

**AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY ON DEVELOPING AND
COMMUNICATING IDENTITY IN THE KANO KANTIN KWARI
BUSINESS COMMUNITY, NIGERIA**

HAUWA A. M. SALIHU

**FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
UNIVERSITI MALAYA
KUALA LUMPUR**

2022

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COMMUNICATING IDENTITY IN THE KANO KANTIN
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**THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT FOR THE
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OF PHILOSOPHY**

**FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
UNIVERSITI MALAYA
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An Ethnographic Study on Developing and Communicating Identity in the Kano Kantin Kwari Business Community.

ABSTRACT

Most studies on the African communities tend to disregard how identity nowadays supports the need for social make-up reflecting styles embedded in peoples' practices and structures. However, little attention has been paid to the indigenous business communities found in the African continent, particularly, Nigeria. This study is thus concerned with addressing this research gap from an interdisciplinary perspective using 'community of practice' (CoP) and 'acts of identity' frameworks to explore how participants develop and communicate identity in the Kano Kantin Kwari business community, Nigeria. Using qualitative linguistic ethnographic methods for data collection and analysis, 5 focus groups and 20 individual participants were selected through a snowball sampling. The findings obtained showed Kantin Kwari's CoPs through collaboration, networks of role relationships, and social situations. Findings also offered social and pedagogical implications and revealed how the participants develop identity by learning-in-practice and thus identity-in-practice. For the most part, macro influences and micro-practices determined members' domain and negotiation of their identities by flexibly performing narrated, executed and enacted identities. Likewise, members revealed the significance of sociocultural, socio-historical, and socio-psychological backgrounds in projecting, focusing and diffusing different identities of the 'DanKwari (individual), 'YanKwari (group), and multiple identities. Accordingly, members communicated their identities using language, metaphors, and symbols that exposed growing ethnolinguistic identification of *Hausaness* (ethnicised identity) and 'linguaging' and unfreezing the legacy affiliated with English as Nigerian lingua franca. Despite the ethnographic fieldworker's constraints like the ethics, context, rigours, and cultural redefinition that occasionally muddled the entire field, it provided the researcher

with a better understanding of the fieldwork basics. This study provides implications for similar under-represented and muffled communities as it reveals how identity as an ongoing phenomenon is socially constructed, developed, practised and communicated.

Keywords: Acts of identity, community of practice, ethnography, identity development, identity communication, Kantin Kwari business community, Nigeria.

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Kajian Etnografik tentang Membangun dan Mengkomunikasikan Identiti dalam Komuniti Perniagaan Kano Kantin Kwari.

ABSTRAK

Kebanyakan kajian terhadap masyarakat Afrika lebih cenderung kepada pengabaian bagaimana pada zaman sekarang, identiti menampung keperluan untuk keperibadian sosial yang mencerminkan gaya yang tersemat dalam amalan dan struktur penduduk. Namun, sedikit perhatian sahaja yang telah diberikan kepada komuniti perniagaan penduduk asli yang terdapat di benua Afrika, khususnya di Nigeria. Oleh itu, kajian ini memberi keprihatinan terhadap menangani jurang penyelidikan ini dari segi perspektif antara disiplin dengan menggunakan rangka kerja 'Komuniti Pengamal' (Community of Practice) dan 'tindakan identiti' (Acts of Identity) untuk meneroka bagaimana para peserta membangun dan berkomunikasi identiti dalam komuniti perniagaan Kano Kantin Kwari di Nigeria. Dengan menggunakan kaedah etnografi linguistik kualitatif untuk pengumpulan dan penganalisan data, sebanyak lima kumpulan sasaran dan 20 para peserta kajian telah dipilih menerusi persampelan *snowball*. Penemuan yang didapati menunjukkan Komuniti Pengamal Kantin Kwari melalui kolaborasi, rangkaian peranan perhubungan dan institusi sosial. Dapatan kajian menawarkan implikasi sosial dan mendedahkan bagaimana para peserta kajian telah membangunkan identiti mereka melalui pembelajaran-dalam-latihan, dan dengan demikian, identiti-dalam-latihan. Untuk sebahagian yang besar, pengaruh makro dan amalan mikro menentukan domain ahli-ahli serta perundingan identiti mereka dengan melaksanakan identiti yang diceritakan, dilaksanakan dan digubal secara fleksibel. Begitu juga para ahli mendedahkan kepentingan latar belakang sosiobudaya, sosio-sejarah dan sosio-psikologi dalam mengunjur, memfokus dan meresap identiti berlainan '*DanKwari* (individu), '*YanKwari* (kumpulan), dan pelbagai identiti. Maka itu, para ahli berkomunikasi identiti mereka dengan menggunakan bahasa, metafora dan simbol yang mendedahkan identifikasi etnolinguistik *Hausaness* (ethnicised identity) dan 'languaging' yang semakin meningkat

serta tidak membekukan legasi yang dikaitkan dengan bahasa Inggeris sebagai lingua franca Nigeria. Meskipun terdapat kekangan pekerja lapangan etnografi seperti etika, konteks, ketegasan dan definisi semula budaya yang kadang-kadang mencelarukan seluruh bidang, ia memberikan penyelidik pemahaman yang lebih baik mengenai asas kerja lapangan. Kajian ini menyediakan implikasi kepada masyarakat yang kurang diwakili dan tersekat yang serupa kerana ia mendedahkan bagaimana identiti sebagai fenomena berterusan dibina secara sosial, dibangunkan, diamalkan dan disampaikan.

Kata kunci: Tindakan identiti, komuniti pengamal, etnografi, pengembangan identiti, komunikasi identiti, komuniti perniagaan Kantin Kwari, Nigeria.

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DEDICATION

To my late darling MAMA. I pray *Allah* reward both parents with the highest place in
Jannah.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CoP	Community of Practice
FN	Field Notes
FRSC	Federal Road Safety Corps
GRA	Government Reserve Area
KKK	Kano Kantin Kwari
KKTU	Kantin Kwari Traders' Association
KMCIT	Kano Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism
LE	Linguistic Ethnography
LPP	Legitimate and Peripheral Participation
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
L3	Third Language
MT	Mother Tongue
FuN	First Name
MN	Middle Name
LN	Last Name
NN	Nick Name
PN	Pet Name
GT	General Title
UN	United Nations
WHO	World Health Organization
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
VOA	Voice of America
VOR	Voice of Russia
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme

TRANSCRIPTION PROTOCOL

Built by adjusting the different patterns as referred below through removing and adding.

Pseudonyms are used for both participants and researcher.

<i>Italics</i>	Hausa origin transcribed text
(.)	Short pause
(...)	Long pause (more than 3 sec.)
()	Shows something heard but was not clear (Edwards, 1993)
(O)	Non transcribed utterances
()	Noting paralinguistic phenomena
(*)	Silent word
(0)	Indicates no pause and continuant responses between the speakers (Edwards, 1993).
.	Falling intonation
?	Rising intonation
,	Falling-rising intonation
<>	transcriber's comments (Ioannidou, 2009)
. hh	Breathing
hh	Exhalation
Hunh-heh	
Eh-heh and hengh	Indicates laughter particles
I:	Interviewer
'R'	Researcher
Underline	Emphatic stress (Bucholtz, 2007)
NR	No Response
Trans	Translation
P1-P17	Participant 1-17
FG1-5	Focus group 1-5

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study seeks to understand the identities and practices of members in the Kano Kantin Kwari (henceforth the KKK) business community in Nigeria. The aim is to explore two central issues about how the members developed and communicated their identities. The first is to look at the daily routine practices in the KKK through the Community of Practice (henceforth CoP) lens. The CoP is an activity-centred ethnographic method and learning process used in this study as a tool to understand how members developed their identities. The second is to describe the ways the KKK members communicated their developed identities through the ‘Acts of identity’ framework within the interactional sociolinguistics perspective. In line with the linguistic ethnography (henceforth LE) features, other related frameworks complemented the two main frameworks. Thus, exploring the KKK contributes to uncovering the community’s diverse identities. Consistent with Lave and Wenger (1991), conceptualizing the KKK as a CoP provides the required lens to place the community members within the linguistic and social factors present in the community. Using qualitative linguistic ethnographic approaches, interdisciplinary and multiple data collections methods are used to explore and better understand how identity is developed and communicated in the KKK.

1.2 Motivation for Undertaking this Research

Decades of experiences in the teaching profession created deep apprehensions in the researcher regarding the practices in the Kano larger society. This relationship with the larger society provided the researcher with the background experiences and retrospection that positively motivated the exploration of the above stated social phenomenon in a viable context like the KKK. The enquiry remains whether there is a proper connection

between the identity developed in the formal school contexts and the needed projected identity to perform effectively in the informal local community contexts. Specifically, the researcher's probes include: how are the Nigerian formal school contexts knowledge practicable in developing fitting identity to the real-life domain practices of the local communities? Do the Nigerian formal school practices specifically address the desirable communication knowledge gap to equip, define, negotiate, and communicate the outside-school identities in the local communities? These probes inspired the drive to seek a better understanding of the experiences in the researcher's local communities especially this present time where issues of identity are recurrently taking new dimensions. The probe also encouraged a subtle appraisal of the researcher's contribution to her local community through her ex-students outside-school setting in the KKK. therefore, the researcher endeavoured to conduct ethnographic research in the KKK situated context, which by her estimate, ought not to be overlooked.

1.3 The Research Location

This section describes the research location.

1.3.1 Nigeria and Indigenous Languages

Nigeria is situated in the West Africa region (Sub Saharan Africa) of the African continent (see Appendix A). According to the United Nations (UN)¹, Nigeria has an estimated population of 205,892,211 in 2021. No accurate figures of Nigerian languages could be found. Nevertheless, Adoti (2017) reveals the existence of about 520 languages out of over 300 ethnic groups. However, the priority has been on the English language high and above the Nigerian indigenous languages. The Nigerian National Policy on Education

¹ See UN World meter Nigeria Population (2021) – Worldometer <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population> › ni...

(FGN, 1997) stated that English language was declared the official and educational language for the country. Bamgbose (1991) described that a language policy is “a programme of action on the role or status of a language in a given community” (p. 111). It is obvious that a statement of intention on the part of government is clearly identified in the above policy. Martell (2006) stated that in education, English language is recommended as a medium of instruction and a compulsory subject in the secondary school level. According to Mangvwat (2006), employment and education have promoted and increased the influence of English language in Nigeria because even the higher institutions, the citadels of advanced learning produce the needed manpower to cater for the local societies through the English language. However, Ebiaga (2006) claimed that courses can be better taught in Nigerian indigenous languages like for instance, Europe, India, China, Japan, Germany, Malaysia and Russia to name a few. Some of these countries are technically advanced among the world powers, while some are developing rapidly. This study's main concern on identity requires explanations on the position of Nigeria's undermined indigenous languages and practices in its administration and education sectors. Despite Nigeria's numerous minority languages, Umera-Okeke (2016) stated that the federal government only recognised and developed three major languages: Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba². The KKK is a predominantly Hausa-speaking community in Kano, Northern Nigeria.

1.3.2 Kano

According to KSCIG 3 (Kano State Commercial and Industrial Guide), Kano was a prehistoric terminus of trade routes attractive to North African craftsmen, merchants, scholars, the Arabian Peninsula, and European countries sharing the same boundary with

² The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979, pp. 22; 1999. Lagos: Federal Government Press

³ 2003 Kano State Commercial and Industrial Guide (KSCIG)

the Mediterranean Sea for centuries. Similarly, KSMH⁴ (Kano State Ministry of Health) reported that Kano was the most predominant City in its economic region (see Appendix B). In addition, Sani (2004) and Olaniyi (2011) considered it an affluent commercial centre, a modern metropolitan, and among the most populous cities in Nigeria. The Nigeria population statistics 2021⁵ reported 4,103,000 as the estimated population of Kano City. The trans-Saharan trade in tropical Africa established business relationships between the Arabic-speaking North Africans and the Hausas before A.D. 1000 (Daura, 1974). As such, the Kano larger population has been influenced by religion and culture. The Kano State Government in 2004, recapped that the traditional system of power had the Sarki (Emir), Hakimi (District head), Dagaci (Village head), and Maiunguwa (Ward's head). The national government epithet signifies the sociocultural occupation bearing in Kano, the 'CENTER OF COMMERCE' for its identification, landscapes, social change, and cohesion. Kano became time-honoured, diversified, rising over years of migration under the global flexibility of persons and resources. As such, Kano remains a midpoint for people with linguistic and ethnically different backgrounds interacting in the Hausa language in their daily life to facilitate understanding; perform business activities and vis-a-vis its linkage with the trans-Atlantic trade, it became enjoined to global trade and manufacturing (Tanko & Idris, 2014). Despite the prospects in Kano, the report showed some areas still needed awareness and a need to check of their identity to aid in dealing with ethnoreligious commotion areas and the soaring rate of illiteracy and lack of cognisance.

