Promoting English in Saudi Arabia: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Advertisements for Private English Language Teaching Institutes

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Statement of Originality

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled "Promoting English in Saudi Arabia: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Advertisements for Private English Language Teaching Institutes" has not previously been submitted for a higher degree or diploma in any university. I certify that all usage of sources has been duly referenced.

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List of Abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CS	Code-switching
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELT	English Language Teaching
FL	Foreign Language
IELTS	International English Language Teaching System
L1	First Language
MDA	Multimodal discourse Analysis
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language

Abstract

Promotional discourses of English language teaching (ELT) institutes play a significant role in shaping beliefs about the English language and about language learning. This study examines the persuasion strategies and the ideological assumptions in a corpus of advertisements for private ELT institutes in Saudi Arabia. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) of rhetorical moves and multimodal elements was used to analyse a corpus of 45 online advertisements. Findings reveal that the institutes attempt to persuade their potential audience to enrol by conceptualizing English as a global language and by stressing the advantages of learning English for job opportunities, travel, and education. The advertisements also construct English learning as fun, personally empowering, and confidence-enhancing. Among the rhetorical moves aimed at persuasion, establishing credentials was the most dominant. This involved providing accreditations, using the institute's name and logo, identifying particular textbooks and teaching methods, and claiming expertise. Moreover, language choice serves as a persuasive strategy, as code-switching into English constitutes a symbolic resource by which the institutes display their mastery of the language. The study contributes to a better understanding of the ways in which English is conceptualized in Saudi Arabia and has implications for language policy.

1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

This introductory chapter provides an outline of the current study, which explores persuasion and ideologies in the advertisements of English language teaching (ELT) institutes in Saudi Arabia. It begins by identifying and presenting the research problem, and it then discusses why the current study is needed. This chapter also provides background information about ELT in the Saudi context, and it ends by describing how the thesis chapters are organized.

1.2 Introduction

English language proficiency has come to be seen as an essential requirement in the current environment of globalization. It is considered a "linguistic currency" that has the potential to enable its users to participate in the global marketplace (Nino-Murcia, 2003, p. 121). This perception has transformed the study of English, once a largely pedagogical activity, into a resource for consumption (Nino-Murcia, 2003). People consume English in a variety of ways - by communicating with others, watching movies, using the Internet, or reading literature in English (Nino-Murcia, 2003) - as a means of showing an interest in self-development and well-roundedness (Pegrum, 2004). Moreover, they are motivated to learn English by the widespread belief that it is the language of contemporary business and that knowledge of it adds to the symbolic and economic capital of its learners (Kramsch, 2014; Mirhosseini, 2015). Therefore, the field of ELT, which includes private ELT institutes, has become a profitable industry for those who promote learning the language (Pegrum, 2004).

Like all marketing discourses, the language used to promote ELT is persuasive in nature. Persuasion refers to attempts to change or influence behaviour or to strengthen existing beliefs through linguistic means (Halmari & Virtanen, 2005). Advertisements provide good examples of persuasion; in advertising, persuasion exists within a "general

thematic overlap" and in diverse motifs that appear frequently in different guises (Pegrum, 2004, p. 4). Many advertisements are multimodal, consisting of language accompanied by semiotic modes of other types, such as images or music, to enhance their persuasive force (Hashim, 2010). Visuals and texts can either convey the same meanings or complement each other and extend the message being promoted. The combination of texts and visuals has become the prevalent type of communication in advertisements (Hashim, 2010).

Advertisements usually contain ideological meanings that are encoded into their discourses, meant to affect people's beliefs about the advertised product or service (Mirhosseini, 2015). Ideologies constitute beliefs expressed through discourses or other social practices and which control the attitudes and decisions of members of the group (van Dijk, 2006). The discourses of advertisements for ELT institutes can hardly be viewed as neutral discourses, which simply provide information to their customers; rather, they tend to rely on the production of ideologies in the form of taken-for-granted beliefs (Mirhosseini, 2015). The production of these ideologies for the purpose of persuasion and marketing raises a concern regarding public attitudes about what foreign language (FL) education involves (Mirhosseini, 2015). Therefore, ELT institutes' advertisements offer a useful area for the investigation of both persuasion and the ideologies in which ELT is embedded.

The literature contains little information concerning the use of persuasion and ideology in the promotional discourses of ELT institutes in the Saudi context. In an attempt to fill this gap in the scholarship, the current study aims to use critical discourse analysis (CDA) and multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) to explore the persuasive strategies and ideological assumptions used to promote English learning in ELT institutes. Filling this gap could lead to a better understanding of how English language learning is constructed and how ELT institutes represent themselves to their audience.

1.3 Background Information about ELT in the Saudi Context

The English language enjoys a significant position in various parts of Saudi Arabian life. It is because of the progress the country has witnessed in the economic, social, and religious sectors that English has attained its high status (Al-Seghayer, 2014; Mahboob & Elyas, 2014); English as a *lingua franca* dominates these fields. Habbash and Troudi (2015) observed that, due to its global role, English is perceived as a language that offers advantages to the individuals who learn it. In the Saudi educational system, English is an essential component in public, private, and higher education. It is the only FL taught in Saudi public schools (Al-Seghayer, 2014). In the past, English as a subject was introduced to students in intermediate and secondary schools; however, because of its increasing importance, it is now taught to children starting in the primary stages (Alrashidi & Phan, 2015).

In Saudi Arabia, the educational system includes English teaching for numerous reasons, as Alrashidi and Phan (2015, p. 40) have noted. English plays an important role in the economy of Saudi Arabia, the world's largest oil producer and exporter. Deals with foreign countries are necessary to achieve bilateral commerce and investments, and such transactions require the utilization of a globally understood language. Therefore, English proficiency is a central requirement for employment in some sectors. Knowing English enables people to contribute to the expanding business and economy of the country.

Moreover, the Islamic religion, a greatly influential force within Saudi society, encourages that people learn foreign languages (Alrashidi & Phan, 2015). For this reason, ELT has been embraced in schools as a means of increasing students' English proficiency levels, thereby allowing them to illustrate and explain Islamic values to non-Muslims and to participate in spreading Islam. In addition, Saudi Arabia is home to holy places such as Mecca and Medina. Approximately 11 million Muslims from all over the world make pilgrimages every year to these historic and religious locations (Alrashidi & Phan, 2015, p.

41). Therefore, learning English is important because it enables Saudi people to communicate and interact with visitors who do not speak Arabic.

Despite the broad awareness that learning English is an important part of permitting Saudi people to achieve the advantages described above, ELT programs at schools and universities often lack effective curriculum content and training for teachers. Further, both classroom technology and teaching methods are widely considered outdated (Al-Nasser, 2015). According to Alshammri (2017), the textbooks utilized in public schools focus on imparting knowledge by prioritizing vocabulary, grammar, and reading. They pay little attention to the creation of lifelike communication scenarios that would permit students to participate in different types of lessons in diverse contexts. Further, interactions in the classroom are usually dominated by teachers. Therefore, the instructor is typically "viewed as a material presenter and content demonstrator, not as a manager of language learning situations" (p. 20). In addition, some schools lack modern teaching tools such as e-learning resources, language software, or audio-visual aids.

These shortcomings in the educational system lead many Saudis desirous of becoming proficient in English to supplement their learning by enrolling in one of the country's many private ELT institutes (Habbash & Troudi, 2015). ELT institutes are widely considered to be "the right path to English" (Mirhosseini, 2015, p. 934). Previous research has expressed concerns over the methods used in promoting English learning (e.g., Mirhosseini, 2015; Pegrum, 2004). This study examines ELT institute advertisements with the aim of exploring the persuasion strategies and the ideological assumptions that underlie them, elements of promotional discourse of which the audience, as Pegrum (2004) has stated, are usually unaware.

1.4 Thesis Organization

The previous sections outlined the research problem and highlighted the status of English and the nature of ELT in Saudi Arabia. The research problem the current study addresses is related to the mystifying image of ELT produced in the form of ideological assumptions that ELT private institutes seek to reflect in their promotional discourses as a means of persuading their audience to enrol.

In Chapter Two, which follows this introduction, I review the literature relevant to the current study, which consists of studies on language ideologies and ideological assumptions. The chapter discusses how English is seen as a product by the ELT institutes, provides examples of studies about persuasive strategies in the advertising of ELT institutes, and highlights research on language commodification. Chapter Two ends by identifying a gap in the literature related to the need to investigate the persuasive strategies and ideological assumptions of the promotional discourses of ELT institutes in Saudi Arabia.

Chapter Three outlines the research methods employed in the current study. It begins by describing the data, which comprises 45 advertisements from ELT institutes in Saudi Arabia. The chapter also outlines the research methodologies that undergird the study, namely critical discourse analysis (CDA), which is based on Bhatia's (1993) rhetorical moves, and Kress and van Leeuwen's (2008) multimodal discourse analysis (MDA). Then, I summarize my approach to analysing and coding the data. The chapter concludes by acknowledging the limitations of the study.

Chapter Four is concerned with exploring how English language learning is conceptualized by the ELT institutes. It provides an in-depth CDA and MDA of the promotional discourses produced by ELT institutes. The data are linked to Bhatia's (1993) rhetorical moves and findings show that English is represented in the following ways:

English as a global language, English learning as fun, English as empowering learners, and English learning as enhancing confidence.

Chapter Five focuses on examining how the ELT institutes represent themselves to their audience. The chapter focusses on the following representations of quality indicators of ELT: ideal teacher, ideal methods and curricula, desirable accreditations, proficiency certificates and tests, high quality service, value for money, and symbolic association with English.

Chapter Six is the concluding chapter that begins by revisiting the research questions. It summarises the key results related to the persuasion strategies used in the ads, particularly, overstating the advantages English language learning provides to its learners, and ideological assumptions that can affect audience attitudes regarding language learning. The chapter also critically discusses some implications of these results that can be addressed by the ELT community. Recommendations for future research are then presented.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Overview

This chapter will review existing research related to persuasive strategies and ideologies of ELT institutes and will reveal the need for studies related to these issues in the current Saudi context. As discussed in Chapter One, the research problem is associated with Saudi people's perceived lack of English proficiency and the mystified image of language learning that ELT institutes present to their audience. Therefore, this chapter is divided into five sections that explore how this image is shaped and presented. The first section provides an overview of research on language ideologies and ideological assumptions. This is followed by a discussion about how English is presented as a product by the ELT industry. The third section will discuss examples of persuasive strategies in advertisements for ELT institutes. This is followed by a review of research on language commodification. Reviewing these areas of research can enrich understanding of how the ELT private industry manipulate their promotional discourses to influence people's attitudes towards the language to serve their commercial interests. This chapter ends by highlighting the research gap and the research questions that this gap generates.

2.2 Ideology in ELT Institutes

Ideologies can be defined as axiomatic belief systems shared by a certain social group (van Dijk, 2006). They are social representations that contribute to maintaining, establishing, and changing social relations of domination, exploitation, and power (Fairclough, 2003, 2013). As a modality of power, ideologies control and regulate other socially shared ideas and beliefs (van Dijk, 2006). This aspect of ideology involves one social group dominating and wielding power over another group to control their decisions and choices. Accordingly, ideology is correlated with power as hegemony rather than as violence (Fairclough, 2013, p. 28). Hegemony describes the situation in which power is dominantly exercised not

through coercion or physical force, but rather through ideology and the generation of consent (Fairclough, 2013, p. 531). Language has an important role in the exercise of power. This role is clearly illustrated in the discourses by which ideologies are conveyed, consent is fulfilled, and practices, values, and meanings are taught and learnt (Fairclough, 2013, p.531). Media discourse serves as the dominant institution that performs these processes in modern societies (Fairclough, 2013, p.531).

