the development of Afghanistan, the most determined, brave, enthusiastic and interesting young men and women, equipped with essential knowledge and analytical skills, take leading roles both in their communities and chosen professions, exposed to new ideas and are made to work together regardless of ethnicity, aware of the benefit of women’s political position and the importance of diversity, exposed to the importance of ethics being integrated into every aspect of their lives.

4. 2. Argumentation Strategies

The nomination and predication strategies also reflect the texts’ argumentation scheme. English-functional arguments and English-extrinsic arguments are present throughout the texts. They are mainly used to persuade the audience. However, claims are not supported by enough plausible reasons. Therefore, they can be referred to as fallacies. Claims in the analyzed texts can be divided into three types; claims of truth, claims trustfulness and claims of normative rightness. For instance, the texts make claims of truth about the ‘importance’ of English and the Western-

style secular education for Afghanistan's stable future. Moreover, there are truth claims about various 'causes' of the bad educational system in the country. Truth claims about the 'necessity' of the implementation of the initiatives taken by AUAF and the British Council are present in almost every article. Another set of argument contain 'claims of normative rightness'. This includes statements that justify claims made by these two agencies for being morally right. And finally, trustfulness claims in these texts are expressed in an attempt to gain people's trust. In these claims, they profile themselves as the perfect organization for the task they assigned themselves to. The following quotation is an example of the first type of claim made in an article entitled *the importance of English in South Asia's job market*.

“There's a clear need and demand for English. But a first-hand understanding of how English can benefit individuals and nations would help skills sectors design policies and strategies that would provide better value for money. We hope that this research will help the UK and South Asia understand how they can work together to share knowledge, expertise and experience” (Text 1).

The first sentence of this quotation constructs both the 'need' and the 'demand' for English as an absolute reality. The rest of the quotation, however, discusses the rightness of the involvement of the British Council in providing access to English language skills. Moreover, the article takes India as an example to demonstrate the need for English in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Such generalizations make their claim fallacious since the mentioned countries' needs and their socio-economic conditions vary from one another. In other articles of the British Council similar claims can be found but on different topics.

“A lack of English skills in Afghanistan has been identified as a major barrier to youth entering the labour force. Observational evidence has also shown that access to education and attainment can help to limit participation in militancy or extremism. As religious scholars play a central role in education, there remains a need for a strong community of Islamic teachers and students to be equipped with English language, communication, and critical thinking skills. Therefore, the English for Afghans programme will focus its efforts in three areas: supporting English in schools, within the civil service, and for religious leaders” (Text 5).

A linguistic analysis of this passage brings attention to many issues. The truth claim about the lack of English skills preventing Afghanistan from becoming international has no reference. At a first glance, the second sentence seems to function as an argument or support for the

first sentence however it is not. The observational evidence is not about the lack of English skills but about the importance of education in decreasing extremism. Even though, lack of access to English and lack of access to education are two different things, they are used interchangeably. Furthermore, the text hides the agent in the passive voice by omitting the by-phrase. All this underestimates the validity of the argument. Thirteen other instances of truth claims with regard to English and English medium higher education at AUAF found in the texts are listed below.