⁴ 2013 Operational Plan for the Elimination of Mother-to-Child Transmission of HIV, Nigeria: Kano State Ministry of Health (KSMH). FHI 360, IHVN and UNAIDS. FHI 360, Institute of Human Virology, and UNAIDS

⁵ Kano, Nigeria Population 2021-population Sta. at <https://populationstat.com/nigeria/Kano>

1.3.3 Kano Kantin Kwari

The KSEEDS 6 (Kano State Economic Empowerment & Development Strategy) information categorised the KKK among the leading African business communities based on its successive daily turnover in billions of Nigerian Naira. On the other hand, the KSMCIC 7 (Kano State Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Cooperatives) publication classified Kantin Kwari as a single-product line business community for textile materials.

The KKK is still practising the oral data tradition

- its elders serve as the oral data banks, consequently little printed data were found on the community. Historically, according to the oral interviews with the elder statesman at his residence on and the elders at the Kantin Kwari Traders Association (henceforth the KKTA). The Syrians and the Lebanese immigrants were the first to reside in the old Kano City at *Dandalin Turawa* (the street of the Europeans) and the originators of the KKK. After colonizing Northern Nigeria, the British invited the Syrians and Lebanese to relocate from the old Kano City and reside with them. These Syrians and Lebanese declined the offer from the British and decided to settle in a valley, hence *Kwari* between the old Kano City wall and the British residential area now, GRA (Government Reserved Area) (see Appendix C). The KKK maintained its original situated location in the former *Kwari* (valley) initially named the 'Syrian quarters' where they create *Kantins* (shops) selling their merchandise. The Syrian quarters were later renamed *Kasuwar 'Yankwara* (a market for the Lebanese) and now *Kantin Kwari* (literarily Kwari shop). The Syrian and Lebanese owned the area and dominated the entire business activities while the local people worked in their shops as errand boys and shopkeepers, not far off the current situation in the community with the Chinese and Indians.

⁶ Kano State Economic Empowerment & Development Strategy (KSEEDS). KUST ...Assessment. 3 2005 EMIS Report, Federal Ministry of Education.

⁷ Kano State Ministry of Commerce, Industry, and Cooperatives (KSMCIC) Report 2003.

On both occasions, the government's intervention brought a new law that got the foreigners engaged in wholesale, while the local people took over the retailing. As stated above, there are no documented records of the KKK, the population statistics obtained on the community was 120,000 from KSBIR-KMAO 8 (Kano State Board of Internal Revenue: Kano Model Area Office) (see Appendix D) also based on personal communication. This estimated figure was based on the total number of buildings (114) comprising 50,000 shops and 50,000 temporary tables (see Appendix E). These figures were obtained through changes in the KKK by its self-motivated social ecology wherein different languages (i.e., Hausa, Arabic, English, Fulfulde, Yoruba, Igbo, Nigerian Pidgin 9, etc.), diverse groups, and generations of indigenous and migrants freely relate and negotiate social meaning. Thus, alike other communities, the KKK is recreated, enhanced, and recognized through building relationships. Its constant change in interaction is a sequel to the people's relocation and migration for instance, the saturation of business communities in Kano by the victims of the closed Northern Nigeria textile factories due to the 1999 epileptic nature of nationwide energy supply.

1.3.4 Hausa Language and Society

An insight into the Hausa language and society is significant in situating this thesis's concern on developing and communicating identity in the KKK because Hausa is the community's unmarked lingua franca and the linguistic landscape in Kano and its surroundings. Greenberg (1963), Awogbade (2004) and Bagari (2009) described the Hausa language as one of the Western Chadic Group of languages with settlers from Western Sudan, Southern Sahara, Chad and currently comprises most of

⁸ Kano State Board of Internal Revenue: Kano Model Area Office (KSBIR: KMAO) personal communication 2017.

⁹ The Nigerian *Pidgin* is a blend of English and Nigerian languages (i.e., Hausa, Igbo, or Yoruba) where it borrowed most of its vocabulary from. An assessment with other languages showed *Pidgin* as a separate language with around 30 million speakers predominantly used in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. See <https://www.legit.ng/1119300-list-languages-nigeria-states.html>

Northern Nigeria. According to Hickey (1986), the Hausa language is the largest African language both as L1, L2, or L3 and as a lingua franca, inter-ethnic, international language and language for business in West Africa. Hausa is the most shared language in Nigeria stated Ahmad (2000 in Panse [Kosur, Ed.]10, 2010). The larger Hausa communities were referred to as the '*Hausa Bakwai*' (that is, the genuine seven Hausa City-states) and the smaller Hausa communities the '*Banza Bakwai*' (that is, non-genuine seven Hausa states) 11 . Kano is one of the traditional '*Hausa Bakwai*' (genuine seven Hausa City-states). Moreover, Ahmed and Daura (1970), Sani (2001) and Diso (2009) specified that the '*Kananci*' (Kano dialect) is considered the standard variety, phonologically simple and used by formal writers to publish books, journals, and newspapers. About the Hausa people, Paden (1970) showed that they are linguistically and culturally homogeneous.

In *Rayuwar Hausawa*, it is argued that many *Hausawas*' living in other parts of West Africa and beyond, are classified as Hausa speech communities. Lave and Wenger (1991) separated a practising speech community wherein its existence is a relationship of particular social relations, practices, and activities. In this study, the KKK represents one of the larger Hausa communities and a practising speech community that embraces other established ethnic groups. The younger generations of these ethnic groups have a relative population of L1 and L2 Hausa speakers. Thus, the Hausa language and culture have dominated their interaction pattern, evident in "the rate at which they speak and the speed at which they speak", depicting their business way of life (Daura, 1974, p.10)

¹⁰ Hausa language. Retrieved from <file:///E:/Hausalanguage-Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.htm>

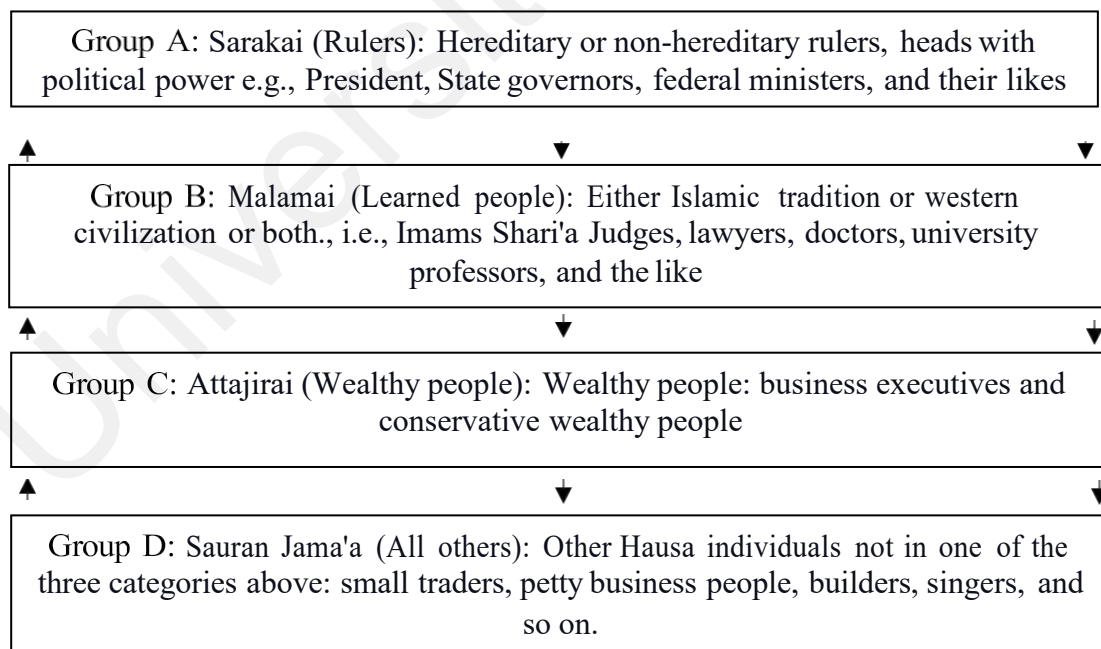
¹¹ The larger Hausa communities are settled by L1, L2, and L3 speakers in the traditional 'Kasar Hausa' (Hausa land) constituting the 'Hausa Bakwai' (the genuine seven Hausa City-states). While the smaller Hausa communities are the L2 and L3 Hausa speakers of different ethnic groups and their counterpart on a lower ranking, the 'Banza Bakwai' (the non-genuine Seven Hausa states).

The two writing systems in the Hausa language used in the KKK are *Ajami* (the Arabic scripts from Arabic scholars) and Boko (a Latin-based alphabetical system from the British colonial masters). The Hausa language has many loan words from some African languages, Arabic, French, and now the English language. Also, Abubakar (2012) maintained that Hausa stands out as a national, continental, and an international language, in that radio stations around the world such as BBC World Service Hausa; Deutsche Velle (Germany); China Radio; France International; VOA (Voice of America); VOR (Voice of Russia); IRIB; Zuria FM Kumasi Ghana-Radio and Arewa 24 broadcast in it. Besides, the radio stations, the Hausa language is taught in Berlin, European, American, German, and Chinese schools. For general purposes, Hausa language is used by the Nigerian Army; even their Newsletter is named *Soja* (Soldier), while the Nigerian Police Journal is *Dansanda* (The Police). The peaceful, industrious, and adventurous nature of the Hausa people encouraged them to venture into the unknown despite their lucid culture. The Hausa language has grown fame in Hausa and non-Hausa communities globally. Hausa has transcended communities in Nigeria and replaced many other languages through modern Hausa music and films.

In this study, it is relevant to consider the social stratification system within the Hausa sociocultural hierarchical system as a defining factor. Sociologists believe that social inequity and social stratification are as old as humankind in their unique forms. Through social inequity unfairness can come forth on "how individuals and groups are themselves ranked and evaluated by others..." whereas social stratification involves "a system of social relationships that determines who gets what and why" (Kerbo, 1983, p. 1). Kerbo's understanding of the two terms can apply to the present Hausa Society, where stratification based on social status is the most convenient yardstick for positioning an

individual or group identities on the social ladder. Each person in Hausa society is conscious of the rudimentary stratification classification, and within reach of the major strata, there are four lines: men, women, children, and servants. By tradition, the integral part of social stratification rankings operating within the typical Hausa society is by *Mukami* (status) *Matsayi* (position), age, and sex. *Mukami* (status) in this study, refers to the superiority or inferiority of individuals within the Hausa social structure. Impliedly, there are many positions of other social groups within the structure, of which each class is an institution by itself. They are the *Sarakai* (traditional and non-traditional rulers) uppermost class, and the *Talakawa* (commoners), the inferior lower status, and subordinates. A third- social group in each institution in this system is the dyads with equal status. These groups are portrayed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 : The Hausa Hierarchical Socio-cultural System



Adapted from Daba (1987)

Table 1.1 above displayed the hierarchical sociocultural stream in the Hausa society. They are the community-related components given emphasis and recognised to influence interactions in the KKK CoPs. Possible movements are shown by the broken lines either up or down the ladder from Group A-D. These classifications are not permanent to individuals; thus, the up or down movement on the ladder is feasible in the Hausa society. In the last decades, various people in the KKK, names numerous to cite are instances of actual cases of the possible movements in the hierarchy. The current recession has impacted peoples' status so much that there were sudden movements from the three upper groups descending to the bottom. Yet, there are immunities in everything in life, Groups A and B will never move to the lowest group; such persons are a President, a *Sarki*, a *Malam*, a professor, and such. The premises above helped the researcher to understand and place the participants' stratified practices in developing and communicating identity in the symmetrical and asymmetrical nature in the KKK.

1.4 Research Background

Ololube and Egbezor (2012) and Yusuf, Ladan, Idris and Halilu (2013) found out that Nigeria has substantial human and material resources that can be used for transformations and to build a thriving economy. However, it is among the E9 countries where nearly 70% of the world's 771 million adults lacking in basic literacy skills reside. It is one of the linguistically diverse African countries obliged by the colonial masters to adopt the English language as a lingua franca reducing the use of their indigenous languages to trivialities. The KKK is a commercial hub for textile trade in Nigeria and West Africa that comprises members with both modern and Islamic educational backgrounds. However, part of the KKK accommodates some portion of the Nigerian adults lacking in basic literacy skills who find it difficult to understand and cope with the perpetual global business environment. Although in the KKK, the traditional business ways still prevail,

they have recorded tremendous success as a staple under-researched and under-represented lucrative community classified with landscapes undergoing shifts preoccupied with daily trade activities. Thus, for the KKK to survive in the aggressive global business contexts, it needs constant research and updates.