One discursive technique exercised by predominant groups (in this case, ELT institutes) to enhance their social power and hegemony is making assumptions. Assumptions according to Fairclough (2003, p. 55), refer to implied meanings which are shared and taken as common ground between community members. The ability to exercise power and hegemony includes the ability to shape the content and nature of this common ground, which makes assumptions a significant issue with regard to ideology. Moreover, assumptions evaluate "what is good or desirable" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). Ideologies, as a form of implicit assumption, are produced and naturalized by discourse (Mirhosseini & Samar, 2015). In other words, particular discourses imply assumptions about what dominant people favour and presuppose as universal.

ELT institutes are an example of a dominant group resorting to the use of implicit presuppositions in order to achieve their aims. This is illustrated in Mirhosseini's (2015) study in Iran that examined the ideologies underlying the newspaper advertisements of private ELT institutes. A critical discourse analysis of these advertisements revealed the following four assumptions: first, certificates were constructed as evidence of knowing English. Second, speaking was presented as the most important skill to learn. Third, the possibility of learning the language in a short time was suggested, and, fourth, native teachers were set up as ideal teachers. These assumptions, as Mirhosseini (2015) illustrates, are used as commercial strategies that mystify what it means to learn another language. ELT

institutes, then, are purveyors of ideological assumptions that serve to promote their business and provide them with a commercial advantage. Consequently, it is crucial to examine the assumptions produced by the discursive constructions of the industry - promotional advertisements, in this case - to understand how language education is reflected in these assumptions. Since it can hardly be said that promotional discourses of ELT institutes are free from ideologies, it is important to consider the conceptualization of English as a product.

2.3 English as a Product

Indisputably, the English language - linked with education, communication, and participation in the global world - "brings advantages to many of those who learn it, as it does to those who sell it" (Pegrum, 2004, p. 3). People interested in promoting the language tend to overstate the advantages of learning English while disregarding its drawbacks (Pegrum, 2004). They promote their product (i.e., English learning) by stressing the financial, occupational, and personal benefits potentially resulting from learning English. For example, Pegrum (2004) surveyed advertisements of ELT communities and identified the following eight keywords: native, modernity, self-development, life, individualism, discussion, global, product. The first keyword, "native", refers to the notion that English is better taught by native speakers. The second keyword, "modernity", implies that English is the language of science, technology, efficiency, and modernity. The third keyword, "self-development", is a term linked to the notion that English opens the gate to an outstanding economic future. The fourth keyword, "life", is associated, in relation to English, with the adoption of Western goals and culture. The fifth keyword, "individualism", is a term suggestive of English as a key for self-development and life experiences. The sixth keyword, "discussion", refers to the ability to acquire speaking and communication skills. The seventh keyword, "global", means that English is a lingua franca and is essential for global

communication. The eighth keyword, "product", refers to the position of English as a dominant language which can provide economic power to those who adopt it. These keywords indicate that ELT advertisements can hardly be considered ideologically neutral, as the central feature of ELT advertising is to direct the audience's attention towards the benefits of learning the language.

The promotion of English learning in ELT advertisements has often been designed in a way that draws attention to the power of the industry and its capability to meet the audience's needs. This is evident in Ladousa's (2002) study of school advertising in Banaras, a north Indian city. In this city, schools use either Hindi or English as a medium of instruction. In the research, it was found that, in their advertising, most schools proclaimed English-medium status and some schools mentioned explicitly that they are English-medium. Most often, Roman letters were used in these advertisements, and sometimes the English lexical items were rendered into Devanagari. The schools used advertisements in this context to show their power by establishing English as central to the school. Some people in Ladousa's (2002) study claimed that English-medium schools provide "a route out of Banaras because they offer access to jobs elsewhere" (p. 219). A school that describes itself as English-medium, therefore, indicates to the audience that the main language for instruction is English, the language which can provide the students with increased access to job opportunities in the future.

This was also shown to be the case in Niño-Murcia's (2003) study in Peru, where ELT is advertised as the key for success in the area of employment and potential migration to North America. This study showed that Peru's ELT advertising discourse reflects a universal "rhetoric in which globalization is presented as a matter of fact, as a global market wherein capital flows via a lingua franca: English" (p. 136). For Peruvians, according to Niño-Murcia (2003), English knowledge is essential for employment opportunities and migration. This

has led to the proliferation of private English schools and academies in Peru. Although there is an obvious dissatisfaction with the ELT in some schools in Peru (because of the lack of qualified instructors and teaching materials), English as a product is promoted pointedly by the media (e.g., television and newspapers). This assertive promotion of the schools is unsurprising as "no advertising can be expected to present a completely fair or unbiased picture" (Pegrum, 2004, p. 3). The purpose of advertisements is, after all, to sell goods, ideas, or services to a particular group (Halmari & Virtanen, 2005). In order to do this, the positives aspects of the product are normally presented in advertisements and the next section will therefore focus on persuasion in advertising.

2.4 Persuasion in Advertisements for ELT institutes

Advertisement is a form of promotional discourse designed to publicize and inform in order to sell products, ideas, or services to a specific audience (Halmari & Virtanen, 2005). A question that may be raised here is how advertisers can persuade their target audience to benefit from the services they promote. Advertising copywriters often choose from a set of rhetorical moves to include in their advertisements (Bhatia 1993; Halmari & Virtanen, 2005). The following moves have been identified by Bhatia (1993) and Halmari & Virtanen (2005): establishing credentials, detailing the offer, offering incentives, including a logo, soliciting a response, and using pressure tactics. Not all of these moves may appear in any given advertisement and they do not necessarily appear in any particular order. However, these moves underlie actual advertising copy, often in innovative forms, to achieve their intended purposes toward the customers they target (Halmari & Virtanen, 2005).

This means that the language of advertisements is an essential tool of persuasion. Advertising language is a rich language, both in its words and its style (Pratiwi, 2015). Advertisers often play with, create, and use words out of context (Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000; Pratiwi, 2015). They also change the meanings of words and sometimes violate

grammatical rules to create a certain effect, but advertising messages nevertheless remain cohesive and brief (Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000; Pratiwi, 2015). Another feature is that they usually include pictures in their messages (Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000). The exploitation of various language sub-systems in advertisements serves to attract attention, trigger imagination, and make things easy to remember; consequently, people's minds are filled with slogans, brands, and mottos (Pratiwi, 2015). Advertisement discourses, therefore, are a source of meaning conveyed through simplicity and conciseness. This meaning is extracted from the receiver's knowledge of language as a system integrated with the pragmatic ability to make sense of a particular discourse in the context of both the situation and the sociocultural world in which the discourse is produced (Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000). Analysts of promotional discourse thus must be familiar with a society and its culture in order to be able to explore the complexity of meanings in advertisements and to understand the different linguistic modes in the actual context of the advertisements.

The language of advertisements is closely related to the idea of globalization (Piller, 2003). English has become a global language and has been adopted by advertisers in the non-English speaking world to reflect a social stereotype (Piller, 2003), as it has become the language of modernity, advancement, and globalization (Bhatia, 1992; Pegrum, 2004; Piller, 2003, 2017). Crystal (2000) points out that advertising language often includes a form of bilingualism. In that case one of the languages is usually a global language which provides access to the international community, and the other is a local language that provides access to a regional community. Advertising bilingualism is characterized by the presence of code-switching (CS) (Bhatia, 1992; Ustinova, 2008). In CS, there is one language used as a matrix or host language and another language used as a guest language (Ustinova, 2008). The matrix language refers to the overall character of the discourse in which switching occurs. However, the guest language is the source of the switched materials (Ustinova, 2008). CS is

the mixing on the inter-sentential level of diverse linguistic units, such as sentences, clauses, or phrases from two different grammatical systems (Ustinova, 2008). Ustinova (2008) illustrated that psychological and social factors lead the bilingual population to engage in CS. In advertising in non-Anglophone countries CS into English is usually used to mark the speaker as educated, modern, and belonging to a high social class (Ustinova, 2008). In the advertising of ELT institutes this symbolic meaning of English is identical to the actual product advertised. Therefore, we can hypothesize that Saudi ELT institutes might switch to English in their advertisements to provide evidence of their language knowledge and, at the same time, to demonstrate that they are associated with modernity and advancement. To achieve persuasion, ELT institutes may also commodify language to attract their audience and this is discussed in the following section.

2.5 Commodification of Language

The communicative revolution in ELT of the 1970s and 1980s strongly emphasized the need for learners to acquire usable language skills (Kramsch, 2014). This approach contrasted with older methods, which focused on how to master the linguistic intricacies of the language system, neglecting the value of language use for communication. More recently, as globalization has increased, this value of using language for interaction has remained very significant, but it is shaped differently (Kramsch, 2014). Communicative language skills have been a valuable commodity, as Duchêne and Heller (2012) illustrate. They show how language use, promoted by the modern nation-state as an object of pride, is being re-imagined as a source of profit in the global economy. As Kramsch (2014) points out, foreign language use permits speakers to meet their consumer needs, express their messages, obtain the commodities they want, and gain prestige. How a person writes and speaks is essential to determining his/her worth as an employee, a scholar, or even a potential marriage partner (Heller, 2010).

The role of language as both a means through which work is achieved and an actual product of work is a feature of the new global economy of late capitalism (Heller, 2010, p. 104). In the globalized economy, language itself has become a commodity and thus acts as a resource to be controlled, valued, distributed, produced, and constrained (Heller, 2010, p. 108). The commodification of language refers to the exchange value of language as a marketable skill to compete in the job market (Heller, 2003). In the workplace and in commercials, language commodification plays a role in promoting a product. In other words, language commodification is a marketing tool which advertisers or workers can use to achieve their goals.

ELT institutes not only commodify the English language but often also their teachers, particularly native speakers. Many ELT institutes around the world use the image of English native-language speakers as a promotional tool to attract customers (Slagoski, 2014). In this case, the institutes claim to offer an authentic English taught by native or native-like speakers as opposed to the inauthentic English that is based on the grammar-translation method taught by non-native teachers (Seargeant, 2009). Some ELT companies have gone to great lengths to promote their native-English instruction:

The commodification of the English language in the private sector is exaggerated even more in a theme park that offers its guests the experience of living in Great Britain and the opportunities to learn English from teachers who work for the park (Slagoski, 2014, p. 38).

Although there is no empirical evidence that marks native speakers as the ideal representatives of what is acceptable in the language (Phillipson, 1992), private sectors in many parts of the world have been found to adopt this ideology to market ELT (Mirhosseini, 2015). It needs to be added that, from a pedagogical point of view, unqualified native teachers may potentially present a hazard to learners if they lack explicit linguistic knowledge (Phillipson, 1992).

Against this background it is worth pointing out that Alghofaili and Elyas (2017) found no significant differences when they compared the effectiveness of native and non-native English teachers on the achievements of Saudi EFL students. However, other factors, such as the competence of teachers, the teachers' use of the learners' first language, and the teachers' personality, were found to positively influence language learning (Alghofaili & Elyas, 2017). Such findings imply that Saudi English language learners should have no obvious preference for either native or non-native teachers. However, as mentioned earlier, ELT institutes presuppose ideologies and naturalize them to convince people to procure their services.

2.6 Summary and Research Questions

This literature reviewed has revealed that ELT industries are not free from ideologies, and that these ideologies are apparent in their advertisements. Naturalized assumptions affect people's decisions, choices, and opinions about FL learning. Many studies in different contexts have investigated ideologies in private sector ELT institutes, such as those in Iran (Mirhosseini, 2015), India (Ladousa, 2002), and Peru (Niño-Murcia, 2003). However, there is a paucity in the literature concerning these ideologies in the Saudi context; one important exception is Alghofaili and Elyas's (2017) study exploring ideologies related to the notion of native speakers as ideal teachers. Therefore, the current study is important in that it explores the naturalized ideological assumptions of ELT institutes in Saudi Arabia, which can affect broader public beliefs about English and its role in society.