1. The Afghan government and people recognize that Education, including English, is critical to their country's development. The UK is recognized as a world leader in the teaching of English, and we will look to bring about a transformational change in the provision of English teaching in Afghanistan – which in turn will help Afghans transform their country” (Text 4).
2. “The founding of AUAF represented a critical step in the effort to lead Afghanistan into an era of freedom and opportunity. institution like this one will play a central role in securing Afghanistan’s future” (Text 7).
3. “At AUAF issues of ethnicity, race and religion are seriously banned which makes us equal. I don’t like to be called Pashtun, Hazara, or Tajik or any other ethnicity I am citizen of the world and an Afghan (Text 4)”
4. “... It is essential that we properly understand the role that English plays and will play. For many jobs, communication skills in English are in increasing demand. English is becoming a ‘basic skill’, along with computer literacy” (Text 1).
5. “In previous decades when the Soviet Union was heavily involved in training and equipping the Afghan military, knowledge of Russian was considered a critical skill, But since the US-led invasion of Afghanistan, Russian has been replaced by English”(Text 14).
6. “Learning English has become an important skill for members of the Afghan National... This enables them to communicate with their trainers from different countries of the coalition and understand each other” (Text 14).
7. “It seems as if English has firmly established itself as the language of the future” (Text 14).
8. “The new economies demand a skilled workforce that can meet the demands of the 21st century. Governments in all countries have launched a range of initiatives to tackle the skills gap. Though all countries of the region are potentially facing a demographic dividend, many are warning that this may become a demographic disaster if these skills initiatives fail” (Text 1).
9. “A broad-based liberal arts education better prepares students for an ever changing world. Perhaps the most important feature of the curriculum at AUAF is that it prepares students to think and solve problems” (Text 7).
10. “With Afghanistan on the cusp of economic transformation, the country needs guidance from a professionally trained cadre of business leaders, in both the public and private sector, to ensure a stable future” (Text 10).

11. “The future economy of our country is based on science and technology, so we need people to help sustain this forward progress” (Text 10).
12. “English is critical for countries’ successful participation in the global economy, that it provides individuals with access to crucial knowledge, skills and employment opportunities and enables organizations to create and sustain international links” (Text 6).
13. “AUAF has higher standards than other universities. At AUAF students learn critical thinking and international strategies. These reasons will help us find better jobs” (Text 12).

It is important to mention that some claims in the texts contain topoi of threat. In the above statements, for example, statement number eight (the new economies demand a skilled workforce...), warns that if the British Council’s initiatives fail, it can prove disastrous. Disaster is a strong adjective for describing failure in this context but it nonetheless attracts the readers’ immediate attention and can evoke concern. In addition, it is not specified that to which specific countries the indefinite subject (many are warning...) in the subordinate clause of the last sentence refers to. Once again, the absence of a clear subject problematizes the validity of this claim.

Besides claims of truth, there are also claims of normative rightness. Some claims are justified for being morally just and valuable. It implies that what is being done is right, needed or required. In the second claim below, the British Council’s activities in Afghanistan are based on the dependency of the country on foreign collaborations after the withdrawal of the international forces. Similarly, the first and third claim uses the modal auxiliary ‘must’ (we must commit ourselves...; the country must have...), which implies the rightness of the plan being described.

1. “We must commit ourselves to make sure Afghan women never return to their plight of the Taliban era.” (Text 10).
2. “The 2014/15 transition years from having a foreign military presence will still require international collaboration. Trust already established between the UK and Afghanistan will be critical to this process” (Text 4).
3. “In order to rebuild Afghanistan’s institutions, and particularly its legal institutions, the country must have a generation of lawyers who have been trained in a rigorous. Graduates of the new law program at AUAF will be critical in this project, not only because they will know the law and how to practice it better than anyone else in Afghanistan, but because they will be dedicated to professional responsibility and the public good. The opportunities for young Afghans to effect lasting, positive change in both the public and private spheres are boundless. (claims about the effectiveness of graduates” (Text 10).

4. 3. Strategies of Perspectivization , Intensification and Mitigation

The nomination and attribution of social groups, as well as arguments employed in discourses about the English language, are expressed from multiple perspectives. In the British Council reports, the strategy of perspectivization is achieved by means of citing high status government officials in order to show an inside support for (ELT) plans of the British Council. For instance, in one of the articles, John Mitchell, the British Council's Director in Afghanistan, claims that integrating English in the national educational system 'will' affect education positively. Here, he indirectly mentions the former President's name to show his involvement in supporting their projects.

“I am delighted that we have agreed these new programs with President Karzai and the Afghan government. The British Council is committed to working in Afghanistan and supporting its long-term development. Having an integrated approach to English language teaching implemented across the national education system will enable the best possible results and impact, supporting the next generation of Afghans to gain international skills, attract investment and present their country on the world's stage” (Text 4).