Lave and Wenger's (1991) CoP is accepted and applied in different domains. Though Bijeikiene and Tamosiunaite (2013) stated that CoP deals with how language reveals the identity of a certain CoP, Corder and Meyerhoff (2007) and Marra and Holmes (2007) specified that sociolinguists have been using it as a tool to analyse interaction at a micro-level. In addition, the scope of CoP as a real locus for studying a certain domain's practices has similarities with what Fagge (2012) pointed out as the cultural practices in Hausa land. In essence, CoP's description as a group of persons who develop collective ways of undertaking things, "values, power relations, activities, common knowledge and beliefs, and ways of talking" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 57) is the best fit that substantiates the choice of CoP for this study.

In the same way, exploring identities in the KKK is needed because currently, identities are unlike the earlier moments of history when communities were steadier and were under no circumstances an issue. Mair (2003) explains that identity is no longer stable and given as the independent social variable expected to control the distribution of the dependent variable. It nowadays demands social make-ups where Pomerantz (2008) claimed that individuals' styles reflect who they are in contexts with changes in networks and people embedded in their practices and structures. To this point, Thornborrow (2004) maintained that identity be it social, individual, or institutional, is somewhat constantly built and negotiated within individuals. Yet, David and Govindasamy (2017) and Schreiber (2015) pointed the lack of multidisciplinary accord between sociologists, sociolinguists, and

philosophers regarding the underlying direction concerning identity and language. That is, whether identity points to a particular behaviour linguistically or language use represents acceptance of identity remains debatable. Wodak, Johnstone and Kerswill (2010) argued that language in use can manifest, produce and reproduce social phenomena. As such, identity as a social phenomenon can be manifested through language and social categories in this study the KKK where members created connections and harmonic associations in talks and behaviours to achieve business purposes. Therefore, to assist in the KKK possible transformation and address its needs, understanding its practices in developing and communicating identities is required. This can be achieved through an in-depth exploration of the KKK under-researched culture by presenting the findings of their real social lives and subtle issues as well as suggest necessary and practicable interferences, especially now.

1.5 Statement of Research Problem

Communities can be viewed through social groups and their members who are in constant interaction with each other. Social groups exhibit some degree of social cohesion which is more than simply a reflection of individuals. One way of exploring a group of people is to look at how their identity is developed and communicated continuously in the social setting as a result of interacting with each other. In line with this view, identity has been largely studied in western and other developing countries in both formal and informal contexts. The majority of studies conducted in the Western context focused on identity construction as well as the impact of language and social factors on identities (e.g., Filomena & Katariina 2022; Ojo Joseph & Anand 2021; Jan-Ole & Saskia 2021; Rivka & Elli 2021; Butcholtz, 1998; 2010; Eckert, 1989; Jaspal, 2015; Norreby 2018) and so forth.

Butcholtz (1998) and Eckert (1989) studied educational informal contexts. However, as Posel and Zeller (2016) noted, little research has been done within the African continent particularly on identity, and especially in Nigeria. Similar to the Western contexts, a few studies have been conducted in educational informal settings (e.g., Paxton & Tyam, 2010), who studied the university informal learning groups in South Africa. On the other hand, some studies have looked into the identity of different African communities in different contexts. Anthea, Marcelyn, and Christine (2014) looked at how multilingual adolescents in a community in Johannesburg use their linguistic resources to construct, integrate and perform identity. Similarly, Asadu (2018) found that as a result of the Ghanaian settlers in the Netherlands different met experiences linked to either the Ghanaian or the Netherlands' societies, their identity construction and belonging was unfixed in nature.

Some researchers in particular, while very limited in number, have looked into the Nigerian communities. For instance, Mustafa (2013) examined issues relating to language and gender theorisations and the identities of language learners while interacting in the Nigerian classrooms alongside the language used in their textbooks. The closest study to the focus of the current study is Shodipe (2012), who researched the Lagos Island bilingual speech community in Nigeria. The fact that communities are formed by their members in different sociocultural settings highlights the importance of looking into the identity of the KKK. The current study builds on this body of research and explores how identity is developed and communicated using CoP (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and acts of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) frameworks.

More factors associated with the problems of the KKK under-representation needs to be highlighted as well. To the researcher's knowledge, no study within the KKK context

focuses on studying their participants' practices and identities at the time of compiling this thesis. The KKK remained a low priority to the few researchers in the community. This present situation validates Ihuah's (2002) conclusion in his Tiv social system study in Nigeria, that Africans live an unexamined life. This muffled community needs a voice as members' lack of identity awareness in its multi-layered form created limits to make unquestionable decisions (i.e., members think that they do not have a right to complain on anything). However, care must be taken in exploring the said social phenomena, through the related approaches to create similarities and dissimilarities in developing countries because they are at variance from those of the developed countries. Research contexts on identity in developed countries were easily accessible and the studies were conducted in a conducive manner. However, in developing countries like Nigeria, such concerns and concepts are alien to the local people hence, there is a need to find local but practical ways to contextualise and address them. For instance, the KKK members include some underutilized, unskilled youths and young adults roaming about in clumsy conditions because they came from diverse sociocultural, linguistic, and underprivileged backgrounds where they neither have any affiliation with the KKK nor any family support. In most cases, these youths are deprived of opportunities to acquire the needed skills and exposure to stimulate and exploit their identity development processes and as a result, they perform unsatisfactorily in struggling to develop their identities. At that point, these youths are exposed to a 'sink or swim' situation; they tend to be less active and reliant on the skilled individuals that hijacked the community's business, e.g., native and international foreigners. Besides this, those youths opportune to undergo modern education, do not seem to practice their learnt basic business skills. Thus, a generation gap is created that might lead to divergence in how the KKK community perceive and portray the youths' as a change symbol. Furthermore, the KKK members have not yet realize that learning their skills by negotiating daily situations of participating through

social processes is vital in developing their identities. This way, the members face difficulty to ably place themselves as they encounter hitches in learning from different sub-domains that might promise them prospects within a stated time. Also, the lack of review of the KKK practices results in slow growth, ineffectiveness, survival risk, under-representation, and a dearth of printed literature in the present world of limitless access to internet services. The above issues reassured my choice for this study which in the long run would be of practical importance and a point of mention. The KKK has experienced many drawbacks that lead to identity awareness gaps, which if they were understood in the first place, perhaps unidentified identities could not have overcrowded the KKK.

Equally, an aggressive globalization drive lead the African continent, to seek; ways to develop and communicate the right kind of identity to manage development. The KKK is a marginalized African community slowly undergoing identity transformation processes. Moreover, the ever-changing picture of the daily life required studying the 'input and 'output' identity factors and unpacking the complex processes; on how things happen and how they develop over time in such under-researched settings and their effects. In view of the above, research in the KKK remains in the infant stage, thus, a fertile ground for exploring that might be of certain significance. This way, by proper placing and sensitization, members can know that this social phenomenon has been their practice and to re-accommodate and transform them will be preferable and more profitable. The subsequent section spells out the research purposes and objectives.

1.6 Research Purpose and Objectives

This study aimed to explore the mutual aspects that develop and communicate identities, and to give an emblematic representation of the real-life experiences as lived in the KKK context. The purpose was to conceptualize the KKK as a CoP to permit the researcher to

understand: the members' sense of purpose, how members socialize and develop identities, the language fit for a transaction, ways of fostering their social dealings, how they maintain stability, produce and distributes goods and services. As well, the study sought to unfold the KKK members' daily routine practises where people interact in a symbiotic association through an interdisciplinary approach. The KKK context is one of the more preferable settings that can be socially situated to show how the KKK brings together individuals from diverse ethnic groups with diverse social affiliations to manage growth and survival. Given that studies on identity are conducted from different perspectives and undisputed; in the KKK, the impulse for identity awareness, progress, and better control moved the researcher to want to achieve these specific objectives:

- to explore the processes of developing identities through the members' daily routine practices in the KKK and
- to describe how the members communicate their developed identities in the KKK.

The above research purposes harmoniously substantiates and context the usage of the qualitative LE approach. In its holistic way, it will observe how real social groups move towards constructing meaning in their behaviours anywhere, any-time to understand the how, what, where, when, and when not of the KKK practices. Also, the purposes affirm the need to embed Creese's (2010) perceptive of LE's interdisciplinary lens outlets by dint of its fluid and flexible nature to the development of this study to understand ways to modify the community's routine activities, and how they interpret social situations on the levels of the individual, community, state, nation and global. This study addresses the following research questions to achieve the above objectives.

1.7 Research Question

1. How do members perform their daily routine practices to develop identities in the Kano Kantin Kwari business community?
2. In what ways do these members communicate their developed identities in the Kano Kantin Kwari business community?

Wellington (2000) considered the above kinds of questions stimulating but difficult and complex to respond to. The questions have some key related components, operationally defined and answered with the data used to develop each theme and sub-themes in Chapters 4 and 5. Each question has sub-questions (see Appendix F) that allow a careful content examination and, somewhat, a different theoretical and analytical application. Besides this, both questions are linked to the method, frameworks, and the central phenomena making the operational definitions, the concepts, and variables interwoven and unified. These questions are raised to unravel how individuals in the KKK conduct themselves within their local community and beyond and how these behaviours provide chances for developing both newcomers' and old members' identities. To answer these questions, it is crucial to observe their practices, participate, interview, record, and transcribe examples of the KKK participants' interactions described in Chapter 3.

1.8 The Research Layout

Chapter 1 (Introduction) introduces the research location (Nigeria, Kano, and the KKK), Hausa language, and society; the research background; statement of the problems; the research purpose and objectives; research questions and research outline. Chapter 2 (Literature Review) considers the related researches and describes CoP. Learning-in-practice: Communication channels and Modes of belonging; Situated learning and Legitimate and peripheral participation. Identities-in-practice: Identity; Acts of identity

and ethnography as an analytical framework. While LE, ethnography, language, and languaging concepts as well as 'Presentation of self in everyday life' are the vital related concepts. Chapter 3 ((Methodology) justifies the choice of qualitative and LE approach; reflexivity; research context and participants; ethical issues; data collection and analysis plus the researcher's positioning. Chapter 4 (Developing Identities and Learning-in-practice) describes the KKK daily routine practices; the KKK CoPs; the KKK situated learning and legitimate and peripheral participation; the KKK sociocultural learning opportunities and trajectories in response to question 1. Chapter 5 (Communicating Identities and Identity-in-practice) considers the KKK experiences of identity negotiation, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's 'acts of identity' and other related studies in response to question 2. While Chapter 6 (Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendation) summarises the study findings, gives the implications, limitations and proposes additional areas of research.

CHAPTER 2 : LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews some of the research relating to the 'Community of Practice' and 'Acts of identity'. As such, to attain the specific objectives of this study, in the first part, the review highlights and presents a discussion of the CoP framework, concept, components and learning-in-practice while the second part examines identity-in-practice, the acts of identity framework, the analytical framework as well as other vital concepts to complement the aspects overlooked by these two main frameworks of this study. The aim is to highlight the frameworks, summarise and synthesise the data, literature, and practices that cover a little bearing of the aspects linked to the research questions. Thus, the data, literature, and practices indisputably need revision and refinement of the parameters suggested here.

2.2 Theoretical Framework 1

This section addresses the CoP framework and its related concepts in this study which forms the basis for this qualitative research.

2.2.1 The Community of Practice Framework

One of the main conceptual frameworks that guided the current study is Lave and Wenger's (1991) Community of Practice (CoP). The CoP is one of the three main different but related ways in sociolinguistics according to Meyerhoff, Adachi, Nanbakhsh and Strylcharz (2012) that individuals form or belong to different social groups; individuals can be identified by shared practices (communities of practice), shared forms of association (social networks) or shared forms of variation (speech communities). However, Wenger (1999) specified that a CoP has been a more diverse perspective that

sociolinguists use as a tool to analyse interaction at a micro level, related to the traditional attention on speech community and social networking. The knowledge of CoP, as a notion as Wenger (2010) argued, has found and is still finding its way into an individuals' ordinary and professional language. Cop is an activity-centred ethnographic method used for analysing individuals' behaviours, focused on constructing identities in a group (Butcholtz, 1999). Therefore, CoP is of significance to this research through its reinforcement from Wenger's (2004) central concepts like the domain, the community, the practice and participation. Besides, a CoP is distinct from other methods by emphasising practice and mutual engagement. The CoP is, thus, a locus where the investigation of "situated language use, of language change, and of the very process of conventionalisation that underlies both" (Eckert, 2006, p. 1) is evident.