Moreover, this chapter has demonstrated how English becomes a product in the commercialized industry of ELT. It is a common phenomenon that the positive side of FL learning is usually presented by private ELT businesses which aim above all else to persuade people to use their services. Thus, persuasion in ELT advertisements can take different shapes. For instance, advertisers use pictures and exploit language elements to form unique,

attractive discourses. To the best of my knowledge, there have been no studies that have explored the persuasive strategies employed in the advertisements of ELT institutes in Saudi Arabia. Therefore, this study aims to fill this gap in the literature by investigating the online promotional discourses and advertisements of ELT institutes directed toward convincing Saudi audiences to enrol. To this end, the current study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the persuasive strategies used in advertisements produced by ELT institutes in Saudi Arabia?
2. What role do the Arabic and English languages play in these advertisements?
3. What are the ideological assumptions undergirding the advertisements produced by Saudi ELT institutes?

3 Methodology

3.1 Overview

As the need to learn English in Saudi Arabia for professional, economic, and religious reasons has increased, so too have the number of ELT institutes. English learners in the country have been inundated with advertising materials from these schools. Therefore, the discourses and advertisements of private sector ELT institutes offer readily available data for this study of the language ideologies related to ELT and learning in Saudi Arabia. How these advertising materials present FL learning is an important question to explore. As Pegrum (2004) noted, "it is our responsibility as educators…to ensure that [commonplace] tropes are closely examined to reveal both the value of all and the limitations of each" (p. 9).

As some of the advertisements in this study contain both visual and textual elements, a critical discourse analysis (CDA), based on both the rhetorical moves of Bhatia (1993) and multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) of Kress and van Leeuwen (2008), were applied to the advertisements to illustrate how texts and images interact to fulfil the advertisements' communicative purpose. The MDA is a theoretical framework of visual communication and picture analysis, which Kress and van Leeuwen (2008) refer to as "the grammar of visual design" (p. 1).

This chapter begins by describing the data. After this, the analytical framework of the study is explained; the framework is based on Bhatia's (1993) rhetorical moves and Kress and van Leeuwen's (2008) multimodal analysis. A summary of the way the data in the current study was analysed and coded is then presented. The chapter concludes by acknowledging the limitations of the study.

3.2 Data Description

The corpus comprises a total of 45 advertisements from two different sources, institutional websites and Twitter accounts (see Appendix 1). Fifteen of these were collected from the websites of the British Council and Saudi British Centre institutes: https://www.britishcouncil.sa and https://sbc.edu.sa/. These institutes were chosen because they have multiple branches across the country. These institutes operate in different cities in Saudi Arabia such as Al Riyadh, Jeddah, Makkah, Hail, and Al Khobar. This geographic distribution indicates that these institutes reach a broad national audience. Additionally, 30 advertisements were collected from the Twitter accounts of the ELT institutes Wall Street English (@wseksa), ELaf Hail (@elaf_hail), and Adwaa Almarefah (@adwaaEduSa). The advertisements included in the corpus were each assigned a code, made up of the initials of the institutes' names and a number. These codes are used to identify the particular advertisements referred to in the excerpts, figures and quotes included in the analysis (for full list with codes, see Appendix 1). These institutes were selected because they are active on Twitter, posting advertisements frequently. The number of followers of each of these institutes ranges from 1,066 to 16,600, which indicates that the selected institutes are relatively popular, at least in the cities where they operate. The selected advertisements were all posted between 2017 and 2018. They were sourced from Twitter because young people and adults, the audience targeted by ELT institutes, spend significant time - an average of 2-5 hours daily - on social media (Hughes & Burke, 2018). For this reason, social media have become a key advertising channel.

The 45 promotional materials produced by ELT institutes constitute the bulk of the data examined in this study. The institutes target a Saudi audience and offer ELT for both adults and children. However, even in cases where child language learning is promoted, the target audience must be considered the parents of those children, who will make the decision

to enrol their children. The two languages used in these advertisements are Arabic and English. These advertisements contain promotional texts and images as well as the contact details for the institutes.

3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This critical social research study attempts to explore the ways in which the role of English and English language learning are constructed by ELT institutes. The purpose of critical approaches to discourse is to elucidate the ideologies that underpin discourses and uncover the relations of power and dominance implied in these discursive practices (Mirhosseini, 2015). CDA is aimed at generating critical social research which contributes to overcoming inequality and oppression in society (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). As Fairclough (2013) points out, CDA provides explanations and interpretations of aspects of social life by identifying the reasons for social wrongs and producing knowledge that can mitigate these wrongs. These interpretations include the analysis of discourses produced by those people who seek to regulate or govern a particular area of society. Therefore, using CDA to analyse the data will be useful in understanding the discursive practices produced by the operators of the ELT institutes and in providing suggestions that could contribute to mitigating any social wrongs implied in those discourses.

CDA is applied to the data following the model of moves for sales promotion letters proposed by Bhatia (1993). There are two reasons for choosing this model as a framework for the study. First, the data in the current study has the same communicative purpose - to persuade others to benefit from an advertised service - as the data in Bhatia's (1993) study. Second, when this model was used by Hashim (2010) to investigate persuasion in print advertisements in Malaysia, it was found to be relevant. The following subsections elaborate on the rhetorical model of moves.

3.3.1 Rhetorical moves.

Bhatia (1993) proposes that advertising communication employs seven types of rhetorical moves: establishing credentials, introducing the offer, offering incentives, enclosing documents, soliciting a response, using pressure tactics, and ending politely. Not all these moves were included in the analytic categories of the current study "as advertisements differ from sales promotion letters which tend to employ other moves not found in advertisements" (Hashim, 2010, p. 381). Also, because there is flexibility in using the moves, it is possible to include only some of them in a letter or advertisement, and there is a degree of freedom in ordering them (Bhatia, 1993; Halmari & Virtanen, 2005). The length of a move varies according to the copywriter's purpose, so a move can be realized by a paragraph or merely a sentence (Bhatia, 1993). Following Hashim's (2010) application of the model, identification of the individual persuasive moves in the current study was done on the basis of semantic criteria. That is, meaningful relationships between words, clauses, and sentences established the boundaries of each rhetorical move. Accordingly, reliance on the semantic relations between the different parts of the texts contributes to the distinction between the purposes of the texts, as well as their conditional, elaborative, and additive aspects (Fairclough, 2003). An understanding of the semantic relations within the text of an advertisement also allows a sentence or clause to be identified as an example of a particular move.

Functional components of the promotional materials were categorized within four of Bhatia's (1993) rhetorical moves: establishing credentials, introducing the offer, soliciting response, and using pressure tactics. These four categories are chosen because of their frequency of occurrence. The analysis was performed on the promotional materials in their original language, which is predominantly Arabic. The rhetorical aspects of the promotional materials are described in relation to their communicative purpose. The following

subsections outline the four moves relevant to the current study based on Bhatia's (1993) description.

Establishing credentials.

The most obvious aspect of this move is that the copywriter seeks to gain the customers' attention and trust. The copywriter must convince them that the company being advertised (i.e., the ELT institute) has a well-established reputation by highlighting the distinctive features and achievements of the company. This indicates to the customers that it is to their advantage to procure the advertised service. To do this, the advertiser refers to the potential customers' needs and interests and claims that the company can address them.

Introducing the offer.

This move introduces the most essential details of the service being promoted and highlights the value of the service. There are three substantial aspects of this move: (a) offering the service, (b) essential detailing of the service, and (c) indicating the value of the service. Telling the customers about the service is important because if it is unfamiliar to the customer, it will not be bought regardless of its benefits. This move, the most fundamental part of the promotion process, provides the reason this service can meet the customers' needs, which were described in the first move. Adjectives and lexical boosts are extensively used to assert the quality and value of the service.

Soliciting a response.

In this move, the advertiser seeks to establish a business relationship with the customers to motivate them to continue further communication. Accordingly, company contact details - such as the telephone number, fax number, email address, or website URL - are included. This information is often briefly noted at the bottom of the advertisement (Hashim, 2010). By providing this information, the company welcomes their customers' enquiries and offers

to help, promising a speedy response and a willingness to provide any information needed (Hashim, 2010).

Using pressure tactics.

Pressure tactics are used to prompt the customer to make an immediate decision about the service. This is achieved by offering additional savings if the customer decides to use the service before a specific deadline. Generally, this move occurs at the end of an advertisement.

3.3.2 Multimodal discourse analysis (MDA).

MDA is a social semiotic theory that examines the meaning-making potential of various communication styles, modes, and media within the sociocultural context (Djonov & Zhao, 2014). This framework is inspired by Halliday's (1978) social semiotic theory of language. Halliday (1978) proposed that language uses semiotic resources to make meaning. He developed a metafunctional theory of language describing meaning-making in terms of three configurations: ideational, interpersonal, and textual.

MDA is carried out on the advertisements to illustrate how texts and images interact to fulfil the advertisements' communicative purpose. MDA is a valuable method for this study as it interprets and focuses on meanings produced by image-makers. The following subsections summarize selected tools from the elements of Kress and van Leeuwen's (2008) framework, followed by a section that illustrates how language use is analysed.

The representational dimension.

This element stems from Halliday's (1978) ideational metafunction which explores the relationship between objects that exist in the world and people's consciousness of them. Kress and van Leeuwen (2008) classified "participants" into two types. The first type, called represented participants, refers to things, products, people, and places represented in texts

and images. The second type, called interactive participants, refers to people who write and read, speak and listen, produce images (e.g., photographer), or view them.

The interactional dimension.

This dimension refers to the interactions between the image producer and viewer or, as Kress and van Leeuwen (2008) termed them, the interactive participants. This element is based on Halliday's (1978) interpersonal metafunction (Ly & Jung, 2015). Image producers encode social values and meanings into pictures through the represented participants' gaze, the distance of the participants from the viewer, and the modality (Ly & Jung, 2015).

In pictures where represented participants look directly at the viewer, vectors are created by the participants' eye-lines; these link the participants with the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2008). Here, contact is formed at an imaginary level. This kind of image makes a "demand" since the participant's gaze demands the viewer do something. On the other hand, some images address the viewer indirectly (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2008). There is no contact between the represented participant and the viewer. This type of image is called an "offer" because it introduces the represented participant to the viewer as an object or item of information.

Social distance concerns the closeness of the viewer and the participants. A familiar relationship is suggested by making the figures in an image seem closer to the viewer, while a more remote relationship is suggested by making the figures seem more distant. These effects are achieved through the use of certain angles and the manipulation of the field of vision. Modality refers to how real something seems to a viewer. Certain qualities, like colour, are modality markers: full-colour images may seem more real or true to viewers than do black and white images.

The compositional dimension.

This dimension stems from Halliday's (1978) textual metafunction. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2008), the compositional dimension explores how the representational and interactive elements of images relate to each other to form a meaningful whole. One principle of composition is salience, which measures factors such as size, sharpness of focus, and the placement of the elements in an image.

In addition to the use of visuals in advertisements, language choice in advertisements can play a role in persuasion and attention-getting. Therefore, analysis of language choice in the advertisements was carried out, as explained below.

3.3.3 The analysis of language choice.

The choice of linguistic code in commercial discourse is not random (Kelly-Holmes, 2005). Words used in advertisements are "the product of a very conscious decision to put those particular words there rather than other words" (Pahta, 2007, p. 284). To address the role of Arabic and English languages in the advertisements, the distinct features of language use were analysed. According to Pétery (2011), analysis of language choice in advertisements should seek to answer the questions of why certain language code is used and what affect it can create for the receiver. To do this, I considered the circumstances in which each language was used and noted when advertisers switched to English. The motivations for using either English or Arabic are deduced from how often the advertisers switch to English and when they make this switch (e.g., in providing the institute's name only or in offering information about it). The use of loanwords from English is also considered in the analysis of the advertisements.