Moreover, the title of the article begins with the President's names in the form of active sentence which renders his role very important. The President's words are cited directly too. On the one hand, he shows gratitude for the British Council's support and on the other hand, he adds another claim of truth regarding the direct opportunities that English grant access to.

“We are very pleased that the British Council is able to support the future generations of Afghanistan and we are happy and committed to support these educational programs. When the British Council takes one step we will take many steps to further your initiatives. English as a medium requirement at schools will create many more opportunities for our students in Higher Education” (Text 4).

In another report, The British Council cites the former Chancellor of Kabul University who just few years after the American military invasion of Afghanistan announced the plan of making the Kabul University an English Medium higher institution.

“Afghanistan is linguistically diverse, with a population of 27 million speaking 48 languages. The student body of Kabul University reflects the country’s linguistic diversity, but until recently the only medium of instruction used in the university was Dari, the language of only about a quarter of the population. In 2006 the Chancellor of the University, Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai, announced that by 2014 or 2015 the University was to become an English medium institution. English was selected not only because of its value in enabling access to science but also because it is seen to be neutral for all ethnic groups. This is a bold initiative, but it is still too early to judge whether the University will succeed in implementing the policy or – if implemented - what impact it will have” (Text 6).

Attributes assigned to AUAF comes from English-speaking teachers, AUAF students, the US Ambassador and so on. In AUAF Yearbook, views embedded in discourses about Western-style higher education are mostly cited from students’ perspective. Statements made by students are sometimes vague, hyperbolic, and subjective expressions of their feelings and thoughts, which are based on uncertain believes. Despite that, they are intensified by using bold font in the texts. Another common thing intensified almost by everyone about the university is the different treatment that women get in the campus. In addition, the strategy of intensification is also evident in statements about AUAF buildings, facilities, and green environment. All of them are described hyperbolically by different parties. Here are some examples:

- A student: “The president of AUAF always told us that the young generations studying at AUAF are the future leaders of this country,” he recalls. “And I am certain they are” (Text 10).
- “These [students] are the intellectual elites of our country, and the brains of the future. They must not be afraid of thinking and analyzing”(Text 9).
- “The US Ambassador: It was wonderful to see so many young women in the audience as part of AUAF student body, and I know that they will make an important difference in Afghanistan’s future” (Text 10).
- “I like that the university is open to female students. We’re treated the same as the men -- there is no prejudice here. And the male students accept the females. It’s great!” (Text 7).
- “The most memorable moment for me was when I entered in AUAF. Here I feel I am in another world. Honestly, I think I am out of Afghanistan and in another country because of the professional teachers, a library with an international system, the gym and other facilities” (Text 12).

- “In fact, diversity is one thing that drove him to study at AUAF. Said Aimal, “I can see there are many different people at AUAF. I can see a community where every Afghan can learn and interact” (Text 9).

Certain strategies of nomination, predication, argumentation, and intensification construct positive *self* and negative *other* representation. As we have seen, the images of Afghanistan in almost all texts are very negative. At one instance, the lingua franca of Afghanistan is under treated by providing wrong information without any clear reference. An opinion is treated as fact to justify the need for English (for full quotation see page 28, Text 6). Interestingly, in another place the protection of minority language intensified. The bad treatment of women outside the university is highlighted multiples times. Bellow, I list other examples of negative representations of universities of Afghanistan, local learning practices, Afghanistani Professors and so on. Sometimes there are implicit comparisons without any direct reference. But we know who are they being compared with.

- “I like the way our teachers think; they’re aware of more issues, their intellectual scope is broader and they’re better educated than most other college level instructors in Kabul” (Text 7).
- “Students at AUAF are exposed to new ideas and are made to work together regardless of ethnicity. They’re made aware of the benefits of women participation and the importance of diversity, and are exposed to the importance of ethics being integrated into every aspect of their lives” (Text 7).
- “Most of the teachers at AUAF have international experience and most have PhDs. It’s also interesting to see that teachers and students are friendly. For me I think it’s better than any other university in Afghanistan” (Text 7).
- “One thing that is really interesting is that the professors don’t ask me to memorize all things but rather to learn” (Text 12).
- “Yalda Samih’s interest in getting a good education started long before the return of representative government to Afghanistan in 2001. With the Taliban patrolling the streets of her village and enforcing laws that banned women’s education under any circumstances” (Text 12).
- “With most of the country’s higher education system falling far short of international standards. This school gave me the hope that my country will move forward after a difficult period in our national history. Here I am after those

four years of study at AUAF, establishing myself professionally, and determined about what I want for my future. Thanks, AUAF” (Text 10).