CoP also denotes gatherings of individuals who care genuinely about very similar normal issues, and who on that basis according to Wenger, McDermott, and Snyder (2002) regularly interact to learn together as well as from every single other. Though as observed by Swan, Scarbrough, and Robertson (2002), Addicott, McGivern, and Ferlie (2006), and Waring and Currie (2009), the operationalisation of CoPs has shown some challenges in most organisational settings. Despite many scholars' criticism of the CoP framework for deficiency of uniform operational definition, the concept has been a useful framework in several domains. In this study, the concept offers a suitable framework theoretically and analytically to intensify our understanding of the practices in the KKK which is a community where the members assist in developing participants' identities through daily interaction and negotiation with different people from divergent places. Simply put, a CoP is an essential part of the community's daily lives, so pervasive and informal that it hardly comes to clear focus but also quite familiar for similar reasons. Wenger (2000) points out that even though the phrase CoP may be original, CoP practice is not. Such

communities have been present all through the history of human beings and culturally sharing these practices that portrays their shared learning. Lave and Wenger (1991) present an apprenticeship study model where they coined the phrase CoP as a social learning theory purposely to put off peoples' thinking about apprenticeship as an association between the apprentices and their masters. They refer to a CoP for the apprentice as 'a living curriculum' to the community, culturally sharing practices representing their shared learning. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2013) maintain that CoPs develop as groups of individuals respond to a shared state. The most striking CoP primary feature is "learning through identity or participation" (Wenger, 1998, p. 271). Then, communities develop by the individuals' participation described by Wenger (2000) as the social containers of the experiences that constitute the system and symbolised the structure of a social learning system. Hence, developing identity in the KKK is a process in which a member is socialised professionally to recognise, interact and participate in business relations. In addition, Wenger and Trayner (2015) maintain that CoPs acts as individual groups who share a passion for all they do, and through regular interaction learn ways to do it well. Hildreth, Kimble, and Wright's (2000) view of a CoP as an informal group of professionals bound to each other through experiencing common problems, the common search of solutions, and thus themselves representing a data bank is appropriate to the KKK experiences in this study. In essence, the KKK can be observed as a gathering of people interrelating regularly and sharing manners of doing things (i.e., business) wherein the CoP insights into communities are central to their understanding. Each CoP comprises features of a system of learning. In this research, peripheral members interact with experienced members in this community and learn what it takes to be a member through special events and regular experiences. Another characteristic of CoP is constant collective negotiation of a system of competency, neither explicit nor stagnant. Eckert and Wenger (2005) claim that from this outlook, the learning concept is

'politicised' by the CoP idea by socially contextualising the experience of participation; thus, learning is regularly an assertion of competence. In a CoP, participation is connected to meaning negotiation. Here, the learning processes are by way of surrendering meanings to experiences, especially the fact that daily routines provide room for recurring experiences where new phases of experiences are signified. CoPs learning has been further clarified by Wenger et al. (2002), namely that learning can be realised by a CoP's cultural structure, prevailing social norms, unbiased and adverse practices, e.g., learning what is worth being a trainer in the KKK. Along these same line, Canagarajah (2003) presents another understanding of a CoP as a trans-local, de-centred, and invisible community, and supposedly anybody can partake in its doings. Canagarajah's view implies that although communities can diverge in dimensions and practices, participation and learning are similar yet simple purposes they share. Along these same lines, Wenger et al. (2002) conclude that positive, negative, or neutral understandings are the possible achieved learning outcomes in a practice. They also describe how the community members can develop a sense of fitting and joint commitment by relationship building, systematic interaction, and learning mutually.

As mentioned in Section 1.5, the CoP has been applied in different domains of life comprising both visible and invisible spaces. Visible domains include Bucholtz's (1998) and Eckert's (1989; 2000) studies in the school domain; Norton (2001; 2013) and Kanno and Norton (2003), who claimed that the language practices of learners go past the classroom walls to the domains of anticipated and imagined communities. I had sought out the contributions of Yun (2016) in the teacher development domain, Yeoh (2014) in the workplace domain, and Dickson (2010) in the signed language interpreter's domain. Nevertheless, Yun (2016) and Dickson (2010) observed that intern-ship studies show elaborate social interactions by which learning occurs with forward-looking learners and

journeymen. Similarly, the work of Smith, Hayes, and Shea (2017) is prominent in the invisible spaces - Urrieta's (2007) identity production in some Mexican Americans figured worlds and Oloruntoba-Oju (2020) study of the virtual space in Nigeria. However, among the little research conducted within the African communities and especially the Nigerian contexts, those that looked at community studies emphasized other areas like health (Ikeazota, 2016; Gilmore et al, 2020), education (Olaniran & Baruwa, 2020), pharmacy (Ihekoronye & Osemene, 2020), sociology (Arisuku et al., 2020), management (Sagagi, Adeleke, Ude, Ghasi, & Amoga, 2019) and IT (Haruna, Garko, Ahmad, & Sani, 2015). However, Bucholtz (1998) and Eckert (1989) studied the informal school context and argue that identity is constructed, developed and shown through language and additional social practices. Although, these are the most related studies under the CoP lens, they serve as points of reference for this study scheduled in a more diverse local professional context.

Bucholtz (1998) maintained that the model of CoP permits the researcher to approach deep-seated identities in practice on the one hand. On the other hand, CoP exposes the speaker's ability to have multiple identities and take part in their practices. Identities can be made known in practice, as they are revealed on purpose through language and some added social practices. In her study of the 'nerds' group use of language in a girls' high school, Bucholtz (1998) presented talks amongst the nerd girls and explained in what way their language signifies their identities as nerds, and observes the ill-used language features used in forming the 'nerds' identity. She used the identity concept to emphasize certain linguistic practices, as well as other symbols in distancing the 'nerds' group from that of 'cool, kids. Moreover, Bucholtz (1998) stated that a CoP extension permits describing identities as the outcome of "positive and negative identity practices rather than as fixed social categories" (p. 203). These are part of an individual life defined in a

group, i.e., in her 'community of nerds' study. The practices of positive identity in the nerds study strengthen membership or take along the members nearer to the identity chosen. To them, these are presentations of knowledge, intelligence, and relationship with the school's activities. In comparison, the negative identity practices distance them from identities that are rejected. Thus, the nerds' practices of negative identity focus on separating from whatever can be regarded as 'cool'. Similar to Eckert's (1989) study of jocks and burnouts; the ethnographic fieldwork established nerds' peculiar identity shown "through language and other social practices" (Bucholtz, 1998, p. 211). This view is divergent from the earlier interpretation that the nerds' group are 'inadequate' jocks or burnouts. Still, Bucholtz's (1998) nerds' study, made a major contribution by being able to identify categories from within her study group and by classifying and assigning values of positive and negative linguistic indexes for the community members. The attention in this study lies in finding the facts of the practices mutually defined or the community members' encounters that are unique from different communities.

In Eckert's (1989) study, she explored the language variation (social categories and identity) of adolescent peer groups at a high school in Detroit and found that the community's repertoire was manipulated and exploited differently as group makers of either jocks or burnouts. Each group's language use was reflecting their self-conceptualization. She demonstrated in non-linguistic practices how the jocks, and burnouts' identities are created through their actions. For example, when we consider smoking as a behaviour, burnouts do smoke; on the other hand, jocks do not. In their dress code, a jock dresses in a crew-neck sweater and short, pegged jeans while a burnout wears a jacket and bell-bottoms. From the above studies, it is also realized that names create individual and or group identities. The group nicknaming (NN) practices are demonstrated by the nerds, the jocks and burnouts to show their in-group identities. The

moment a person is given a personal name (PN), individuals use it to assist the development of that person's identity in a group (Thornborrow, 2004). Through social practices and language within a community, common knowledge of everyone's NN is a basis for defining their participation in that CoP. Also indicated is that "identity is constructed in discourse" ... [and is] ... "performed, constructed, enacted or produced, moment-to-moment, in everyday conversations" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 49). Hence, identities can be self-reflected by examining talks. The instances in these two studies aided the researcher to study identity markers (i.e., in-group terminologies, address, food, dress, etc.) shared by the KKK members. The authors of the above-mentioned studies unanimously argued that members of such communities learn together and from every single member through regular interactions.

2.2.1.1 Characteristics of CoP

Wenger (2004) itemized three CoP characteristics: the community, domain, and practice. Wenger (2004) stated that the community comprises the peoples' group that the domain is applicable, the members' value of their associations, and the description between their inside and outside boundary. Groups of persons must gather together, act together, and learn together in pursuit of common interest, that is, the domain before it forms a CoP. Along these lines, they form connections that permit them to learn from one another and are concerned with their respective positions.

Wenger and Trayner (2015) clarified that having a very similar job or designation does not make a CoP without members interacting and learning together. On the other hand, Wenger and Snyder (2000) specified that CoPs can meet either regularly or irregularly. It does not automatically have to work *en masse* always. In essence, insofar as their domains are relevant and their boundaries are clearly defined, these irregular interactions have

made them a CoP, irrespective of their regular work on their own. Individuals interact with others continuously who are positioned internally, externally, or on the community's boundary and that, at the same time, an individual may fit into a single or more than a few communities. Nonetheless, consistent with Wenger (1999), the individual interactions between group members consist of a central attribute of communities. Taking into account these descriptions, a website, is not a CoP in itself, for it did not fulfil all of the above-mentioned criteria. Therefore, this study's attention is on the engagement, shared interactions, collective learning, and their significance to the community members in their groups. For example, Roberts (2006) specified that there are continuously common changes in any CoP membership - old members fade and or leave while new members join, so the interactions amid the persons in the community transform. Relating to this study, the CoP's awareness of communities relates to understanding general and specific professional practices within the community domain.

Notwithstanding, Lave and Wenger (1991), described the roles discourse and language play in socialising novices to communities of practice. This established a close relationship between the communities of practice and discourse communities. On the other hand, Pagner in his study, distinguished the relationship between the two concepts. He demonstrated that the two concepts have no mutual exclusiveness. However, they have common elements relating to the willingness of membership and its significance to the members' identity, 'domain of knowledge' and 'community'. They somewhat have different priorities "between discursive and non-discursive practices in describing the social characteristic of knowledge creation (and learning)" (2005).

As mentioned by Wenger (2004), the domain is the field of knowledge that carries the community *en masse*, stretches its identity and outlines the core issues that need to be addressed by the members. Butcholtz (1998) and Eckert (1989) both found that the domain is the pillar from which the group identities spring and make a distinction from other groups, for example, a group of friends. In line with the above, this study emphasises the sociolinguistic domain rather than the sociological domain. Wenger and Trayner (2015) clarified that a CoP domain has an identity described by a common domain of interest and its membership infers the domain commitment and thus a common competence that differentiates participants from other persons. However, a domain, when separated from the community, is certainly not to some degree acknowledged through ‘expertise’. Because it is only through discussions, sharing information, assisting one another, and engaging in activities together, the members of a domain pursue their interests. When referring to the KKK, it is not limited to a cluster of people sharing distinctive features but peoples’ gathering, often interrelating, and learning together, also building relationships through sharing manners of doing things, i.e., business, that is to say, a business domain.

According to Wenger (2004), the practice in a CoP refers to the form of facts, tools, methods, stories, documents, and cases, which members develop and share, and the progress can be relatively self-conscious. ‘Practice’ is “a way of acting in the world [besides] a field of endeavour and expertise” (Consalvo, Schallert, & Elias, 2015, p. 3). On the other hand, Eckert and Wenger (2005) simply infer that practice is how things are done, as a community shared and grounded in it, and by co-relating between members, the practice becomes deep-seated. To the researcher’s understanding, the above definitions of practice propose that they point towards awareness, engagement, and commitment with particular domain(s). As such, the CoP here does not simply imply a

group of common interests but a group of common practices and its members are the practitioners. They also position that the members “develop a shared repertoire of resources: experiences, stories, tools, ways of addressing recurring problems” (Wenger & Trayner, 2015, p. 3) and constantly interact in their categorical settings over a certain time. Similarly, we cannot forget that practice can be viewed differently by individuals from diverse disciplines of life. However, Wenger’s (1998) view of practice is about everyday life meaning experiences. Indeed, individuals inspire each other and absorb through that meaning negotiation in the interaction practices with both the immediate and all others in the world. Nonetheless, Wenger (1998) is of the opinion that practice as a social practice and emphasis on the flexibility and stability of meaning via real-life experience justifies why people learn from recurrent routines. Here, ‘social practice’ is not denoting action itself but is relatively a context of social and historical practises that provide significance and structure to what individuals do. In essence, all practices for this study are controlled by the landscapes of the social practice postulated by Wenger (1998). Aside from the above features, Nickolas (2003) stated that CoP has three criteria; joint enterprise, mutual engagement, and shared repertoire that will assist a community in describing the co-relationship prevailing between their practices.