3.4 Summary

The current study uses CDA and MDA to analyse the promotional discourses of ELT institutes. Semiotic analysis of the visuals in the advertisements is integrated with the analysis of rhetorical moves. I used both semiotic and linguistic analyses of the images and texts represented in the advertisements to explore how these modes of communication work together to produce ideologies that would persuade FL learners to take up English language learning and enrol at the institute.

The textual and visual elements of the advertisements were analysed in relation to how English language learning is conceptualised by the institutes, and how the institutes represent themselves to their audience. The data related to the conceptualisation of English was coded into six categories to facilitate the analysis, following Mirhosseini (2015). These categories included proficiency certificates, focus on oral language, guarantee, best practice, native-speakerism, and specific purpose courses. Throughout this analysis, I investigated the persuasive strategies used in the ELT institutes' advertisements. Based on this analysis, the ideological assumptions implied in the promotional discourses were also identified. To relate the visual analysis to the rhetorical moves, the use of these moves was also explored in the visuals.

To examine the role of the different languages used in the advertisements, I identified areas where code switching occurs or loanwords are used. I then examined the significance of using either Arabic or English in these advertisements. Finally, the use of iconic symbols in the ads was explored and their meanings deduced by linking them to the rhetorical moves.

3.5 Limitations of the Study

As mentioned in this chapter, advertisements were selected from online sources. Collecting data from online sources is advantageous in that it permits the researcher to examine

conveniently many promotional discourses for institutes located in different cities. However, including data from other sources such as billboards, and posters could have enriched understanding about ideologies and persuasion strategies of ELT promotional discourses. The same is true of TV advertisements, which use a combination of image, sound, and texts. Given the limitations of a Master of Research thesis, these have been excluded from this study. They require more sophisticated analytical approaches (Chen, 2006), and might be pursued for a subsequent PhD project. Moreover, only a small amount of data (i.e., 45 advertisements) was collected for this study.

In addition, the use of CDA, which depends on my one-sided analysis and interpretation of the data, as the only method for textual analysis is perhaps a limitation of the study. As Widdowson (1995) stated, in CDA, there is "rarely a suggestion that alternative interpretations are possible…it selects those features of the text which support [the researcher's] preferred interpretation" (p. 169). This study focuses on texts and visuals only. As a result, issues such as how these texts were produced and how they are received remained unaddressed in this study. Another shortcoming this study has, is its reliance on discourse analysis in exploring language choice. Information about audience thoughts regarding language code and advertisers' motivations for embedding English language when designing the ads has not been explored in this study. Despite these limitations, the study provides insights into the persuasive strategies and naturalized ideological assumptions produced by ELT institutes in Saudi Arabia.

4 Conceptualisations of English Language Learning

4.1 Overview

A critical discourse analysis (CDA) and multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) are used in this chapter to analyse the promotional discourses. This chapter seeks to explore how English language learning is conceptualised by the ELT institutes. The analysis of the data in this chapter reveals some of the persuasive strategies and ideological assumptions produced by the institutes. Assumptions underlying the production of the promotional discourses not only express the commercial interests of the institutes, but they must also be understood as gradually acquired socially shared beliefs (van Dijk, 2006). Online advertisements are important instances of such discourses that can impact people's attitudes towards language learning. Thus, this chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the textual and visual elements of the 45 advertisements for ELT institutes that serve as the corpus of this study.

To attract potential students' attention, the promotional materials of the ELT institutes must persuade them of the value of the services on offer. This is achieved by conceptualising English as a global language, and by constructing English language learning as fun, empowering learners, and enhancing confidence. These themes are addressed in the chapter and a summary section is presented at the end.

4.2 English as a Global Language

One persuasive strategy used in the ELT institutes' advertisements is indicating the importance of the English as a global language. Highlighting the audience's need to learn English because of its global role is a frequently used strategy in these promotional discourses. These advertisements often describe English as a global language, associating it with education, travel, business, and the Internet.

Excerpt 4-1

نحن نؤمن أن التعليم يضع الأساس لمستقبل أكثر إشراقاً.

We believe that education lays the foundation for a brighter future (BC5).

Excerpt 4-2

تعد الإنجليزية لغة هامة للغاية في المجتمع العالمي اليوم، فهي لغة عالم الأعمال والإنترنت والثقافة الحديثة.

English is important on a global scale. It is the language of business, the Internet, and modern education (BC12).

Excerpt 4-3

تعد الإنجليزية اللغة العالمية الأولى، وقد أصبحت ضرورية لأولئك الذين يريدون السفر.

English is the first global language. It has become necessary for those who want to travel (BC10).

The data emphasize the positive aspects of learning English. This is meant to reinforce potential students' trust in the institutes and to persuade them to enrol. English is said to offer speakers global access, as it helps people to understand the language of the Internet, to communicate easily when travelling, and to pave the way for desirable business opportunities. What is missing from the data are references to any negative consequences of English language learning, such as its competition with the community language and identity (Pegrum, 2004). It is not only English language learning that is presented in an exclusively positive light but also globalization. Globalization is a complex concept that is understood differently by different people, according to the costs and benefits they perceive for themselves and their society. It can be viewed positively as a means for the cross-fertilization of language, ideas, and human activities or negatively as contributing to the erosion of cultural and linguistic diversity (Gollin-Kies, Hall, & Moore, 2015). The latter view is absent

from the data and the advertisements examined here are based on the assumption that globalization is an entirely beneficial phenomenon as Figure 1 shows.

Figure 1 involves three main visual elements placed in the centre. The first component is an image of a globe. However, in contrast to a traditional globe with the geographic outlines of the continents, this one is covered by the British flag. Below this image, there is a graduation hat and under this there are two books. Together, the images present reasons that make English learning important: global ("travel") "سفر", ("study") "دراسة", and ("knowledge") "معرفة". The name and logo of the institute, included to establish credentials, appears at the top right side of the advertisement. The name "Wall Street English" further associates English with international economic success. The institute's name, Wall Street English, refers to the name of a street in New York, internationally known for its financial power. The institute seeks to establish credentials through this choice of name, equating its own power with Wall Street's power and reach.

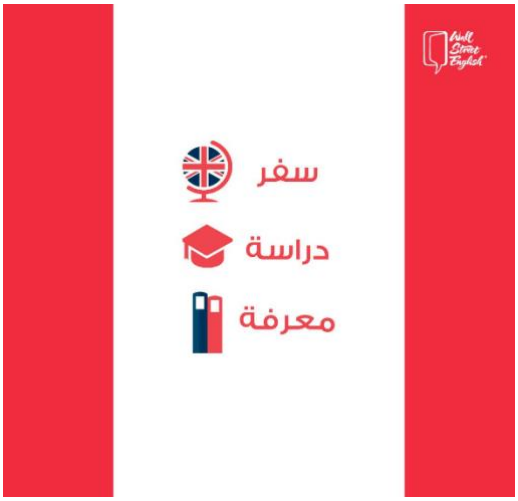

Figure 1: English as the language of travel, education and knowledge (WS1)

The linguistic elements and the images shown in Figure 1 are related to each other. The three main visual elements of the advertisement are accompanied by linguistic elements placed beside each component that explain the images textually: travel, study, and knowledge. The image of the globe with the British flag is explained by the word "travel." The use of the British flag is not random. It results from the British post-colonial effect that continues to penetrate the local language, culture, and the attitudes towards English learning (Barnawi, 2018). Although Saudi Arabia has never been formally colonised by the British, the power of the British Empire in the 19th century had a remarkable effect in promoting

English language learning in the Arabian Gulf countries including Saudi Arabia. The ELT industry is affected by the colonialist education system that prioritises the British English language and considers it as the leading language of education, knowledge, and worldwide communication. This can be interpreted as a form of what Phillipson (1992) has called English linguistic imperialism, which refers to the dominance of English over other languages and which results in power and cultural inequalities. The ad in Figure 1 suggests that the institute is adopting British English as the target for learners through which success and global communication can be achieved. Although the institute's name, "Wall Street English", simultaneously includes a nod to American English, the institute seamlessly links the two major varieties of English in one semiotic appeal. That is, the advertisement implies that the institute adopts the two English varieties for instruction, to accord with the social stereotype which has given superiority to British and American English as reflectors of Western standards and modernity. The graduation cap indicates that acquiring knowledge of English will help learners succeed in their educational journey. Lastly, the books represent knowledge and the ability to read and learn from literature written in English.

Advertisers usually target the students' future, which they refer to by associating knowledge of English with efficiency, modernity, and technology (see also Pegrum, 2004). They profess to be aware of what students need for future success, particularly financial success, as shown in the extracts above. They also tend to mystify English learning by fragmenting language into different categories of communicative purpose such as learning the language for business communication:

Excerpt 4-4

ولأننا ندرك أن استخدام اللغة الإنجليزية في مكان العمل يختلف عن . . . استخدامها بوجه عام، فقد قمنا بتصميم هذه الدورات لتتناسب مع متطلبات حياتك العملية. وسوف نزودك من خلالها بالمهارات المطلوبة للتواصل بثقة وفاعلية باستخدام لغة الأعمال الأولى في العالم.

> Because we know that English use in the workplace differs from . . . using it in daily life, we design English courses to suit the requirements of your career. We will teach you what you need to speak the language of business confidently (BC4).

However, as Mirhosseini (2015) observed, the communicative purpose and requirements of English learners cannot be determined as specifically as the advertisers in these promotional discourses are claiming to do. A true knowledge of a language is far from the fragmentism represented in these promotional discourses. English knowledge is not a matter related only to globalization, modernity, and business opportunities, but is also inseparable from the social, cultural, spiritual, and political issues that can inspire people to learn the language (see also Mirhosseini, 2015, p. 944). In general, the analysis of the promotional discourses presented in this section reveals that the institutes establish credentials by showing their awareness of the importance of learning English; this awareness is used for commercial purposes, as it aims to persuade potential students to take a place at the institute to learn the global language. The next section analyses findings related to conceptualising English learning as a source of fun.

4.3 English Learning is Fun

In addition to English as a means to achieve success, English learning is also conceptualised as a source of fun. As a persuasive strategy, the institutes reproduced the ideological assumption that English learning is an enjoyable process which is suitable not only for adults but children as well:

Excerpt 4-5

نساعد الصغار على ممارسة مهارات . . . من دون أن يشعروا بأنهم يدرسون . . . واللعب مع بعضهم البعض بطريقة طبيعية وممتعة.

We help children to practice skills . . . without feeling that they are studying . . . and play with each other in a natural and pleasant way (BC3).

Excerpt 4-6

راحة البال لك ومزيد من المتعة لابنك.

Peace of mind for you and more fun for your son (BC3).

The institutes establish credentials by announcing their awareness of the importance of helping, encouraging, and leading the children in a joyful learning environment. Creating a fun learning environment can stimulate children's motivation and interest in learning. According to second language acquisition theory, learning a foreign language through play is effective when educators are able to strike a balance between teacher-led and child-initiated play (Mourao, 2014). Teacher-led play refers to the educator's role as a mediator who guides children's play, while child-initiated play is the action of playing and exploring different situations and materials without teacher guidance. To achieve this balance, teachers should act as initiators of learning by facilitating, organizing, providing children with opportunities to choose, experiment, make mistakes, and become independent learners.

The advertisements also visually reproduce the assumption that English learning is fun (see Figure 2). The conceptual images in Figure 2 are a collection of four English textbooks from the series *English World* appearing at the bottom of the advertisement and two circles placed above the textbooks. An important dimension of the relationship between the viewer and the represented participants is visual modality. The images in the advertisement in Figure 2 have high modality because the advertiser uses full colour saturation, which makes

Figure 2: English is fun (AA9)

an image appear more than real (Ly & Jung, 2015). The depth in these images is natural. The colourful images used in the advertisement are meant to attract the viewers and to convey the information that the English course is for children. As Costantini (2018) notes, colours are socially constructed concepts; that is, the meaning of a colour is determined by a society's customs and culture. Thus, using bright colours like red, blue, pink, and green together—in the textbooks and the blocks on which the word "module" is written—can suggest joy and happiness, concepts usually associated with childhood. The message that these colours convey is that the advertised course can achieve English learning in an interesting and fun environment, where children can play and learn at the same time.