- “In Afghanistan, where women were once denied access to education, it’s even more essential to helping the country move forward” (Text 10).
- “[Angela attended classes at night]. The decision was a daring one since traveling after dark posed risks: kidnapping, assault, and possibly murder. Women outdoors after nightfall were fair game” (Text 10).
- “Gender discrimination and inequality is a global problem. But Afghanistan, more than any other country, is where this minor is needed... people welcome gender studies because gender equality is so disproportionate” (Text 9).

Chapter Five: Discussion

As mentioned in the introduction, this paper aimed to study the language that AUAF and the British Council use in their written publications to promote English teaching in Kabul, Afghanistan. My research question was: do these two agencies' promotion of English follow the patterns of LI. Although the DHA has been applied to a limited number of articles in this paper, the findings nevertheless reveal some signs of LI. In this part, I interpret the findings and discuss the implications of the five macro strategies against their broader socio-historical contexts. The purpose will be examining what extent the findings comply with the theories discussed in Chapter Two. More specifically, I will explain how the nomination and predication strategies employed in the texts stigmatize local languages and cultures. In addition, I will explain how the argumentation, perspectivization and intensification-mitigation strategies legitimize the position of English. Finally, ideology embedded in discourses of English in these texts will be interpreted through the application of the principles of Ideological Square proposed by van Dijk (2009).

The findings demonstrate that two types of arguments used in the traditional imperialist discourses dominate the texts. As mentioned in the previous section, the British Council uses English-extrinsic and English-functional arguments to justify their ELT plans. However, the strategy that AUAF employs is slightly different. Despite that ELT constitutes a big part of their mission in Afghanistan, it has not been promoted overtly as it is done by the British Council. Instead of English, the institution itself is promoted through the exact same arguments which were hitherto used for the promotion of the English language. In other words, arguments in the publications of AUAF revolve around what AUAF is, what AUAF does, and what AUAF has instead of what English is, what English does and what English has. This sophisticated strategy employed by AUAF is new. Although the British Council still argues for English in a traditional manner.

As expected, English is favored among other languages as the Language of instruction (LOI). Phillipson (2016) regards this structural favoring as one of the main features of LI. The findings of this paper support this view. Chapter Four, clearly demonstrates that English has the support of high-ranking government officials of the country. In Afghanistan, English has already been proposed as the LOI in schools and universities by the ex-President, Hamid Karzai, as well as the former Chancellor of the Kabul University, Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai (the current President). Hamid Karzai claimed that the integration of English “will create opportunities for students in higher education”. This was not the first time that Karzai expressed his views about English in a public platform. In Call for National Reconciliation for Education and Employment Conference (2012), Karzai made another claim that the language of instruction in the faculty of medicine and engineering “must be English”. Furthermore, The National Educational Strategic

Plan (2010-2014) supported the ELT as a part of capacity building projects. In addition, establishing English as the medium of instruction has been the main priority of Afghanistan's higher education policy and reform. The National Development Strategy (2006) proposed the intensification of English teaching to facilitate access to scientific knowledge. The knowledge of English is regarded as "indispensable for the quality of training in science and technology" (Samady, 2007, p. 63, 93, 104).