Wenger (2000) referred to joint enterprising as the communal understanding of a community’s purpose concerning what it is all about, which Meyerhoff (2002) explained, should be explicit to represent a CoP. It is also the outcome of a shared procedure of negotiation, reflecting the complexities of a common engagement (Wenger, 1999), along with making common objectives intended for, that members are jointly responsible and which turn out to be essential to the practice. Individuals are bound together informally by shared know-how and desire for joint enterprising (Wenger & Snyder, 2000) in a CoP, such as the situation with the KKK members. The above criterion in this study refers to

the daily practices, business activities, and developments of the members in the community context. And with their jointly shared objectives, create a commercial business environment through participation, negotiation, and collaboration. For it is through interaction, learning jointly, and relationship building, CoP members develop a fitting and shared commitment (Wenger et al, 2002). The establishment of a mutually accountable community is the vital part here, whereby members consent and reconcile their differences and mixed ambitions. Regardless of the enterprise's lack of homogeneous awareness, it may remain a shared product (Wenger, 1999). And it is challenging to control what sets up a joint enterprise, and if the expression is employed to relate to the sharing of things by whichever group, involving practice. If so, Gee (2005) opines that its definition has become indeed so common and vague that it covers all. While there may exist no apparent perimeter to the joint enterprise and the members are vested with the responsibility to make a decision. Davies (2005) maintained that they have a preference to make a distinction to sensibly understand this as either autonomy or else ambiguity. In this study, this preference is understood as autonomy because when joined with an obliging rapport between group members, it unlocks the prospect of negotiation by which the community's regulations can be followed by its members. Concurrently, the community also displays creativity which over time tends to grow. Consistent with Wenger (1998), the learners will keep an eye on the processes and strategies as specified whereas, core members learn to become practical and flexible while running their errands. This account relates to the KKK practices; the learners learn by following the direction given to them and the seasoned members show expediency and flexibility to the guidelines.

Wenger (1998) stated that mutual engagement in a CoP is neither a heaven of closeness nor an isle of familiarity. This implies that in a CoP, members should interact, observe

norms and expectations as well, establish relationships. CoPs can be ‘large or small’ (Wenger, 2000), can meet frequently or infrequently (Wenger & Snyder, 2000), and can be noticeable or unnoticeable (Kramsch, 2011). However, Smith (2003) specified that mutual engagement amid community members is the basis of unity of a community, along with its linked practices. Moreover, Wenger (1999) stressed that “what makes engagement in practice possible and productive is as much a matter of diversity as it is a matter of homogeneity” (p. 75). Insofar as a practice is the output of an individual’s real interaction and participation, and that different individuals have numerous dispositions and directions of thinking. Thus, as part of the challenges for community members to attain mutual engagement, they need to make every effort to learn what they can and cannot do to maintain the group’s identity. Wenger (1999) observed that the way each member’s varied capabilities affect and relate through the action of additional members. Similarly, Wenger (2000) explained that within the links amongst the members, it is their interactions that, to a certain degree, take the lead than their dissimilarities, and this is how they form their community. Yet again, Gee (2005) specified that through “the meaning-making that goes on around giving and taking meanings from words, symbols, objects, places, or persons to be precise, by change of “semiotic means” (p. 592), members in practice can be engaged mutually. Still, this form of mutual engagement inclines towards filtering out an external impact on the community. In contrast, the absence of the ability of the members to engage mutually will result in having an external impact within the community. So far as this study in the KKK is concerned, it is a context created and developed socio-culturally by individuals with divergent practices. Despite lacking a uniform vision and mission statement in the KKK, the need for mutual engagement became central in the production and sharing of meaning that positively engages the participants to function as a business community.

Shared repertoire represents the fitting repertoire of established and communal resources by the participants, which can be linguistic or non-linguistic. In every CoP, some shared resources have been formed by, or inherent in a community like artefacts, language, tools, standards, methods, concepts, stories, routines, styles, and the like. According to Wenger (2000), the CoP members must understand that these shared resources have been permitted in their practices, commonly in use and connected to self-awareness with the community's mutual engagement history. This is ambiguous, and ambiguity in Wenger's (1999) view, is asymmetrical as an absence of meaning, but rather, it is a negotiable condition and, so, a condition for the real opportunity for meaning-making.

As history continued to be meaningful, the mutual engagement generates a composition of shared repertoire in the practice through many mediums, for example, routine and language. In short, a community, by joint enterprising, mutually engaging, and sharing its repertoire, forms guiding principles consistent with what is required to be a skilled member, an outsider, otherwise anywhere in-between" (Wenger, 1999). In addition, he further augments that forming such guiding principles is the key for learning to take place in a CoP. The points raised above imply that group identity and self-awareness might be realised in this community by its members in this research. The way this awareness can be accepted and legitimated by all persons coming in and out of the community and again, by what means it can be negotiated and shared in the practice, possibly will be unveiled through observing the members' shared repertoire in their social context. These CoP characteristics and criteria did not only develop the members of the community identities but are also used to research the identities of the community members. Consistent with one of CoP's primary features, the KKK normal complications have been considered in this study. These include cultural structures, social norms and, unbiased and adverse

practices. They can also guide the context and situation of this study besides interpreting the community's interactions that are explained in Chapters 4 and 5.

2.2.2 Why Community of Practice in KKK?

For better insights into reasons for applying the CoP concept to explore the KKK, the explanation first relates to its composition through the groups and sub-groupings. The KKK groups and sub-groupings are perceived as different but interrelated CoPs, separated through the larger Hausa society hierarchical order where one finds the participants and the coordinators. The community's whole activities have been developing as a CoP similar to Wenger et al. (2002), through creating, exchanging and increasing understanding to improve the members' competencies as they progress from stage to stage. Thus, all the groups conceptualized when as CoPs in the community should satisfy the criteria of enterprising, mutuality, and repertoire.

Describing the KKK level of enterprise as that of Wenger's (2000) "learning energy" (p. 230), reveals in what manner the KKK members embraced the engagement through leadership. They are therefore engaged in learning while heading towards shared goals. The KKK mutuality is a complexity of social capital that is required to be linked with articulating the enterprise where members engage mutually and find their interactional practices by getting and offering help in their CoPs. On the other hand, the KKK repertoire represents Wenger's (2000) extent of self-awareness. For instance, regarding how the members link to the practice could inspire awareness of the community's improvement from varied perspectives; simplify, review, and modify traditions with forms and therefore recognise unseen future opportunities. Similarly, the CoP domain in the KKK can be observed based on the following characteristics of applying the CoP concept in a business, organisations, and professional associations.

- recognition that understanding is a vital asset requiring strategic management
- the provision of a different approach that focuses on individuals and social structures facilitating learning from and with one another
- enabling practitioners to take mutual charge to manage the understanding needed
- creating a direct connection between presentation and learning, since the same individuals participate in the CoP and the groups and the units of business
- the ability for practitioners to address dynamic and implicit features of knowledge sharing and formation; those formal structures do not limit communities rather, they build networks between individuals across geographic and organisational boundaries (Wenger & Trayner, 2015).

Despite the above points, Wenger et al. (2002) suggested that the overall community can equally display the CoP features about “passion, commitment, and identification with the group and its expertise” (p. 42), (see Chapter 4) for further explanation. This suggestion may perhaps become an alternative to the similarities to the business, organisations, and professional associations. Thus far, the KKK current members attempt to develop their series of activities by building on their joint experiences through making every effort to become an effective community. The above points defended the selection of CoP to study the KKK practices.

2.3 Learning-in-practice

Identities are developed in CoPs by learning-in-practice through the following.

2.3.1 Communication Channels and Modes of Belonging in a CoP

Members of this community under study, seem to have joint and common practices as well as shared linguistic and non-linguistic tools to communicate. However, individuals’

continuous participation in a CoP, allows them to indicate a belonging through the following three identification modes: engagement, imagination, and alignment. The existence and dynamic combination of these modes are essential to the processes of transforming a CoP into a learning site, and they are not reciprocally exclusive (Wenger, 1998). These three modes combine 'emic' and 'etic' outlooks relating to the social practice participation focus on every individual, as a participant in the 'sociocultural community'. In these concomitant outlooks and layers of learning, a person becomes "a full participant, a member, a kind of person" that is "able to be involved in new activities, to perform new tasks and functions, to master new understandings" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, pp. 52-53). Therefore, the people and their practices equally develop. Toohey (1999) specified that every participant will move from one level to the next at the local level. Giampapa (2004) stated that different 'discursive channels' exist within a practice, for instance, language, gender, ethnicity, citizenship, and race. Through participating in the field and cooperation with the channels listed and individuals; experience is "a process of [identity] negotiation across space and time" (Giampapa 2004, p. 193). Within this course, Wenger (2000) pointed out that communication in the practice locally, will be significant for the members' participation globally, positively attributed to the above three modes of belonging. At this point, learning, knowing, and knowledge sharing consist of a participation act in a complex social learning system. Through participating in the KKK daily activities and by their tasks in the shops, members slowly fit together in the '*social learning system*' through undertaking the three '*modes of belonging*' (Wenger, 2000, p. 226). Amidst the said modes of belonging, Wenger (1998) stated that an individual goes into other duties with the community members by talking and doing as a group to an extent.

According to Wenger (1999), engagement is considered a joint application of the procedure of the three dimensions: a steady meaning negotiation, trajectory creation, and history of practice development. During this procedure, “we learn what we can do and how the world responds to our actions” (Wenger, 2000, p. 227). Individuals get involved through some tasks that equally impact constructing the community’s identity and then form a connection to become a member. Wenger (2000) emphasised that engagement has limits as regards the boundary, time, and space. But, Wenger (1998) specified that the boundary limits can be vital resources respectively they can speed up the need for teamwork and then entice individuals in the practice of joint engagement.

Imagination is a desirable tool enforcing meaning in our practices Wenger (1999) uses the two stonemasons’ stories to explain further. When enquired about what they were doing, one responded that he was creating square bricks that can be positioned, one resting on the other while the other man responded that he was constructing a cathedral. The two men experience is the same yet, they attributed different meanings to it, and thus a different understanding (Wenger, 1999). As such, in line with Wenger’s (2000) imagination perspective, both situations create sense and place ourselves into the community; imagination is employed to construct a picture of ourselves, communities, and the world.

Alignment relates the activities locally to their broader significance in a way that those actions, according to Wenger (2000), might become “effective beyond our engagement” (p. 228). At this point, Wenger further clarifies that the alignment concept is not implying a one-way procedure of yielding to the authority externally, but a common procedure of harmonising understandings, perspectives, and activities so, that they accomplish more complex goals. These procedures are discussed in Chapter 4 (see Section 4.3.1.2)

alongside empirical data relating to members easily reached channels of communication in the community. Interactional views of insiders and outsiders depend on effective channels of communication. Moreover, Wenger et al. (2002) emphasised that the central domain concerns significant knowledge to be shared thus, challenges and possible emergent techniques and ideas can only be appreciated by insiders and need to be linked with outsiders' outlooks which will let the community members see opportunities. The participation purposes in the practice differ in accordance to the people, as some may pursue their connection, and others may find significance within the community, while the rest are in quest of their skills development. According to Wenger et al. (2002), it is impractical to assume equal participation from all community members, and the learning implication would be at a variance too. Each KKK member has differing views on the events, diverse interests, and understandings of their practices.

- *Coordination and Mentoring*

Wenger et al. (2000) describes a coordinator as the “community member who helps the community focus on its domain, maintain relationships, and develop its practices” (p. 80) Each CoP needs the coordinators because of their vital role in making it livelier through linking the members and bringing together their experiences. In a CoP, coordination entails leadership. Wenger and his colleague's connotation of leadership are, to a certain extent, contrary to the traditional meaning. They are relatively referring to the capability to group individuals together to be competent in realising a collective goal (Wenger et al., 2000). To be explicit about the KKK, as a CoP within its main groups previously mentioned (see Sections 1.3.3 and 2.2.2), some members are considered in line with Lave and Wenger's (1991) coordinators and brokers or agents. These related descriptions can be best described here in association with the community. Commonly, individuals fit into over one CoP, and each one has a boundary that separated them from each other. Here,

Wenger (2000) clarified that boundaries “arise from different enterprises; different ways of engaging with one another; different histories, repertoires, ways of communicating, and capabilities” (p. 125). The benefit of such an isolated communication in Wenger's (1998) view lies in the interlocutors’ free ability to be open about their identifiable practices in trying to improve the link on the boundary. In a CoP, Wenger and his associates endorsed that, an effective coordinator must perform different functions in the community, for instance to:

- Identify important uses in their domain.
- Plan and facilitate community events (the most obvious role of the coordinators)
- Informally link community members, crossing boundaries between organizational units and brokering knowledge assets.
- Foster the development of community members.
- Manage the boundary between the community and the formal organization, such as teams and other organizational units.
- Help build the practice-including the knowledge base, lessons learned best practices, tools, and methods, and learning events.
- Assess the health of the community and evaluate its contribution to members and the organization. (Wenger et al., 2002, p. 80)

Interpreting the information from the coordinators implies constant changes in putting their experiences into practice but in harmony with the established objectives and needs. The introduction of a new line of business, strategy, or model permits other members to consider the feasibility of applying the same to their business. Hence, the application would be based on each individual’s state of business affairs. The mentor’s role is subject to many variables; yet, they are customarily anticipated to “offer support to the trainee as

they learn..., provide suggestions and advice about improving practice” (Copland, 2010, p. 466). As explained above, coordinators, mentors, and agents/brokers belong to the KKK CoPs in under study that will be well-informed in Chapter 4.