At the top, the most valued position, one with high salience, is the name and the logo of the institute and the accreditation given to it. The logo of the Saudi Ministry of Education is represented to the left side of the advertisement. The advertiser here wants to establish credentials by indicating that the institute is accredited by the Ministry of Education (see also Chapter Five).

Overall, the advertisement relies on both visual and textual elements to promote the advertised English course. The images used are full of features that appeal to children, including, on the textbook covers, figures of animals, and the text in the centre of the ad is written in varied fonts and colours. These elements could attract the potential audience to

the service by promoting the belief that the ELT is carried out in a suitable environment for children. In the following section, it will be demonstrated how learning English is conceptualised as empowering learners.

4.4 English as Empowering Learners

Another facet of English emphasized in the data is the importance of learning English in empowering and developing individuals. This is clearly illustrated in Figures 3, 4, and 5. These ads demonstrate the increasing emphasis on efficiency, accountability, and development of human capital through learning English.

Figure 3: English and leadership (WS2)

In Figure 3, a stylized cartoon character of a young man is sitting on the left side of the picture, reading a book. The phrase written in the centre says, "Today a reader, tomorrow a leader." Leadership, in this advertisement, is assumed to be achieved by learning English. The phrase refers to the bright future that English learners will experience due to the benefits English gives to its speakers.

Figure 4: "Communicate freely" advertisement (WS6)

In Figure 4, the represented participant is a man with wings appearing on the right hand-side. The words in the phrase "Communicate Freely," correspond to the figure – the wings with "communicate," and the triumphant man with "freely." The wings here are a metaphor that conveys the idea that acquiring English is related to freedom and the ability to communicate universally without language barriers, much as wings allow a bird the freedom to move as it will. The ad suggests that learning

English gives its learners wings and enables them to develop themselves to be competitive in the global world. In terms of Bhatia's (1993) rhetorical moves, an examination of the man's facial expressions reveals that his direct gaze, raised eyebrows, and wide-open laughing mouth is introducing the offer (i.e., offering the service) by addressing the audience with a visual "you" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 117). This can be interpreted as "with English, you, too, can grow wings."

Similarly in Figure 5, the represented participant is a huge muscular arm that appears to the right-hand side of the advertisement, indicating that learning English empowers people. The background is blue with red dots that appear on the top right corner of the advertisement. These dots refer to the dots of 1950s comic book printing – Benday dots – as foregrounded by the Pop Art of the 1960s (Collins, 2003). The ultimate indirect reference here seems to be to the strongman comics character Popeye (Collins, 2003, p.65). This advertisement comically links learning English with Popeye's strength. A text written on the comically muscular arm says "start saying I will." Such a phrase is used to encourage the audience to make the decision to learn the language.

Taken together, the description of these three ads demonstrates that language education in Saudi Arabia is increasingly influenced by neoliberalism. English learning is conceptualised as a form of *linguistic entrepreneurship*, an act of moving beyond the borders of the ones' linguistic community to find new contexts in which linguistic recourses are enhancing their value in the world (Costa, Park & Wee, 2016). As the figures show, the institutes are encouraging language

Figure 5: "Start saying I will" advertisement (WS10)

learning by associating it with a better future and leadership (Figure 3), the ability to communicate globally (Figure 4), and enhanced personal power (Figure 5). In sum, these ads do not simply stimulate audiences to learn English, but they also inculcate a clear sense of linguistic entrepreneurship (see also Costa, Park & Wee, 2016).

In Figure 5, in the bottom left corner, the name of the author responsible for the quote "start saying I will" appears: Charles Dickens. The name of the 19th century British author might be nothing more than an English name to the audience. Both the quote written inside the arm and the English name are used to establish credentials indicating that the institute belongs to the Western world and is familiar with its popular and important people. Given the ways in which English language learning is constructed as empowering learners, it is unsurprising that it is further conceptualized as a main component that positively affects people's confidence.

4.5 English Learning Enhances Confidence

English language learning is constructed in the advertisements as an important factor that increases individuals' self-confidence. Lack of confidence in using English is presented as a problem that ELT institutes are aware of and that they are able to solve. Some advertisements explicitly begin with expressions such as, "عقدة الثقة حليناها", which means "we can help boost your confidence" (WS14). By using such expressions, the institutes first establish the presupposition that the audience lacks confidence and then reproduce the ideological assumption that English learning enhances learners' self-confidence. They assert that they understand and can solve the audience's problems.

In relation to the rhetorical moves, this strategy is used in the advertisements under investigation to offer the service to the prospective customers. Moreover, in offering essential details of the service, the advertisers inform the audience that the institute focuses on helping students improve their self-confidence. They announce that their courses are

planned to enhance the learners' confidence in using the FL. This is claimed to be achieved through creating situations in which the learners can practice the language, and through well-designed subjects that can improve their English language competence:

Excerpt 4-7

تركز الدورات على تحسين الثقة والطلاقة لدى الطالب من خلال توفير الفرص الكافية لممارسة اللغة واستخدام التمارين العملية قدر الإمكان جنباً إلى جنب مع المواد الدراسية.

The courses focus on improving the student's confidence and fluency by providing sufficient opportunities for practicing the language and using practical exercises as much as possible in addition to the basics (SBC3).

In these examples, the audience is addressed as lacking confidence. English language competence is then presented as a remedy to this presupposed problem. It is presented as having a positive effect on the learners' academic achievements, communication with others using the FL, and understanding a message in the FL. Some researchers have indeed found that Saudi students lack confidence in using the FL in different life situations (Al-Saraj, 2014; Hamouda, 2012). These data suggest that the ELT institutes actively foster this lack of confidence so that they can then profit from their touted ability to solve this problem.

4.6 Summary

Based on the analysis of the promotional materials under investigation, English language learning is promoted by conceptualising the language as global, fun, empowering and confidence-raising. The analysis in this chapter reveals that establishing credentials is the most repeatedly used rhetorical move. The institutes most frequently establish credentials by referring to the significance of learning English due to its global influence as the language of business, the Internet, education, and travel. These findings conform with those of Niño-Murcia's (2003) study, in which English is described by ELT advertising discourses as an important requirement for employment. Also, they establish credentials by using the

institutes' logo, name, and accredited organisation. Moreover, to establish credentials, the institutes exaggerate the positive aspects of learning English by mystifying language learning and focusing on the benefits it generates. ELT institutes in the private sector, as Pegrum (2004) also found, have succeeded in "deflect[ing] attention away from the language itself, and the webs of power in which it is caught up, by refocusing attention on the advantages it confers" (p. 9). Providing English authors' names (e.g., Charles Dickens) is another way of establishing credentials by showing knowledge of eminent Western persons. Concerning introducing the offer, the institutes show social closeness by offering their service through the visual "you," and they express their ability to raise learners' confidence to use the FL.

The analysis in this chapter has demonstrated that the textual and visual promotional discourses produced by ELT institutes make ideological assumptions that help to achieve their financial goals. The ideological assumptions revealed in this chapter have previously been identified and criticized in studies exploring ideologies related to ELT in other contexts such as those by Mirhosseini (2015) and Pegrum (2004).

In sum, the ideological assumptions found to this chapter are, first, that English language learning is entirely positive. Second, it is presented as fragmented into multiple categories according to the communicative needs of the audience. Third, English language learning is presented as occurring easily through fun and games. Fourth, English language learning is naturalized as empowering learners and, finally, as enhancing learners' self-confidence. The next chapter examines how the institutes represent themselves to their audience and uncover persuasive strategies and ideological assumptions underlying these representations.

5 Representations of ELT Institutes

5.1 Overview

This chapter continues to discuss findings in relation to the persuasive strategies and ideological assumptions used by ELT institutes' advertisements. In contrast to the previous chapter, which focussed on the representation of English, this chapter explores how the ELT institutes represent themselves and their services to their audience to achieve their marketing goals. As demonstrated below, they do so by associating their services with ideal teachers, ideal methods and curricula, desirable accreditations, proficiency certificates and tests, high quality, value for money, and, finally, symbolic association with English. These themes are discussed in detail in Sections 5.2 through to Section 5.7 respectively. Finally, the chapter ends with a summary.

5.2 Ideal Teacher

A frequently used argument to persuade the audience in favour of a particular ELT institute focuses on the institute's teachers. To establish their credentials, the institutes repeatedly claim that their teachers are experts:

Excerpt 5-1

وبوصفنا خبراء اللغة الإنجليزية في العالم، فبإمكان . . . تحسين مهاراتك في اللغة.

As globally recognized English-language experts, we can . . . improve your English skills (BC1).

Excerpt 5-2

ويتم تدريسها على أيدي معلمين . . . خبراء في تدريس الصغار والشباب.

English is taught by experts specializing in the teaching of children and youth (BC3).

Excerpt 5-3

والدعم الذي يوفره لك خبراء اللغة الإنجليزية.

And the support provided by English language experts (BC4).

Excerpt 5-4

يتمتع مدرسونا بخبرة عالية . . . وتزويدك بما يضمن اجتيازك للاختبار بنجاح.

Our educators are highly experienced . . . which guarantees your success in exams (SBC1).

Expertise in language teaching is associated with developing language sub-skills, and the ability to provide effective support and knowledge for different age-groups such as children and young people (see also Chapter Four). The focus on experts is embedded in the assumption that language is a technical skill only experts can fully master. Employing such experts as teachers is then suggested as guaranteeing English learning. This assumption serves only the interests of the institutes since it mystifies ELT by neglecting the diverse contextual and personal dynamics which contribute to FL learning (Mirhosseini, 2015, p. 941). As shown in Excerpt 5-4, this assumption also promises certain outcomes from the language learning process, which are almost impossible to guarantee because they do not exclusively depend on the teacher but on many other factors, such as student motivation, learning environment or teaching materials.

Some of the advertisements announce the availability of native English-speaking teachers to promote the institutes and establish credentials. Sometimes the advertisements indicate that the teachers come originally from English-speaking countries (e.g., Excerpt 5-5), and sometimes the institutes employ the word "أجانب" ("foreigners") to indicate that the instructors are not Saudi (e.g., Excerpts 5-6, 5-7).

Excerpt 5-5

مع وول ستريت ستتعلم اللغة الإنجليزية من أهلها، مع مدربين عالميين.

With Wall Street, you will learn English from its native people, with international trainers (WS9).

Excerpt 5-6

بإشراف مدربين أجانب.

Under the supervision of foreign trainers (WS14).

Excerpt 5-7

المعلمات أجانب.

The teachers are foreigners (EH6).

A foreigner could be any person who is not a Saudi national. However, the implicit suggestion is that the teachers are not just any foreigners but those hailing from Anglophone countries. Native English-speaking teachers in particular are thus naturalized as ideal teachers. This assumption places emphasis on the nationality of the instructor above all else, including his or her qualifications, experience, personality, and teaching style. Despite these assertions, research has found that teachers' backgrounds and nativeness have no important effects on the learning process for Saudi EFL students (Alghofaili & Elyas, 2017). However, other factors, such as teachers' experience, competence, and their use of first language in the classroom have been found to be significant in supporting language learning (Alghofaili & Elyas, 2017). The institutes, to serve their for-profit interests, exploit the fallacy that English is perfectly taught by native speakers, which is generated from the social belief mentioned by Al-Nasser (2015). This belief holds that Saudi teachers, who learned the FL as an additional language to Arabic, lack linguistic competence, while native English-speaking teachers, exposed to English from birth, are best qualified to be instructors. The

advertisements not only emphasize assumptions related to ideal teachers, but also present other assumptions regarding ideal methods and curricula.