Additionally, arguments used to justify the position of English in these texts have some degree of sophistication. No doubt that the US military invasion brought America and English to Afghanistan, the promotion of Anglo-American culture and language has been done through reason and persuasion. Findings in this study suggest that English has been rationalized as well as glorified in two ways: firstly through discourses that contain English-functional and extrinsic arguments, and secondly through the negative discursive construction of Afghanistan. Afghanistan's image as an underdeveloped and post-conflict country with an outdated education system is used as a justification both for the US invasion and the propagation of English language. The Publications of the British Council and AUAFA attempt to persuade people to believe that the intention behind the consolidation of English is good and humanitarian. This exemplifies the 'helping ideology' which does two things. On the one hand, it renders Afghanistan dependent on the Center especially when it comes to education and ELT. On the other hand, it creates unequal power relationships. The notion of good intention had already been problematized by Pennycook (1998). He stated that good intentions can only be evaluated by its consequences. In the context of Afghanistan, the evaluation of the consequences is not possible at the moment.

5. 1. The Stigmatization of National Languages

Another important notion in LI is stigmatization. Stigmatizing local language and culture is part and parcel of LI. This study found examples of it in all macro strategies. In the previous chapter, I partly described how stigma words were used in the texts from various perspectives to describe Afghanistan, its people and the society. Based on the findings, I explain how Persian, one of the national languages of Afghanistan, is under-treated in these texts. Text 6, plays with the impartial image of English which is not yet part of the popular discourse in English in the country. It is stated that Dari (a variety of Persian in Afghanistan) is a minority language, "the language of a quarter of the population" (for full quotation see page 28). The text creates an impression that Persian is imposed as the languages of education in Kabul University although its students come from different linguistic backgrounds. A bit of context should be evoked to counter this opinion that is presented as fact. Afghanistan is linguistically divided into Pashto and Persian speaking provinces. In the Southern Afghanistan, Pashto is the language of instruction while in the North, North-east and Western Afghanistan, Persian is the language of instruction.

According to this division, Kabul is a Persian speaking province, that is why Persian remains the language of education here. Moreover, Persian is not a minority language. It is the lingua franca of Afghanistan since the Tenth Century and one of the richest languages of the region spoken in Iran, Tajikistan and parts of Uzbekistan, with rich literature, history and resources.

Schiffman (2012) explains how the ruling group, Pashtuns, who speak Pashto, tried to eradicate Persian and replace it with Pashto. In 1936, Pashto became the official language. After a short while, it was announced as the LOI despite the fact that the language had no proper textbooks and enough teachers. This big step created immediate problems for education, therefore the government had no choice but to restore Persian. As a redemption, the government kept both of them as official languages of Afghanistan. In short, the Persian language is neither the language of a minority — it is spoken by the absolute majority of the population and understood very well by Pashtuns — nor is it a source of ethnic conflict. To provide such euphemistic views about language diversity in Afghanistan, in itself, can be seen as a dividing act in the process of language promotion. Ironically, in another article (Text 2), the British Council shows great concern about minority languages.

“Minority languages in Afghanistan are at risk of being permanently lost... The promotion of Pashtun language above others has led to decreased use of minority languages, such as Nuristani. In the three Nuristani ethnic groups, children use the mother tongue at home but are not encouraged to use it outside”.

In these two particular instances, the strategies of intensification and mitigation are used to play down the role the lingua franca (Persian) by defining it as a minority language and to exaggerate the situation of a minority language. Pennycook (1998) found similar examples of such contradictory tendencies in discourses about language in the British colonial educational policies which he calls ‘pragmatic orientalism’. Another interesting point in the above quotation is that the British Council, very intelligently, realizes the fact that the promotion of Pashto language negatively affected minority languages in Afghanistan, however, it fails to acknowledge that the English language is doing the same harm to the Persian language on a national level by trying to replace it as a LOI.