2.3.2 Situated Learning and Legitimate Peripheral Participation (LPP)

In an overview of Lave and Wenger’s (1991) book, Williams stated that “rather than asking what kind of cognitive processes and conceptual structures are involved, they ask what kind of social engagement provide the proper context for learning to take place” (p. 14). Lave and Wenger (1991) emphasised participants learning through the membership attainment process, which was conceptualized as ‘situated learning’ that associates learning and practices by the participants to make up a CoP. According to Lave (1996), individuals' attempt to interact with others in the inner and outer spaces of the community and on its boundary, in so doing, they undertake roles socially to perform, and, by that, they are experiencing learning . Provided that there is never a clear social divergence in the world, within CoPs, Wenger (2000) pointed out that multimembership remains a simple part of our identities. However, Lave (1996) concluded that identity might adjust in the practice of gaining a community’s membership.

Consistent with Lave and Wenger (1991), learning is certainly not merely a procedure of assimilation or transmission and the settings need an equally considerable explanation as to the transformation. Rather, learning is “what produces practice as an emergent structure” (Wenger, 1998, p. 86). It demands an understanding consistent with Wenger's (2000) social practice, therefore both Lave and Wenger (1991) specified that learning is practice situated.

Also, Varghese, Morgan, Johnston and Johnson (2005) further clarified that learning is situated in co-participation, the attention is on the types of engagement that yield distinctive forms of learning sooner than the types of cognitive procedures that are complicated in the learning. In addition, Smith (2003) stressed that learning includes an engagement process in a CoP, namely, participation. Morita (2004) defined participation as a process, socially situated whereby newcomers slowly move toward participating fully in the activities of a given community by interacting with community members that are more experienced. Furthermore, Morita (2004) specified '*Legitimate peripheral participation* (henceforth LPP) in the practice. LPP has been interpreted by Lave and Wenger (1991) as developing a procedure of membership that includes participants' engagement. According to Toohey (1998), the participants are partaking in changing familiarity degrees through the community's practices. Thus, LPP is an special significant idea that relates to the views of the SLT and the CoP. Davis (2005) explained that legitimacy is of three kinds and levels: marginal, peripheral, and full participation. However, Toohey (1999) explained the connection between participation and learning, particularly situational learning is what confers legitimacy on the CoPs' structure and enfolds meaning to move to participate fully. In addition to the above, through the participation concept in practice, learning can also be described vis-à-vis several layers of participation needed in membership of a CoP.

Despite the contributions of CoP in different facets of life, among its drawbacks, is that it "bypasses the issue of power with respect to who can assign certain roles and identities and thus control trajectories that lead (or not) to full participation" (Haneda, 2006, p. 812). This is because of the possibility of legitimizing some people's marginalized position by simply labelling them. The imperceptible border that has always been formed which is forced on every individual in a practice that is in accord with their roles and positions

seems to make the above assertion realistic. The above assertion applies to the KKK, considering its relation to the larger Hausa socio-cultural hierarchy, which may be a hitch to some members' trajectory to attaining full participation. The critical concern needs into the CoP concept, along with categories of different kinds of learning, were also emphasised by Haneda (2006). In the present study, the researcher settles for this necessity that is considered the sign of self-sufficiency in a CoP that permits every person's perception as possibly different from others. Nonetheless, a CoP is capable of capturing meaning distinctively as understood from the similar experience with the two stonemasons' story Wenger illustrated above.

Similarly, the LPP concept has some limitations too, by neglecting the significance of authority in practice. Roberts (2006) states that whereas meaning might be negotiated in CoP, in the process, recognizing the function of power is vital, such as on the participation level that control can be apparent. A further observation from Roberts (2006) was that Lave and Wenger (1991) forgot to examine the effects of power distribution, although Contu and Willmott (2000; 2003) observed the importance of power in determining participation and peripheral legitimacy. In addition, Davies (2005) believed that Lave and Wenger (1991) as well as Wenger (1998) missed drawing clear distinctions and boundaries between the three legitimacy levels indicated above.

Likewise, Roberts (2006) also indicated that CoPs boundaries are flexible, unceasingly shifting, penetrable in nature, and not easy to identify. Since participation is a negotiation process dependant on constant development, its peculiarities cannot remain overt. Besides this, consistent interpretation of a single participant's status in the community cannot equal other members' views; perhaps their place relating to legitimacy might be floating continuously instead of fixed. Nevertheless, Anderson, Reder, and Simon (1996) stressed

that considering that which is learned is exact to the learning situation, and understanding learning with participation puts emphasis on its constitution as a series of constantly evolving and dynamic relations (Lave & Wenger, 1991). However, LPP is the notion applied to describe the way learners grow into full participation, accepted as fitting in the practice wherein it was done originally in a restricted way, with restricted responsibility, and devoid of unnecessary stress (Davies, 2005) by participation. The above CoP processes do not seem particularly adequate to explain specific aspects of learning focused on developing identities in the KKK, especially the sociocultural aspects discussed in the next section.

2.3.3 Sociocultural Learning Opportunities and Trajectories

The sociocultural view has been described as “not an objective set of arrangements outside of us but is constructed through a process of interaction in groups, communities, and cultures” (Littlejohn & Foss, 2011, p. 43). According to Kohler (2015), culture in every society signifies a background by which individuals communicate about, understand, and make sense of their domains. To fit into the KKK domain, culture, and community, individuals were always on the lookout for the opportunities and trajectories in line with Kohler (2015); to develop the needed resources for participating in common meaning-making; that is to say, learning to take part in the run-through in context-sensitive habits. Therefore, in the sociocultural view, the learners in their practices will be mutually “learning by doing and learning by thinking” (Kramsh, 1993, p. 3). Likewise, traditional learning is learnt by watching (Lave & Wenger, 1991) overt behaviour and visible activities, plainly Goffman's (1959) frontstage of and listening to members within an individual's group. On the other hand, cognitive learning is categorised by complex behaviours, invisible at the surface and usually involves decision making and analysis, plainly Goffman's (1959) back-region, which are more difficult to learn and take time

because of their nature. The above practices can be achieved in the KKK through the following processes of learning.

- *Watching and listening*: Involve how a learner watches everyone around them demonstrates procedures and listens to strategies and practices its execution.
- *Talking and modelling*: Talking as a learning process involves instructing and directing from the core members to the peripheral members. Modelling is presumed to be the “most human behaviour is learnt observationally through modelling: from observing others, one forms an idea of how new behaviours are performed, and on later occasions, this coded information serves as a guide for action” (Bandura, 1977, p. 22).
- *Scaffolding and coaching*: Scaffolding is a supportive instructional interaction through cooperative or collaborative learning, guided instruction and modelling skills, reciprocal and peers tutoring, simplifying problems, and cognitive learning, besides maintaining attention. According to Shabani’s (2016) interpretation of Vygotsky (1978), interaction with others significantly affects a learner’s higher order of thought. Coaching becomes a method of perfecting the practice; it is endless, constantly gaining from the most experienced actors. Continuous changes in the identities to develop and communicate necessitate training and re-training.
- *Originating and fading*: Originating in this study is a concept synonymously inferred to the meaning of the word originate, that is ‘create or initiate’. However, it is not about creating but implicates getting work done accordingly. Somehow a voluntarily self-directed action based on acquired experiences directed at contributing to goal achievement. Finally, fading implies that, as time moves on, the learner becomes more skilled as the masters starts to ‘fade out. Empirical

evidence extracted and explicated from the primary data and through socio-historical developments will illustrate these concepts.

From the above rendition, CoP seems adequate in describing a community's practices in their cultural contexts however, it does not cater for complex language practices such as the ones sampled in this study. It does not seem adequate to explain specific aspects of communicating identity, especially those that have to do with the social and language practices of members in a CoP. The researcher faces the problem of analysing these practices; that is, overlaps in the natural language in the same talk. CoP will offer the researcher a general understanding of the community's behaviour, but a more concrete tool for the description of their data enables gaining insight into their social practices.

2.4 Theoretical Framework 2

This section highlights identity from sociolinguistics perspectives and related works.

2.4.1 Identity-in-practice

Earlier sociolinguistics research has not been concerned with the study of identity, but rather in how to understand and describe patterns of variation in language use, for example, in the works of (Labov, 1970; 1972a & b; Trudgill, 1974; Macaulay, 1977; Kroch, 1978). Slowly, sociolinguists began to understand that social meaning could be expressed through speech variation, for instance, Eckert (1997) indicated significant evidence about features of talkers' social identity. Later, identity continued to be an area of interest in numerous works such as, (Block, 2013; Drager, 2015; García-Pastor, 2019; Gerald, 2015; Hozhabrossadat, 2015; Li & Hua, 2013; Jaspal, 2011; Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2012; Jaspal & Coyleb, 2010; Jaspal & Maya, 2011; Mohamed, 2017; Mohamed, Rachid & Bachir, 2019; Pérez-Milans, 2015; Rozanov, 2016; Sarah, 2018; Sato, 2018;

Shahrebabaki, 2018; Yu Shiang, 2013; Zhang, 2005) and so forth. In addition to the few related identity studies in Africa and Nigeria (see Section 1.5) are the following disparate works. Ezeigbo (2004) found out a more challenging viewpoint in the identity of the female characters shift in the African and African Diaspora literary texts. Therefore, a new literary identity was formed. Anyokwu (2009) studied how Okpe who mapped the black man's fate through the dark history of African slavery to today. He showed the role of memory, oral practice, the challenging nature of the self-concept and argued for the need for respect and consideration from western institutions of learning. Garba (2010) argued that the identity inherent contradictions are likewise its strengths in his exploration of the individual identity concept from a discursive perspective. Kapp and Bangeni (2011) described how the educationally underprivileged participants attempted to preserve their single identity. With time they became self-conscious, proficient, and less differed about identities shift across the English-medium university contexts in South Africa. In Nigeria, Umera-Okeke and Ezekwe (2014) emphasised the preservation of Nigerian cultural identities to promote its national awareness. They addressed ways to assist students to hold onto their identity culturally and learn the English language. Aboh (2017) critically appraised the social constructionist and essentialist views on identity in discursive settings. He argued that the discourse suggested a ground for analysing the two theoretical multivalent identity dynamics and their pragmatism in analysing identity. Mbalisi's (2017) paper discussed the security challenges and social stability by arguing that ethnicity and political identity are directly accountable. All studies cited employed different approaches and divergent standpoints to the present study. The experiences were dissimilar to those of the KKK, but the basics of the experiences were related.

Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner and Cain (2001) specified that the viewpoint of 'identity-in-practice' has prepared space for innovative thoughts of individuals and their

individualities. As a result, unique kinds of studies were claimed in the caption of the ‘practice-based-identity’ study. Mendoza-Denton (2002) explained these studies to be “centrally concerned with the identities that speakers accrue not because they claim or are assigned category membership but rather because identities are accomplished in the joint practice of particular activities” (p. 486). In her other studies, Mendoza-Denton (2008; 2016) further specified that within the approaches of practice-based-identity, identity is understood as a creation of practice; individuals participate in diverse communities and have diverse resources that permit them to name themselves as the community members. LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985), Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992), and Eckert (2000) are the three ground-breaking works in the ‘practice-based-identity’ approaches, and the former is used for this study.