5.3 Ideal Methods and Curricula

In addition to emphasizing the quality of their teachers, language institutes also seek to attract customers through proclaiming their use of new language teaching methods and curricula. By describing their teaching methods to their audience, they offer at least two different kinds of products (i.e., different types of English): conversational English and English for university entrance.

A significant aspect of the institutes' business focusses on developing speaking skills by offering special courses for conversational English:

Excerpt 5-8

يوجد دورة محادثة مكثفة.

We have an extensive conversation course (EH7).

Excerpt 5-9

دورة المحادثة العامة.

General conversation course (AA5).

They proclaim that such courses are taught through the use of modern teaching methods. This focus must be understood against the fact that teachers of English in Saudi Arabia rarely incorporate modern teaching strategies into their regime (Al-Nasser, 2015). Audio-visual aids, for instance, are widely encouraged as a useful tool in language-learning classrooms. However, in Saudi public schools, FL is most often introduced theoretically, as a lifeless matter, rather than through practical application. Public schools sometimes lack the new technology that helps facilitate FL teaching. Against this background, the private language institutes focus on their competitive advantage by claiming the use of the

communicative teaching approach and modern technology to meet their students' needs, as the following excerpts show:

Excerpt 5-10

نستخدم أفضل أساليب التعليم وأكثرها تطوراً.

We use the best and most advanced teaching methods (WS12).

Excerpt 5-11

التفاعل الإضافي عبر الانترنت.

Additional interaction through the use of the Internet (BC6).

Excerpt 5-12

يستخدمون أحدث أساليب التواصل والتفاعل . . . تزويدهم باستراتيجيات التعلم الذاتي.

Using the newest communication and interaction methods . . . training learners to use self-learning strategies (BC4).

These excerpts show that the presupposition that ELT in Saudi Arabia is based on the grammar-translation method, which relies heavily on the use of L1 in the classroom (Al-Nasser, 2015, p. 1613), is used as a foil against which ELT institutes promote themselves. The grammar-translation method has, of course, been widely criticized by scholars (e.g., Al-Nasser, 2015; Larsen-Freeman & Anderson, 2011) because it deprives learners of exposure to the FL. It is this well-known shortcoming of the implied competition that private ELT institutes set themselves against when they try to attract prospective students by stressing their new and communication-oriented methods.

The promised benefits of communicative language teaching approaches are presented as contributed to far-reaching improvements in students' life.

Excerpt 5-13

تحدث اللغة الإنجليزية بثقة وطلاقة يمكن أن يحسن من حياتك بطرق عديدة.

Speaking English confidently and fluently can improve your life in many ways (BC7).

The advertisements link their methods with the ability to communicate in English and the latter is linked to an improved life (see also Chapter Four). Chapter Four demonstrated that English is depicted as the key that opens the professional world for its speakers. This connects the ideal method not only with student success but also elevates oral proficiency over all other aspects of language proficiency. This ideological assumption disregards the importance of other aspects of language learning and practicing such as writing, listening, and reading which are offered by the public-school system in Saudi Arabia. Therefore, ELT institutes promote their services by contrasting them with those provided in the public-school system.

Of course, it is simplistic to view FL learning as limited to oral communication (McLaughlin, 1992). Indeed, literacy is essential to the mastery of language (Hammond & Macken-Horarik, 1999). Furthermore, the various linguistic skills are inextricably linked. However, in the data, conversation courses are widely presented as a separable skill (see Excerpts 5-8 and 5-9). Realistically, the ability to communicate orally is difficult to achieve without reference to written language (Mirhosseini, 2015, p. 939).

In addition to modern teaching techniques for conversational English, language schools also promote themselves by offering English courses for university entrance. Most often these are based on the curriculum of the foundation year in university, as suggested by book titles such as *Headway*. This book is published by Oxford University Press (Soars & Soars, 2012). The preparatory year curriculum is presented as the best and most reliable material for teaching:

Excerpt 5-14

نعتمد سلسلة مناهج Headway الذي يدرس بالسنة التحضيرية بجامعة حائل.

We use the *Headway* series, which is taught in the preparatory year at Hail University (EH7).

Excerpt 5-15

مناهج السنة التحضيرية.

Curriculum of the preparatory year (EH5).

Excerpt 5-16

دورة اللغة الإنجليزية للسنة التحضيرية.

English language course taught in the preparatory year (AA7).

The claim of employing the textbooks and curriculum of the preparatory year is meant to attract potential learners who are about to start their undergraduate studies. In Saudi Arabia, the foundation year in university focuses on teaching English. Students are subject to English proficiency tests prepared by the university to measure their language abilities. There are four English language levels in the first year that the students need to pass based on the test-scores they obtain.

The private language schools, therefore, exploit potential students' need to learn English for academic purposes by reproducing the presupposition that for effective language learning, certain textbooks and methods must be used. However, it is necessary to question these institutes claims, that their approach - one that combines certain preferred texts, the communicative teaching method, and the use of technology - is the best possible approach (Pennycook, 1989). It is true that the communicative teaching method concentrates on the contextual appropriateness of language use rather than focusing purely on language form (Supharatypthin, 2014). Further, technology does provide students with greater access to the FL and at the same time encourages self-learning, as it has the potential to provide learning

outside the classroom (Larsen-Freeman & Anderson, 2011). However, the reliance on these teaching methods as neutral teaching tools depicts "language as a merely instrumental asocial set of skills, rather than a socio-political practice of constructing meanings" (Mirhosseini, 2015, p. 942). The next section considers another persuasive strategy: providing accreditation and proficiency tests.

5.4 Desirable Accreditations, Proficiency Certificates, and Tests

Citing the accreditation of an authorized organization to certify the institute's competency and credibility is another means of establishing credentials in the advertisements. To increase their potential students' trust, some institutes indicate in their advertisements that they are accredited with international organisations such as Cambridge Assessment English,

Figure 6: Accreditation in advertisement (WS5)

a department of Cambridge University that offers sets of exams to measure English use ability (see Figure, 6; Excerpt 5-17).

Excerpt 5-17

الوحيدون المعتمدون لاختبار آيلتس في حائل.

The only accredited IELTS testing institute in Hail.

The ideological assumption reproduced by the institutes in these examples is that being accredited by or associated with a trusted organization - such as Cambridge Assessment English - guarantees the institute's power, qualifications, and reliability in ELT. To establish credentials, the advertisers also specify the Saudi Ministry of Education as a national organization that provides accreditation for these certificate-granting institutes (see also Chapter Four; Figure 4-2):

Excerpt 5-18

شهادة معتمدة من وزارة التعليم.

Certificate-awarding institute accredited by the Ministry of Education (AA6).

Excerpt 5-19

المعهد معتمد من وزارة التعليم.

The institute is accredited by the Ministry of Education (EH6).

English proficiency test certificates are frequently mentioned in the advertisements as tools that measure English proficiency and help students make decisions about what and where they can study. To attract customers, the institutes represent themselves as providers for these tests. Sometimes, the advertisers emphasize that they can help learners achieve the scores required by academic institutions:

Excerpt 5-20

لاجتياز اختبار الآيلتس بنجاح.

To pass the IELTS test (SBC1).

Excerpt 5-21

تزويدك باختبارات معتمدة عالميا لقياس الكفاءة في اللغة الإنجليزية.

We offer internationally valid tests that measure your English proficiency (BC1).

Excerpt 5-22

مساعدتك في تحصيل الدرجة التي تحتاجها للالتحاق بالجامعة التي تحلم بها.

We can help you get the score that you need to study in the university that you dream of (BC12).

Proficiency tests (e.g., IELTS) have successfully maintained their hegemony in the ELT institutes' advertisements, since many universities and employers still rely on these tests to assess applicants' language skills (Hamid, 2016). Against this background, the institutes offer an instrumental approach to English language learning for an ulterior goal. They market themselves as a means to do well on these tests, which function as gatekeepers for university entrance. The assumption reproduced by the ELT institutes is that proficiency testing is unproblematic and desirable.

The promotion of proficiency tests results is a reductive view of English language learning. It limits the understanding of FL learning to the decontextualized kind of language reflected in proficiency tests (see also Mirhosseini, 2015, p. 938). In reality, language knowledge is not determined by the test-scores that test-takers obtain, but rather it refers to a broader area that ranges from knowledge of the linguistic systems of the language (e.g., language structure, grammar, phonology, and semantics) to the ability to use its subsystems appropriately according to the context of use (i.e., pragmatics). ELT institutes mystify these facts for their audience by presenting tests as unproblematic.

Unquestionably, proficiency tests help test-takers to pursue their studies or find a place in the job market. However, their assessment of test-takers' language proficiency is still reductive. Test-takers can score well in proficiency tests, such as the Test of English as a

Foreign Language (TOEFL), without being able to speak or write in English coherently and effectively (Traynor, 1985, p.44). These tests are criticised for their inability to assess people's English proficiency in real life situations (Shohamy, 1995). Second language acquisition theory has not yet provided a method for language assessment in relation to the requirements of everyday verbal interactions (Shohamy, 1995). Thus, judging language ability based on the scores obtained in proficiency tests can produce inaccurate assessments. This means that the teaching of test strategies as a basic discipline of language teaching misconstrues what it means to be a proficient English speaker (Mirhosseini, 2015). Another persuasive strategy used by the ELT institutes is announcing high quality service, as the following section shows.

5.5 High Quality Service

Having established the ELT institutes' credentials for the prospective customers, as discussed previously, the advertisers then move on to indicating the value of the service being promoted. In this move, advertisers promise to satisfy the audience's needs by indicating the high quality of their services. The advertisers in this study tend to use positive adjectives or lexical boosts as persuasive strategies to assure the customers of the effectiveness of the promoted service.

Excerpt 5-23

تعرف على مجموعتنا الفريدة من دورات اللغة الإنجليزية للطلاب.

Learn about our unique range of English language courses for students (BC12).

Excerpt 5-24

صممنا مجموعة من دورات اللغة الإنجليزية الأساسية.

We offer a number of basic English language courses (BC10).

Indicating the value of the service tends to be achieved by the heavy use of adjectives describing the service's positive qualities. As a rhetorical device, binominal expressions are used in these advertisements. According to Hashim (2010), binominal expressions refer to phrases or words from the same category and which occur in a sequence (e.g., Excerpts 5-25; 5-26).

Excerpt 5-25

فصولنا الدراسية ممتعة وتفاعلية.

Our classes are fun and interactive (WS13).

Excerpt 5-26

تجري كافة هذه الدورات في بيئة آمنة وملائمة.

All these courses are offered in a safe and convenient environment (BC3).

Another rhetorical device in the advertisements is the use of superlatives (see Excerpt 5-27). By including these superlatives, the advertisements indicate the value of the institutes' services that can provide learners with "أفضل انطلاقة" ("the best start") and "الاستفادة القصوى" ("the fullest advantages") of education. They present their services as pathway that helps the customers find success in school:

Excerpt 5-27

إن إتقان اللغة الإنجليزية...يمنح ابنك...أفضل انطلاقة ليتمكن من الاستفادة القصوى من التعليم المدرسي.

English proficiency … gives your son … the best start, one that enables him to benefit from the fullest advantages that school education provides (BC3).

Moreover, the institutes include metaphors in their advertisements to attract customers. These metaphors are included in the body of the advertisements (see also Chapter 4, Figure 4), or in the institutes' names. The name of the institute, Adwaa Almarefah, for example, is an Arabic term meaning "أضواء المعرفة" ("light of knowledge.") The institute's name is a

metaphor that refers to the brightness and benefits that the institute provides for its customers through education.

Such rhetorical devices form a significant part of service evaluation in the rhetoric of advertising as they highlight the usefulness of the service. The next section is related to the institutes' use of pressure tactics by offering best price.