5. 2. The State and Hegemony

The findings also partly suggest that English has hegemonic dominance in Afghanistan and the state contributes to its hegemony. It can be seen hegemonic as “most people think alike about [it] and forget that there are alternatives” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 8). Students’ accounts in AUA Yearbooks, the views of the two Presidents, and international reports consider English as the master solution for all economic problems in Afghanistan. However, examples of Japan, Korea and China are ignored where English is seldom the language of economic transaction and education but still count as developed countries (Mazrui, 2016). What is more, the consolidation of English in Afghanistan indirectly serves the state. As mentioned before, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, several attempts have been made by Pashtuns to defeat the status and position of Persian in the country but all failed. The government did not succeed in their plan to install Pashto as the sole medium of education for practical reasons (Schiffman, 2012). Thus, now that English is around, the state uses it as an instrument to defeat the Persian language and its speakers. The consequences of this action, however, are completely overlooked at the moment. Although it is clear that if English becomes the LOI in Afghanistan, the old rival of Pashto language will be defeated automatically. If we apply Phillipson (1992)’s criteria for finding out whether the dominance of English is hegemonic or not, we will get the following interpretations.

Phillipson (1992): It is hegemonic	Afghanistan
If it supports the ideology of the dominant group	In Afghanistan, it does support the ideology of the dominant group (Pashtun government).
If the dominance of it is overlooked and taken uncritically like a “common sense” or “social fact”	At least, the articles analyzed in this study, no critical views about English were found. Similarly, claims of normative rightness and truth are based on common sense and social facts.

5. 3. English and ideology

Now I will come to my final point on how ideology is embedded in discourses of English in these texts. Evidence in this study resembles Pennycook (1998)’s findings. The analysis of this study suggests that the traditional *East* and *West*, *self* and *other* dichotomies, which were the cultural constructs of colonialism, are present in discourse about English in these publications. Van Dijk’s model of Ideological Square is perfectly applicable on the findings. It is important to mention that people of Afghanistan themselves play an important role in the construction of such

dichotomous polarization, even though it is not for their benefit. Table 3 is the interpretation of the findings based on the four principles of Ideological Squire.

Table 3. Ideological Squire

	Principles of ideological Squire	Applications
1	to emphasize positive things about <i>Us</i>	All positive things about the USA, the UK, American-style education, American Professors, AUAF, American Values and the British Council are emphasized (no exceptions were encountered)
2	to emphasize negative things about <i>Them</i>	All negative things about Afghanistan, its culture, educational system, socio-economic conditions and languages are emphasized (one exception found)
3	to de-emphasize negative things about <i>Us</i>	All positive things about the USA, the UK, American-style education, American Professors, AUAF, American Values and the British Council are de-emphasized (no exceptions were found)
4	to de-emphasize positive things about <i>Them</i> ”	Most positive things about Afghanistan, its culture, educational system, socio-economic conditions, and languages were de-emphasized.

Although most of the claims in the texts were based on normative rightness, they hardly can meet van Dijk(2009)’s proposed criteria for the evaluation of what he calls disinterested discourse. Van Dijk states, a discourse is unjust 1) if “it violates the recognized human rights of people” and (2) if it “contributes to social inequality”(p. 63). The first criterion is not completely violated yet. However, the status of the Persian language and its resources have been underplayed or even ignored. The second criterion has already been met. Those with English proficiency, who also hold a US or UK diplomas, are preferred in jobs. Text 14 from BBC News nearly summarizes the situation. AUAF is also contributing to social inequity by producing a new social class who — as the predication analysis demonstrates — are constructed as another *us* inside AUAF. Their construction as “future leaders” implies that the future politicians of Afghanistan should be Western or English-educated people. Most of AUAF students come from the privileged background because only a well-to-do family can afford the fees. AUAF is at great contrast with the state universities and receives national and international funds, while state universities are largely under-funded.

Based on the findings and subsequent analysis, this paper concludes that the British Council and AUAF's promotion of English does follow patterns of linguistic imperialism but in a neoimperialist manner. Bellow, I briefly repeat some signs of LI discussed before.