2.4.2 Acts of Identity

The second conceptual framework that inform this study is the Acts of Identity framework by LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985). LePage (1978) in his study of ‘idiolect’ as opposed to ‘sociolect’, came up with a model which attempts to look at an individual’s use of language as ‘acts’. Similar to Gile’s (1979; 1980; 2001) ethnicity makers and accommodation model, LePage’s (1978) model sought to show the individual assuming different identities, which explains the discrepancy in his language. He earlier on used the linear continuum to analyse his linguistic data on samples collected from Belize and St Lucia and found it inadequate. LePage (1981) initially advocated the study of the idiolect, he however admits that: a cornerstone in ‘the acts’ general theory is that utterances in general, are usually inclined by the topic, the audience, and their context. LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) modified the hypothesis. They studied how ethnicity was defined in Belize through language, physical appearance, and nationality, and also

claim that people use different devices linguistically to associate with or distance themselves from particular groups.

They also hypothesized that an individual fashions his patterns of 'linguistic behaviour' for himself, "to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified with or to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished" (LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p. 181). About this study, their work of 'acts of identity' will place the participant's individual and multiple identity practices in the KKK different scenarios. A community member comes to be important as to who selects the group to be identified with, including the resources to be used for the identification to be attained. Each group comprised borders, for instance, the extent of the margin an individual may have in the desired group. In such a situation, an individual becomes significant as one that agrees on the chosen group, and the group symbolic resources used for accomplishing the identification. LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) recognised the individual's constraint in his use of language as he tries to identify or be distinguished. The individual can only behave according to the behavioural patterns of groups he finds desirable to identify with, but freedom to acts of identity is affected by the following riders:

- i. "the extent to which we are able to identify our model groups.
- ii. the extent to which we have sufficient access to them and sufficient analytical ability to work out the rules of their behaviour,
- iii. the strength of various (possibly conflicting) motivations [to] one or another mode and [to] retaining our own sense of our unique identity,
- iv. our ability to modify our behaviours" (p. 182).

In explaining point (i) above, the family was used as the most easily identifiable group for a child who, for example, is learning a language in contrast with the less familiar world. However, even with the nuclear family of two parents and one child, there are four possible discernible groups for the child, each of which may be in a multilingual household which is true in utmost cases-linguistically differentiated: Mummy and me; Daddy and me; Mummy and Daddy; all the three of us. And, the vaguest group he describes for most people is 'they', a group to which it is easy to ascribe bad attributes but perhaps difficult to fit out with specific linguistic characteristics. As shown in the Belizean informants' case, it is no longer easy to identify a pure 'Belizean' due to inter-ethnic marriages between the diverse linguistic groups that come to settle in the former British Honduras colony.

On the second constraint, LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) stated that due to the poor communication networks, there is an easy reach daily interaction within towns and villages but not between them. Apparent differences in the capacity to cope with more than one language system in multilingual situations are more likely to stem from differences of access and differences of motivation rather than differences of ability. In other words, both rural and urban speakers are equally linguistically endowed.

The third and by far most important constraint governing linguistic behaviour is the positive or negative motivation to identify with groups. In this regard, they affirm that the individual has the greatest appearance of choices. Even in highly focused monolingual communities, where options seem to be limited, there are always linguistic changes in progress, and it is possible for the individual to adopt or not to adopt these changes, to practice identification with some, and distance himself from other perceived groups. In such communities, the changes are socially marked, being innovations associated with

particular socio-economic, regional, political, religious or cultural, age, and sex groups. Conversely, in multilingual communities like those of Belize and St Lucia, or among West Indians or other immigrant communities in Britain, motivation governing choice over the adoption of one rule-system or another is far more apparent. Consistent with LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985), as stated beforehand, a speaker may adopt the supposed rules of those groups he perceives to be socially desirable, to the extent that, he wishes to be identified with them. However, motivation is usually mixed because individuals may use different language and or non-linguistic forms for different purposes. The motivation governing choice is reflected in hearing and understanding the phenomenon of hearers refusing to admit that they can understand the language of those they reject and with whom they do not wish to be identified. Relating to Milroy's (1980) study's findings, very often, motivation appears to affect a single linguistic feature to operate in a complex way within a community. Another important finding of her study emphasised vernacular with more standard norms of loyalty to the focused usage of local groups. Also, loyalty can be shown by the use of particular form of the variants needed to describe the usage of the larger community in grosser terms.

The fourth constraint is interpreted in terms of age. Wadsworth (2004) corroborated Piaget's (1932/1965) terms of assimilation and accommodation used to explain the relationship between the new information and fresh linguistic data one learns, besides the already existing models in the mind of the percipient. It is noted that children generally have less difficulty accommodating in building new models for fresh data than adults who need a stronger motivation to construct a whole new system, that is, to learn a new language. These four constraints have an impact on motivating members to join a community and as a result of their interaction with the community and the feedback they received their behaviours are modified which develop their identity.

Primarily, LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) attempted to formulate a general theory of how linguistic performance-what people say is related to their fitness. In other words, the system they have built up motivates what they say and use, to project their view of themselves about the universe in which they feel they live and the social structures it contains. Then again, to the stereotypes and abstractions and the idealized models which both linguistic and non-linguistic have about; languages and language communities. In the bid to show languages related to each other in the different communities, LePage (1987) propounded a more dynamic multidimensional model to reconcile the acts of identity of his subjects. He believes the model will enable a general theory of linguistic evolution to subsume all known facts about various language communities. Also, the problems highlighted in Pidgin and Creole-speaking societies are inherent in most linguistic studies. Still, the acts of identity framework carefully positioned socio-historic exploration in interpreting the disparity in the current study.

LePage and Tabouret-Keller further said, “we have proposed that self-ascription is always accompanied by linguistic symptoms, within the constraints of our three ‘riders’ *projection, focusing and diffusion*”¹² (1985, p. 237). They suggested these riders explain the constraints upon the individual’s ability to create patterns to identify with or dissociate himself from his interlocutor or a social group. This assertion proposed that understanding identity is informally constructed. Within the general theory they propound, language acts are acts of projection; that the inner world of an utterer is completely projected towards inviting others to share, as much as they identify his

¹² Focussing relates to the extent of position of linguistic norms among speaker’s individual linguistic repertoire and others models existing in the community. ‘Acts’ tells of a focussed scheme as more systematic, and less mutable, than a diffuse or unfocussed one. First in Le Page (1978, p. 33) and then into Acts (1985, p. 182).

language as an ideal symbol of the domain, alongside sharing his attitude towards it. They claimed that the processes of projection, focusing, or diffusion are very similar for all kinds of social behaviour, through which we define ourselves and a similar model is needed for the social behaviour of all types, including language. Further outlining the focused and diffuse, or non-focused linguistic systems both, in individuals and groups, with each individual's knowledge of the system of his groups the *'sine qua non'* upon which the shared concept of communal languages or varieties turns. This statement stressed the significance of a shared socio-cultural background in the choice and use of language to project an identity within a community. In other words, to project one-self and focus on a linguistic group, a speaker has to have a common cultural and linguistic background with his interlocutor(s) to enhance effective communication.

Moreover, language has the extra dimension given that we can symbolize all the other concepts we use to define ourselves and our society in a coded way. In language, we are offered by the society we enter, and we offer to others a very overt symbolization of ourselves and our space, not only in the grammar and lexicon and prosodies we can create for various domains of that space but also through the social marking which each occasion of use carries. To be explicit, language is not only the focal centre of our acts of identity; it also consists of metaphors and symbols, and our focus is around them. LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) concluded that words do not only refer to 'things' in the real world'; they are used regarding concepts in the mind of the user; the symbols being means by which we define ourselves and others. They also gave the impression that a speaker expresses himself using language and hopes that his interlocutor shares his world view. If he does, his language behaviour is reinforced, and he identifies with the receiver; if not, he dissociates himself from the receiver.

The acts of identity framework has an impact on motivating members to join a community, and as a result of their interaction with the community and the feedback they received, their behaviours are modified which develop their identity. In addition, it licenses exploring the KKK socio-historically, explains differences in their identities of learning and positioning (Gee, 2000), and the implications of studying their complex identification (Grosse, 2018). Through constructing a new language, meaning negotiation or language replication, and lastly, coming to the convergence each person approves, the community members create several in-group tokens linguistically. For instance, the chance for the KKK members to learn to create a new language for their business negotiations by having perfect one-to-one understanding (e.g., to grasp the language that makes sense to the whole community members). Thus, actual linguistic norms will become shared linguistic features by only those CoP members. Individual's identity in a CoP can be considered by interacting which may make her or his identity from more than a few aspects. Beside this, Shodipe's (2012) study in Nigeria explored the Yoruba-English bilinguals' acts to express their socio-cultural identity through code-switching, code-mixing, and slang (see Section 1.5), it is the most related to the KKK study. Using acts of identity, Shodipe found that language attitudes enabled individual and social identities. Thus, certain parts of this study fall in acts of identity.

The acts of identity work is considered a leaf from mainstream sociolinguistics associated with Labov and his supporters. The authors of acts of identity projected the idea according to Boutet (2021) of *linguistic poly-systemic complexes*¹³ because its orientation differs not merely in approach but in the credence that people partake in the construction of their

¹³ Boutet (2021) explains "the notion of *linguistic poly-systemic complexes*, as a way to consider unpredictable, creative linguistic situations and production to which classic notions of linguistics such as a language, grammaticality or acceptability, cannot be applied".

own identity. In addition, a variant in linguistics is not a process governed by a rule where the people lack the agency, but it is the effect of the person's uniqueness in understanding the community she or he lives in. Therefore, it is significant to conclude this section by highlighting specific relevant sociolinguistics studies. For example, Thornborrow (2004) specified that Labov used language in his street gangs' study in New York to make evident that "the core members of groups shared the most linguistic similarities" (p. 165). Similarly, gender identities were studied by sociolinguists like Coates (2004), Holmes (2013), Mills (2014), to name a few, who used discourse in exemplifying how femaleness and maleness are done and in different ways they presented their gender identities in their verbal discourse. Also, phonetic variations were also analysed by other prominent sociolinguists that were used by different speech communities or CoPs members to achieve their identities for example, Eckert (2000). The above examples imply that there are numerous views of looking into identities.

2.5 Ethnographic Analysis

Ethnography is a primary analytical framework in LE, which according to Brewer (2000), might be better understood when considered as both a methodology and a method. However, Burton and Barlett (2005) and Hammerlsey and Atkinson (2007) well-positioned LE within social research, because LE attempts to grasp macro-level socio-historical limiting factors by analysing individuals' micro-interactions. On the other hand, Hymes, (1972) described the goal of ethnography, as an explanation of the meaning of language in human life by analytically focusing on studying and understanding a culture or cultural group and looking for relationships between phenomena. However, Blommaert (2005) pointed out that "it is a common mix-up that ethnography is an analysis of 'small things', local, one-time occurrences only" (p. 16).

This study's data will be analysed through Yin's (2011) five phases of ethnographic analyses: compiling, disassembling, reassembling, interpreting, and concluding.

1. *Compiling*: This is the primary phase that systematically brings together the qualitative data. This is the crucial phase as the researcher occasionally had diverse opinions on very similar information. In such states, the earlier comments ought not to be removed, but added as fresh comments using a different date for other considerations. On coming about some notions and opinions (i.e., in transcribing the data), they should be documented in the comments and memos. In situations where particular infrequent links were observed, the links within them kept being recorded usually for similarities and dissimilarities between data. Therefore, comments and memos must be regarded as the “informal records of thinking aloud, never as finished research productions” (Richards, 2009, p. 80).
2. *Disassembling*: This phase involves data breakdown to minor, handy sections, and exposes up-and-coming phenomena from insignificant parts of data which remained convenient for coding in the later phase.
3. *Reassembling*: This phase is where a researcher will “become aware of potentially broader patterns in the data” (Yin, 2011, p. 190). This procedure stimulates broader scopes of the patterns and codes from Phase 2 in addition to exploring the fresh awareness of the emergent data based on the research questions.
4. *Interpreting*: The interpreting phase is purposely to “develop a comprehensive interpretation, still encompassing specific data, but whose main themes will become the basis for understanding your entire study” (Yin, 2011, p. 207). Here, all 5 phases of analysis should be reflected. That is to say, it is necessary for the

researcher to recurrently re-examine the earlier phases of data compilation, disassembling, and reassembling but taking a broader outlook of the entire study.

5. *Concluding*: The concluding phase involves “some kind of overarching statement or series of statements that raise the findings of a study to a higher conceptual level or broader set of ideas,” through a: challenge to broadly accepted information or, call for fresh research or, suggestion for new conceptions and construction of substantive, theories, discoveries and propositions (Yin, 2011, pp. 220-227).

The above five phases do not suggest a sequential procedure but somewhat represent the concurrent, reiterative, and recursive process. A researcher is required to move forward and backward, alternating amid collecting data, transcripts, and their emergent analysis.

2.6 Other Vital Concepts

The following sections will describe relevant concepts related to ethnography, language, and languaging practices, and presentation of self in everyday life.