5.6 Value for Money

A number of advertisements use further pressure tactics to persuade the audience to make a quick decision about the service being advertised. For example, the advertisers may offer extra savings if the customer decides to enrol in the institute before a specific deadline. Figures 7 and 8 are examples of this move; one offers 50 percent additional savings and the other 20 percent. The advertisers put pressure on the potential customers to prompt an immediate decision about the service offered by the ELT institute. Customers are cautioned about the limited time of the offer, which is described as valid only "لفترة محدودة" ("for a limited time") in order to expedite the buyer's decision.

Figure 7: Offering 50% extra savings (EH1)

Translation: Now and for a limited time, 50% discount for each English learning level. The offer is valid from 15/3/1439 to 19/3/1439.

Giving the audience value for their money would not be effective without initiating a business relationship with them. Therefore, soliciting a response from customers is one of the main communicative purposes of the ELT promotional materials. Often, two or more of the following contact details of the institutes are provided: the institute's telephone number, email address, website address, or Twitter and Instagram accounts. This information is

Figure 8: Offering 20% extra savings (WS7)

Translation: 20% discount to celebrate the opening of our new branch. Come join us.

usually shown at the bottom of the advertisement; iconic signs are often used to refer to the contact channel (i.e., the Twitter bird). The advertisers use what Barricelli, Gadia, Rizzi and Marini (2016) call normalized symbols, which allow for immediate and simple decoding. The meaning of the normalized symbols used in these advertisements is strongly conventional, as the icons convey believable attributes such as the use of the mobile icon to refer to the mobile number of the institute. Figure 7 provides a good example of this move. Besides offering reasonable prices and contact details to encourage customers to enrol, advertisers also use English language as a means of gaining their audience's attention.

5.7 Symbolic Association with English

Arabic is the predominant language in most of the ELT institutes' advertisements (e.g., Figures 7, 9, and 10). Most of the advertisements use Arabic to offer details about the institute and the promoted services; however, other information, such as the contact details, prices, and the institute's name (e.g., Figures 7, 9) are in English.

Figure 9: Code-switching as symbolic communication (EH2)

Translation: We are happy to introduce the back to school offer. All English learning levels are 500 riyal instead of 900 riyal. This offer is valid from 28/12/1438 to 8/1/1439. Visit the institute for more information.

The Arabic language is used to convey information as observed in the advertisements in this study. Arabic is used to introduce the most essential information about the service. For example, the Arabic language

and the Islamic calendar, a calendar system used in Saudi Arabia for dating public, social, and religious events, are used to indicate the start and end dates of the promotional offer (e.g., Figure 9). However, the English language functions as a means of symbolic communication. The institutes expect the audience to associate their use of English with their proficiency in using the language, and teaching it. The advertisement in Figure 9 provides a striking example that code-switching (CS) to English is used for purely symbolic purposes. As the reading direction in English is different from Arabic, an English reading of the ad would be "900 instead of 500". The fact that obviously the opposite is meant demonstrates that "instead of" is not meant to be read and understood but simply to be "seen" as an index of English. A similar example is constituted by the position of the percent sign to the left side of the number (Figure 7).

Figure 10: Announcing the IELTS and TOEFL (AA2)

Translation: An open invitation. Hail Chamber, in cooperation with Adwaa Almarefah institute, announces introductory IELTS and TOEFL courses.

CS is used for the name of the institutes and some other phrases meant to attract the audience. Three institutes included in this study have English names (Wall Street English Institute, Saudi British Centre, and British Council); and two institutes have Arabic names (Elaf Institute and Adwaa Almarefah Institute). In some cases, CS (e.g., in Figure 10, in the top right corner) the name of the hosting organization has been translated to align the institute with the Saudi

Figure 11: Code-switching (AA8)

Translation: English language course – levels. Accredited certificate from the Ministry of Education.

community. In Figure 11 which is produced by Adwaa Almarefah Institute, CS is used for the phrase "LEARN ENGLISH," which is written in capital letters for emphasis and attraction. In this ad, no translation is provided; however, it is indicated in the centre top of the image that it is "دورة لغة انجليزية" (an "English course" advertisement). Also, some advertisements code-switch into English in announcing the course's title such as "*English Kids Module*." CS to English such as this enables the advertisers to establish credentials by asserting their knowledge of English and by associating themselves with English, the product they are advertising.

In addition to symbolic code-switching, a few advertisements make use of English either by using loanwords or by providing a picture which only includes words from English. Loanwords commonly used in advertisements are the names of the English proficiency tests "IELTS" and "TOFEL" (see Figure 10). These names, technical terms used internationally, are also provided in Arabic letters as loan words. In the Saudi context, these tests are better known in their English than their Arabic versions: in other words, "IELTS" is preferred over the Arabic, "نظام اختبار اللغة الإنجليزية الدولي", and "TOEFL" rather than using the Arabic version, "اختبار اللغة الإنجليزية لغير الناطقين بها".

Other advertisements found in the institutes' Twitter accounts use pictures that are entirely in English while the Tweet itself is in Arabic, as shown in Figure 12. The presence of English either in the form of CS, as loanwords, or throughout the whole advertisement functions like a visual display of the product (i.e., English). The Arabic language, on

Figure 12: English advertisement and Arabic tweet (WS11)

Translation: Join the Wall Street English family with your friend to enjoy a new learning experience! mention your friends.

the other hand, is used to establish rapport and provide factual information about the service (course time, period, address, registration, etc). The use of the L1 to convey an informative message in advertisements signals the producers' doubt about the English proficiency of the customers (Piller, 2001). Even if the customers do not understand the English parts of the advertisements, the symbolic use of English serves to associate the institutes with knowledge of English and with their ability to teach it to those who are curious about English learning.

To sum up, the advertisements in this study seem to be conservative in their use of English, and those who include English seem to gamble on the impact of its use. The use of English can help to promote the institutes and establish their power and credentials in the industry, by demonstrating their knowledge of the language.

Using English in advertising in the context of non-English speaking countries such as Saudi Arabia "becomes the linguistic equivalent of having one's cake and eating it, too" (Piller, 2003. p. 176). However, examples of CS into English are relatively sparse in my data. This might be due to the fact that CS into English is sometimes regarded as problematic in Arabic-Islamic cultures (Al Hosni, 2015) as it can negatively affect the identity of the society (Pegrum, 2004). Thus, in the ads, CS into English is embedded in the tension between the association of English use with knowledge and modernity on the one hand, and the threat that it might pose to the Saudi Arabic-Islamic cultural identity, on the other.

5.8 Summary

Overall, the findings presented in this chapter support the results of the analysis in Chapter Four, which explored the persuasive strategies applied to the promotional materials. While that chapter was concerned with the construction of English language learning, the persuasive strategies in this chapter were related to the representational aspect the institutes use to describe themselves in their promotional discourses. This is achieved through representations of the ideal teacher, ideal methods and curricula, ideal accreditations, as well

as providing proficiency certificates and tests, high quality service, value for money, and symbolic association with English.

The data shows the creativity of the advertisements in incorporating visuals and texts to produce persuasive messages. The analysis of the data shows that using rhetorical moves is essential in promotional discourses to achieve the communicative purpose of the advertisements. Although each rhetorical move represents English language learning in a different way (see Appendix 2), they combine to form a persuasive result.

By noting their well-established reputations, the institutes suggest that they can satisfy the needs of the audience. For instance, the institutes make claims relating to the concept of an ideal teacher by describing themselves as experts in language teaching and by referring to their teaching methods, which, it is implied, involve modern, sophisticated education tools. This raises a concern regarding the teaching methods used in the ELT classrooms in Saudi public schools. The discourse in the advertisements requires that teaching methods must be connected to real-world situations, technologies, and resources to create an interactive classroom. Because Saudi public schools are known not to use such methods, the quality of their teaching is challenged by this discourse.

There is also an obvious focus on developing the students' speaking skills to fulfil their need to communicate easily in the FL. The institutes' focus on developing speaking skills may be related to the insufficient support provided by the public schools for the students' competency in conversational English. Al-Seghayer (2014) points out that the failure to improve Saudi students' speaking skills is due to the instructors' tendency to rely only on textbooks and the blackboard (p. 22). Reliance on these teaching resources fails to produce competent learners who can engage in conversation. The ELT institutes exploit the failure of the public schools to develop students' speaking skills by assigning specific courses for conversation. By focusing specifically on conversation skills, the

advertisements' discourses present a fragmented understanding of what language learning involves.

As English knowledge is a major requirement in many fields of employment and study, and globalized English proficiency tests have become a standard prerequisite to entering these fields, the institutes declare their ability to fulfil their audience's needs to obtain English proficiency test certificates. Employers in Saudi Arabia usually list English proficiency as one of the requirements to gain a job. Also, people who aim to pursue their studies abroad are keen to obtain a certain level of English proficiency and, in some cases, to gain a certain score on English proficiency tests, in order to be accepted to universities. For these reasons, ELT institutes often refer to their readiness and capability to help their audience attain proficiency in English. To inform the audience about their skilfulness in ELT, the institutes use both Arabic, to convey factual information, and English, which serves as a symbolic sign to display their power and knowledge in the industry.

Obviously, the institutes attempt to persuade their audience to enrol by expressing certain ideologies that, after occurring repeatedly in the promotional materials, become naturalized. This can affect people's beliefs about English language learning. The analysis in this chapter has uncovered five ideological assumptions undergirding the ELT institutes' promotional materials. First, native English-speaking foreign teachers are presented as ideal. Second, specific curricula and textbooks assigned by the institutes are presented as important for successful language learning. Third, speaking skills are touted as the primary aspect of language learning. Fourth, English proficiency tests such as IELTS are presented as unproblematic and desirable. Fifth, accreditation is adduced as evidence of the institutes' credibility and capacity.

These ideological assumptions embedded in the promotional materials are not merely commercial persuasive strategies but are also part of a gradually acquired system of

fundamental, widely shared beliefs (van Dijk, 2006). The ideological assumptions revealed in this chapter have been criticized in previous studies, such as those by Alghofaili and Elyas (2017), Mirhosseini (2015), and Pegrum (2004), that were carried out in different contexts to explore ideologies related to ELT, native English-speaking teachers, or language proficiency tests. Such ideologies produced by ELT institutes help to achieve their financial goals. They serve the institutes by oversimplifying FL learning; this, in turn, attracts an audience interested in learning the language. Thus, because their ideologies serve their commercial interests, the ELT institutes compromise their roles as centres of education.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Overview

The purpose of this study was to explore the persuasive strategies adopted and ideologies produced by ELT institutes' advertisements, as well as investigating the role of language choice in these advertisements. In this thesis, a corpus of 45 advertisements were critically analysed to examine how English language learning is constructed by the institutes and how the institutes themselves are presented.

This chapter begins by revisiting the research questions. It then discusses implications for the ELT industry and provides recommendations for future research.

6.2 Revisiting the Research Questions

The findings of the study were discussed in Chapters Four and Five. Below, these findings are summarized in light of the research questions:

1. What are the persuasive strategies used in advertisements produced by ELT institutes in Saudi Arabia?
2. What role do the Arabic and English languages play in these advertisements?
3. What are the ideological assumptions undergirding the advertisements produced by Saudi ELT institutes?

With respect to the first research question, it can be observed that the advertisements make use of both visual and textual modes to persuade prospective students to learn English at the promoted institutes. This is achieved by conceptualizing English language learning in ways that serve their for-profit interests. English is conceptualized as a global language which makes learning it necessary for travel, business, education, and using the Internet. English learning and globalization are naturalized as exclusively beneficial, and any negative consequences, such as the threat English poses to first language maintenance, are

ignored. English learning is also conceptualized as a process that can be fun for adults as well as children. The advertisements suggest that the institutes can effectively teach English using a playful approach. Moreover, the promotional discourses are affected by the neoliberal concept of education as a transaction that constructs language learning as a form of entrepreneurship. English is described as empowering for learners and a central factor in developing human capital. This conceptualization is conveyed in the ads by constructing English as a means that enables individuals to achieve leadership and to communicate easily in a globally connected world. Furthermore, English learning is constructed as a means of enhancing confidence. The institutes claim that they are able to help students to improve their language skills in a way that increases their levels of self-confidence.