1. English is being actively promoted by two main agencies at the expense of the Persian Language. These agencies actively lobby for the inclusion of English in the educational system as the LOI despite the impracticality of the decision.
2. By teaching a new group of English speaking people and glorifying them as future leaders, these agencies contribute to the creation of a new elite group, who can have access to better jobs and opportunities.
3. Even in this new context, typical arguments are used to talk about English. Resources of English and what can one achieve by learning English are given hype. Texts sometimes had the exact claims which were also used in '*Minute on Indian Education*' by Thomas Babington Macaulay in 1835.
4. The colonial *us* versus *them* dichotomies are there. Most of the texts glorify *the self* and degrade *the other* by emphasizing positive things about *us* and emphasizing negative things about *them*. This tendency may have ideological consequences.
5. Speaking about English has a celebratory tone which exemplifies Anglicist perspective.
6. The fact that Afghanistans too take part in the glorification of *the other* demonstrates that discourses about English are hegemonic.
7. The educational system of the country is becoming dependent on the Center. But the dependence is yet not so great.

Nevertheless, English has not become the dominant language yet. These developments are at their initial stages and can be confronted with criticism and awareness. It is important to mention that this conclusion is based on the data analysis of this paper. Undoubtedly, multi-model CDA would be necessary to back up these findings or prove them invalid.

5.4. Conclusion

This study applied a combination of two approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis on the discourses of English in Afghanistan. The data were collected from AUAF, VOA News, British Council and BBC News websites. Analytical tools of DHA were used to discover instances of five macro-strategies of nomination, predication, argumentation, perstictivization and intensification-mitigation. The results stemming from this research demonstrated some features of linguistic imperialism. Furthermore, applying Van Dijk's principles of analyzing ideology, I reached to this conclusion that the discourses of English in Afghanistan are not entirely free of ideology.

Particularly, the extreme examples of positive self-representation and negative representation of others were located. In sum, the study as a whole establishes that despite the fact that presence of English in Afghanistan is associated with the military presence of US and English troops in Afghanistan and considered temporary, I believe that discourses of English in Afghanistan are so powerful that even its short-term presence guarantees its hold in the absence of military forces in the future. For future research purposes, rigorous studies of the consequences of the consolidation of English language and the ideological implications of discourses of English in Afghanistan are strongly recommended.

Appendix

Table 3: Data for Discourse Analysis

	Text	Source	URL	Word count
1	The importance of English in South Asia's job market	th British Council	https://www.britishcouncil.org/voices-magazine/importance-english-south-asias-job-market	665 words
2	Protecting Minority Languages in Afghanistan	th British Council	https://www.britishcouncil.org/arts/culture-development/cultural-protection-fund/protecting-minority-language	279 words
3	Rebuilding higher education in Afghanistan	the British Council	https://www.britishcouncil.org/education/ihe/news/rebuilding-higher-education-afghanistan	251 words
4	President Karzai welcomes British Council education plans British Council	the British Council	https://www.britishcouncil.org/organisation/press/president-karzai-welcomes-british-council-education-plans	467 words
5	Providing strong English capability in Afghanistan	the British Council	https://www.britishcouncil.org/partner/international-development/news-and-events/march-2018/English-for-Afghans	446 words
6	English Language in Development	Teaching-English	https://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/sites/teacheng/files/UK011-English-Language-Development.pdf	20 pages
7	AUAF 2011 Yearbook Vo. 1	AUAF	https://auaf.edu.af/media/1007/2011-auaf-year-book-for-web.pdf	18 pages

Table 3: Data for Discourse Analysis

	Text	Source	URL	Word count
8	President's Message	AUAF	https://auaf.edu.af/about/president-s-message/	207 words
9	AUAF 2015-16 Year-book	AUAF	https://auaf.edu.af/media/1010/auaf-ug-mbayearbook_2015-16_-_final-low-res.pdf	10 pages
10	AUAF 2013/14 Year-book	AUAF	https://auaf.edu.af/media/1009/2013.pdf	23 pages
11	Mission, Vision and Values	AUAF	https://auaf.edu.af/about/mission-vision-and-values/	353 words
12	AUAF 2012/13 Year-book Vo. 2	AUAF	https://auaf.edu.af/media/1008/2012.pdf	24 pages
13	The American University of Afghanistan is Private, Not Government-Owned	VOA News	https://www.voanews.com/a/american-university-afghanistan-private-institution/3480000.html	277 words
14	English takes hold in Afghanistan	BBC News	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7493285.stm	970 words

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