Concerning the rhetorical moves described by Bhatia (1993), six were included in the analytic categories in this study: establishing credentials, offering the service, providing essential details, indicating the value of the service, soliciting a response, and using pressure tactics. The most frequently used move in these advertisements is establishing credentials. The institutes do this by using the institutes' logo and name; providing their accreditations or invoking the names of famous Western authors, and describing their curricula, teaching methods employed by expert teachers, and faculty as the best available. The advertisers offer the service by utilizing marketing expressions that reflect the institutes' readiness to solve learners' problems. Further, to inform the customers about their services, the institutes include essential details in the advertisements. To indicate the value of the service, they highlight its quality. Providing contact details was a way of soliciting a response from the intended audience. The use of pressure tactics, such as offering additional savings, also encouraged enrolment at the institutes.

In terms of the roles of English and Arabic in these advertisements, the focus of the second research question, the presence of English was found to be minimal relative to the

presence of Arabic. English use is almost exclusively symbolic and serves as a persuasive technique that indicates power in the ELT industry and mastery of the language. Arabic, on the other hand, is used for offering essential information about the advertised service.

The third research question concerned the ideological assumptions undergirding the advertisements produced by Saudi ELT institutes. This study found that the institutes reproduced a number of ideologies that mystify English learning to promote their for-profit interests. For example, they reproduce the ideological assumption that native-English speaking teachers are ideal, specific textbooks are necessary for successful English learning, and proficiency testing is unproblematic. Other ideologies are related to the benefits that the English language provides its learners, such as power, freedom, and confidence. The frequent production of such ideologies naturalizes them and affects people's ideas about what English language learning involves. These ideologies create an unresolved – and unresolvable – tension between the institutes' educational goals and their business concerns.

6.3 Implications

This study is important for two reasons. First, it has contributed to the body of knowledge relating to persuasion and ideological assumptions in ELT institutes. Moreover, the study may help to raise awareness among the ELT profession of their complicity in the mystification surrounding English and English language learning.

The findings of this study have implications for potential remedial changes that should be considered by the ELT industry and educators. First, they show that English language learning and globalization are conceptualized as totally positive phenomena that can provide learners with power and confidence. These misrepresentations might influence the learners' views regarding their Arabic language and identity. In other words, learners' beliefs regarding the Arabic language might be affected by the implied superiority of English. By overstating the positive aspects of English in accordance with the neoliberal view that places

a value on its global utility, administrators of ELT institutes in Saudi Arabia risk diminishing the status of Arabic.

Second, the findings of this study illustrate that ELT is conceptualized by the ELT institutes as a fragmented practice which can be designed to achieve specific purposes, such as teaching English for fluent communication. The nearly exclusive focus on communication skills may impact Saudi learners' and teachers' perceptions regarding language learning. Language researchers, journals, and academic conferences in Saudi Arabia should increase awareness of the biases currently circulating through private ELT institutes and move beyond the conventional skill-based construction of ELT.

Third, the findings show that the ELT institutes present the ideal teacher as one who is a native English speaker. This misperception shapes the hiring decisions of ELT institutes, and affects learners' perceptions regarding the competence of language teachers, particularly of non-native-speaking teachers in government schools. The stakeholders should therefore pay closer attention to characteristics that make a good teacher, such as competence, personality, qualifications, and experience.

Fourth, the findings show that the use of specific textbooks (e.g., the textbook used during the university preparatory year) are presented as a path to successful language learning. This can minimize learners' willingness to read other resources and prevent them from learning the language using different learning materials. Stakeholders and curriculum designers should therefore vary the assigned learning materials and encourage learners to develop self-study skills by training them to seek out information from a wider range of books and resources.

6.4 Recommendations for Future Research

Several directions for future research are suggested by this study. First, the study examined only 45 online advertisements for ELT institutes. Therefore, future research should examine

a larger number of advertisements from varied resources such as posters, billboards, and television, to more fully explore persuasion and the ideologies that underlie different promotional materials. Second, this study is based on CDA and MDA, approaches which depend on the researcher's interpretations of how English language learning is represented in the data. Research methods, such as questionnaires, interviews, or participant observations, that involve the intended audience and producers of the advertisements could provide a broader basis of understanding. Third, since the findings of this study indicated that the use of English in the advertisements was relatively limited, further research is needed to investigate the reasons behind this tendency and how language choice shapes the audience's attitudes toward the promoted service. Future research should also examine the effects of neoliberalism on how English language learning is conceptualized by the ELT institutes and consider its potential effects on the cultural values and the local language of Saudi society.

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Appendix 1: The Advertisement Corpus

Code	Reference
AA1	Advertisement item produced by Adwaa Almarefah institute. Retrieved May 1, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DTcoBjjW0AAJL3C.jpg
AA2	Advertisement item produced by Adwaa Almarefah institute. Retrieved May 6, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/C6LgrvBXEAAm0u1.jpg
AA3	Advertisement item produced by Adwaa Almarefah institute. Retrieved May 6, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DTcoFtuWsAET0mJ.jpg
AA4	Advertisement item produced by Adwaa Almarefah institute. Retrieved May 6, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/C6dBeB6WgAAAOrO.jpg
AA5	Advertisement item produced by Adwaa Almarefah institute. Retrieved May 6, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DTcoDhKXkAA9slc.jpg
AA6	Advertisement item produced by Adwaa Almarefah institute. Retrieved May 6, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DTcn_e8XUAAck6g.jpg
AA7	Advertisement item produced by Adwaa Almarefah institute. Retrieved May 6, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DJc7LntXUAA9j6z.jpg
AA8	Advertisement item produced by Adwaa Almarefah institute. Retrieved May 6, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/C68oiBaXAAEY3MO.jpg
AA9	Advertisement item produced by Adwaa Almarefah institute. Retrieved May 9, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DSNAcGEXcAEemV5.jpg

WS1	Advertisement item produced by Wall Street English institute. Retrieved May 12, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DRQGyPLWsAATAtD.jpg
WS2	Advertisement item produced by Wall Street English institute, Retrieved July 20, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DO6AdfuWsAA27B5.jpg
WS3	Advertisement item produced by Wall Street English institute, Retrieved July 20, 2018, from https://twitter.com/wseksa/status/963724975390822400
WS4	Advertisement item produced by Wall Street English institute, Retrieved July 20, 2018, from https://twitter.com/wseksa/status/962724946337259520
WS5	Advertisement item produced by the Wall Street English, Retrieved May 29, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DPFBafQX0AA-2xi.jpg:large
WS6	Advertisement item produced by Wall Street English institute, Retrieved May 10, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DSnqQ66WkAoMACL.jpg
WS7	Advertisement item produced by Wall Street English institute, Retrieved May 10, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DPpJLWLWkAA1ueq.jpg:large
WS8	Advertisement item produced by Wall Street English institute, Retrieved May 10, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DV_WfA8WsAALN_K.jpg
WS9	Advertisement item produced by Wall Street English institute. Retrieved May 25, 2018, from https://twitter.com/wseksa/status/947820159355490304
WS10	Advertisement item produced by Wall Street English institute, Retrieved May 10, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DQsBi9uXkAAAyZ_.jpg

WS11	Advertisement item produced by Wall Street English institute. Retrieved May 8, 2018, from https://twitter.com/wseksa/status/947043613032185856
WS12	Advertisement item produced by Wall Street English institute. Retrieved May 8, 2018, from https://twitter.com/wseksa/status/938404979311828992
WS13	Advertisement item produced by Wall Street English institute. Retrieved May 8, 2018, from https://twitter.com/wseksa/status/932234492458172416
WS14	Advertisement item produced by Wall Street English institute. Retrieved May 10, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DVv-RoZU8AEeE1H.jpg
EH1	Advertisement item produced by Elaf Hail institute. Retrieved May 25, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DQCUsgDUIAISfBg.jpg
EH2	Advertisement item produced by Elaf Hail institute. Retrieved May 30, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DJ7_1vjWkAA0tbh.jpg:large
EH3	Advertisement item produced by Elaf Hail institute. Retrieved May 30, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DUZf6AJWkAAaAjz.jpg
EH4	Advertisement item produced by Elaf Hail institute. Retrieved May 30, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DXDQNKBXcAAmnVD.jpg:large
EH5	Advertisement item produced by Elaf Hail institute. Retrieved May 30, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DEAhisDXkAA2TSD.jpg

EH6	Advertisement item produced by Elaf Hail institute. Retrieved May 30, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/C4KBma7WYAAIaiQ.jpg
EH7	Advertisement item produced by Elaf Hail institute. Retrieved May 30, 2018, from https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DWARdrNWsAErymj.jpg
SBC1	Advertisement item produced by Saudi British Centre institute. Retrieved May 1, 2018, from https://www.sbc.edu.sa/ielts-preper
SBC2	Advertisement item produced by Saudi British Centre institute. Retrieved May 1, 2018, from https://www.sbc.edu.sa/diploma
SBC3	Advertisement item produced by Saudi British Centre institute. Retrieved May 2, 2018, from https://sbc.edu.sa/general
BC1	Advertisement item produced by British Council institute. Retrieved May 2, 2018, from https://www.britishcouncil.sa/exam/cambridge
BC2	Advertisement item produced by British Council institute. Retrieved May 2, 2018, from https://www.britishcouncil.sa/english/courses-adults
BC3	Advertisement item produced by British Council institute. Retrieved May 2, 2018, from https://www.britishcouncil.com.sa/english/children
BC4	Advertisement item produced by British Council institute. Retrieved May 2, 2018, from https://www.britishcouncil.com.sa/english/business
BC5	Advertisement item produced by British Council institute. Retrieved May 2, 2018, from https://www.britishcouncil.sa/programmes/education
BC6	Advertisement item produced by British Council institute. Retrieved May 3, 2018, from https://www.britishcouncil.sa/english/courses-adults/general

BC7	Advertisement item produced by British Council institute. Retrieved May 3, 2018, from https://www.britishcouncil.sa/english/courses-adults
BC8	Advertisement item produced by British Council institute. Retrieved May 4, 2018, from https://www.britishcouncil.sa/programmes/education/skills-employability
BC9	Advertisement item produced by British Council institute. Retrieved May 4, 2018, from https://www.britishcouncil.sa/programmes/education/connecting-classrooms
BC10	Advertisement item produced by British Council institute. Retrieved May 4, 2018, from https://www.britishcouncil.sa/english/courses-beginners
BC11	Advertisement item produced by British Council institute. Retrieved May 3, 2018, from https://www.britishcouncil.sa/english/courses-exam-preparation
BC12	Advertisement item produced by British Council institute. Retrieved May 3, 2018, from https://www.britishcouncil.sa/english/courses-academics

Appendix 2: Rhetorical Moves

The table below summarizes how each move represented English language learning, and achieved the communicative purpose of the ads based on the analysis of Chapter Four and Five.

Rhetorical Moves	Representations of Each Move in the Data
Establishing credentials	- English language is described as a global language - English learning is fun - English empowers individuals - Claim of having ideal teachers - Using ideal teaching methods and curricula - Providing accreditation, proficiency certificates and tests - The symbolic use of English language in ads - Using the institute's name and logo - Introducing the course title
Offering the service	- Introducing the offer with a visual "you"

	- Using marketing expressions that indicate ability to solve learners' problems
Essential details of the service	- Offering details about the institutes such as ability to enhance learners' confidence in using the FL - Informative use of Arabic language
Indicating the value of the service	- Describing the high quality of the service (e.g., using modifiers and metaphors)
Soliciting response	- Using icons and the institutes' contact details
Using pressure tactics	- Offering extra savings for a specific time