2.6.1 Linguistic Ethnography

Rampton et al. (2004) stated that a group of English scholars in the UK generated LE and established a theorised point around the practice they claim is distinctive, which according to Creese and Blackledge (2010), is inclined by the ethnography of communication, linguistic anthropology, and interactional sociolinguistics. LE is the umbrella term that includes many research traditions in its space of interaction in Rampton’s (2007) view and its situation Heller (2011) explained, is to make the familiar strange’ using the interpretation role as vital. LE is not the “welding together of two different disciplines” (Copland, & Creese, 2015, p. 268), but deem it to be the wider tradition of linguistic anthropology in the US. LE’s concerns of interdisciplinarity, post-modern awareness,

empirical horizon, global and multilingual learning provide its legitimate complementarity.

Creese (2010) pointed out a major LE confrontation as the apprehension between certain traditions in linguistics and ethnography thus, it is important to explain and probe its nature and association with other approaches. Though, Creese (2010) referred to linguistics to “provide an authoritative analysis of language use” and ethnography to “provide linguistics with a close reading of context” while analytically using discourse tools (p. 139). Rampton (2007) clarified that LE centres on ethnographic topic-oriented interaction of a particular profession instead of describing speech communities in full. Despite divergences and tensions, central in LE, Copland and Creese (2015) maintained that LE observes how individuals use language and what this can tell us regarding wider structures, ideologies, and social constraints. The outcome on language practices in the KKK and the magnitude of the immersion through the ethnographic research has been recognized as a possible cause of tension that can be managed in this study.

Regarding the LE challenges and boundaries, Creese (2010) further explained that the linguistics and ethnography relationship presents some inconsistencies and challenges in the issue of methodology and epistemology associated with the language selected for the analysis to work for the two fields. Furthermore, Tusting and Maybin (2007) emphasised that the challenge of variances between the participants’ outlooks and the researcher’s awareness of these outlooks is also expressed by LE. The researcher must be capable of analysing the participants’ views by negotiating their tonal indicators so that the reality is represented. Ethnographers exploring their community generally encounter challenges of the choice of a position otherwise, opt for a standpoint. Tusting and Maybin (2007) claimed that LE sets its centre away from critical locus and political opinions and so

involves a more liberal and gentler character which may be regarded as an LE strength as it affords a broad space for responding to a range of questions and decreases the possibility of bias which may be formed. Also, it can be regarded as a weakness since it lacks the clear features of a position politically, and so the responses to questions about social structures and activities can be projected rather than studied. The researcher studying her community coped with a similar challenge, as to shape the study interests opposing the political position expressed by many local members e.g., their view that language practices have a trivial impact on developing their identity. This challenge covers the wider society's insight linked with egotism, naivety, and shared vision. Thus, the researcher fixed this ethnography on the epistemological variety linking the dual fields' views, established on the micro and macro social-structural levels.

This section also considered some studies related to LE. EELC¹⁴ looked at how LE can be used to capture cultural, linguistic, gendered, and other diversity in present day's global cultures. Bucholtz (2017) and Milani (2017) stated that EELC members' challenge, was to expand research methods not only to lift different voices but to ease the communication outcomes and their relevance to the daily activities of the research participants. In Africa and especially Nigeria, LE seems a not too familiar area based on the negligible number of research studies using the approach (see Section 2.2.1)

Nonetheless, the following LE and ethnography studies are relevant to this study in one way or another. Sealey (2007) reviewed some theoretical and methodological positions in the LE literature by exploring how the ethnographic method contributes towards

¹⁴ Explorations in ethnography, language and communication conference (EELC) 2016. focused particularly on diversities, and the articulated aim to look at how LE can be used to capture cultural, linguistic, gendered and other diversity in present day's global cultures. [https://sh.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1193127>FULLTEXT01](https://sh.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1193127/FULLTEXT01)

categorising speakers as members of different social groups; identifying language changes; accounting for contextualisation and results. This paper concluded that ethnography appropriates to illuminate certain aspects of the concerns raised above as preferable to other methods. Chilton (2012) examined the Literacy and Numeracy practitioners' conversational practices of two-Family Language. The experts together taught a family literacy program through LE and positioning analysis. The study revealed how local and dominant discourses were raised, rephrased, and fixed within the practitioners' account that becomes established by their frequent reference from sharing and co-constructing insignificant stories, they make claims about their identities. Bezemer (2015) reflected on his LE study conducted with surgeons. With a twofold focus, the study demonstrated how LE was able to contribute to professional and public health care debates as well as explore how the LE partnership has shaped the study. In his study, Huang (2016) presented an LE case study in Birmingham guided by Bakhtin's heteroglossia theory. The study investigated multilingual practices of adult participants within the Chinese complementary School (CCS). Huang's focus was on the shifting formations of language ideology, professional teachers' identity, and the cultural identity of Chineseness. The study reported the globalisation impact on these shifting relationships amongst English and Chinese varieties in the Chinese diaspora and an ideological ecology.

Another study was contributed by Jonson (2018), who studied the white students' ways of speaking about the problems of immigrant youths without appearing biased at a secondary school in Stockholm through LE. The study examined how words such as 'mix', 'new influences', and 'diversity' might function as language resources for creating anti-racist reliability. It also enquires what all the practises inform about utterances in an anti-racist discussion. Nonetheless, in Africa, Ngalande (2015) departed from the

common practice of oral narration and proverbs documentation to meaning-related linguistic and ethnographic analyses in his Zambian study. Eight hundred Nsenga proverbs with ethnographic data were collected via qualitative methods. The analysis showed how the Nsenga people performed proverbs and their societal characteristics besides distinctive linguistic features. The study contributed another approach to analyse proverbs that deal with linguistic, pragmatic, and culturally specific meanings. Moreover, Tatah (2015) used LE through the positioning lens to study how some Cameroon children (10-16 years) in South Africa use their multilingual repertoires to construct and negotiate identities. Tatah studied the acts of the identity of two individuals who position themselves and are differently positioned within evolving discourses of inclusion and exclusion. The Cameroon context becomes entangled with local economies of meaning and their language practices and choices are politically and socially rooted in their migration histories. These are implicated in concerns of social difference, power, and social inequality entangled in levels of physical, emotional, and spatial transition that might contribute to immigrant youngsters' ability to construct strong identities as learners and valued social beings in the KKK.

2.6.2 Ethnography

LE positions this research in an ethnography methodology, that is interpretive and broadly pooled in many disciplines. The approach here is consistent with Hymes (1962), Johnstone (2000), and Heller (2008) ethnographic research technique. Erickson (1990) stated that ethnography is held with how meanings are created by individuals and how they might be construed in constructing differences. On the other hand, Pole and Morrisson (2003) considered ethnography as a social research centred approach on the actual practice within a separate setting, "in which the objective is to collect data which will convey the subjective reality of the lived experience of those who inhabit that location"

(p. 16). This is also in line with Blommaert's (2006) view of ethnography as a technique of finding definite kinds of data, and in the area of language, considered a methodology, chains of experiences, and actualities that can make available facts around the context. It presents chances to make 'strong' vivid analyses and understandings of cultures free of forced external ideas in line with Robson (2002) and Denscombe (2017). Furthermore, the ethnography's characteristics of rigorous, holistic, and lasting exploration of individuals' attitudes in their normal social setting and structures, guiding their socialisation acts and producing understanding opined by Watson-Gegeo (2016), best direct this study. Besides this, researchers can now undertake ethnography in their social environment and Kano is the researcher's environment. Unlike the traditional approach that is persistent on western look to the far east, Dewan (2018) stated that "even if we are the other, the 'another' or the 'native'. We are still 'another' because there are many façades of ourselves that connect us to the people and other façades that highlight our differences" (pp. 185-203). With that said, Walford (2009) once pointed out that ethnography lacked a well-defined, standard meaning. However, Blommaert and Dong (2010) argued for the correction of this view by observing the notable insight into ethnography as purely a data collection method for certain data types, which Heigham and Sakui (2009) claimed made certain legitimacy that supports providing a precise representation of a given culture.

Familiarity concerns are the ethnographic apprehensions that involve the tension created once explanations are required to develop and provide reflective understandings of social life depending on the researcher's observations and interpretations written in narratives. This may limit audience-observer bias and cause difficulty to check the trustworthiness of the conclusion, and hence, may lack transferability. Thus, ethnographers have to explore and report vividly and interpret different opinions and various 'voices to improve

the nature of the interactions from friendly to a more cooperative kind. Eisenhart (2001) underlines that there were many recorded outlooks and approaches that may signify the ethnographer's voice. Undergoing participant observation equally requires dealing with the context suggested by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) in an 'anthropologically strange' way to clarify the norms that were understood for granted. The researcher became mindful of and sensitive to the impact on the KKK social settings, along with the activities and responses and these actions demand flexibility for the social actors to facilitate their acceptance.

In addition, some African related studies in ethnography include Amenorvi and Grumah (2020) in 'Money talks', which extracted the concealed messages communicated on Ghana's currency through the ethnography of communication and multi-modality. Colour, shape, symbols, buildings, cash crops, minerals, heroes, heroines, and monuments were found to be the currencies modes of communication sending messages of Ghana's culture, history, economy, resources, and communicating valuable information. Adu-Gyamfi et al. (2020) ethnographically studied the rites, practices, contributions, and challenges of Muslim traditional healing in the Aboabo community. Their continued presence is partially linked to the people's standard of living and their expertise is restricted to their archaic traditions, certain Islamic principles, and related moot narrations. The authors realized that the idea of modernising Ghana's Muslim traditional healing specified in some discourses is still peripheral. Shittu (2018) used the post-colonial theoretic views and ethnography of communication to examine and discuss the ethnographic qualities of two migrants' poetry collections to create their scopes as autobiographies and highlight their quality as a blend of the identity and society wherein the self-narration was made.

The above-stated studies have some similarities or dissimilarities with this present study, and each study will be explicated with the data in the subsequent analysis and interpretation chapters. From the literature thus far, it is not inaccurate to state that this is the first inclusive CoP, identity, LE, and ethnographic study in the KKK, as explained in section 1.5. Moreover, some key participants testified in the interviews (P5, February 9, 2017; P9, January 29, 2019) that this is their first in-depth research experience in the KKK. The language concept is the subsequent line of discussion.

2.6.3 Language

“If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to a man in his language that goes to the heart” (Nelson Mandela Quotes).¹⁵

Language has been situated socially across space and time. Consistent with Lave and Wenger (1991), language is very significant in classifying ways of knowledge transmission and is a vital link to social learning practices. The new members in the learning process will be exposed to the common use of language in their surroundings. Concerning the three CoP dimensions, the members learn through the CoP's experiences related to their processes of developing identities. In this study, language required a local situated assessment through LE with its feature of critical awareness, in both macro and micro-social settings with 'socio' at the lead. The related views of language are highlighted below.

- *Language as social practice*: Language is concurrently shaped given that LE has turned the interpretation of language into a “social-historical formation developed in particular cultural contexts of time and space” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 15). In

¹⁵Nelson Mandela (1918-2013) Quotes. Retrieved from http://www.brainyquotes.com/quotes/nelson_mandela_121685 on 1/7/2019.

interactions at a micro-level, meaning emerges and is mutual to those participating in its formation on a time-to-time basis. Researchers are required to get involved in interpreting 'who said what, in 'what context', for 'what reason', and 'how' when exploring language. This norm needs a cautious time-to-time investigation towards understanding the 'here and now' of making meaning and considering the historical (chronological) and spatial procedures of making meaning, such as that conveyed in Lave and Wenger's (1991) notion of a shared repertoire, where a language user appropriates language at a definite time and space with a continuous chain to be considered as some established conditions. Thus, the study needs to explore the historical conditions that make individuals communicate in a particular way(s) or prevent them from doing so.

- *Language is a social construct*: When related to the society's macro structures instead of the individuals' level, Blommaert (2005) stated that structural inequality is a characteristic of the world system which counts for language resources. Some languages, i.e., are ascribed greater importance than other languages in this global society, so there is a need to understand the broader societal language views besides appreciating how language users individually build those views in their practices.
- *Language is a resource*: Repertoires possessed by language users in a community encompassing different variety sets as their communication material (Blommaert, 2005). As a CoP characteristic, the linguistic or non-linguistic resources (repertoires) that members can develop over time, possibly, will both improve and confine whatever they will be able to do during interaction. For instance, users of a language who cannot properly perform in certain domains linguistically the way they are projected (e.g., on a job interview). This points out that in failing to access the specific resource linguistically, their presentation is unlikely to be assessed

positively. So, the need to observe how these ‘language resources’ are spread between individuals and in certain communities.

- *Language as a communication tool*: Many scholars viewed language and communication as ‘holistic communication situations. Mey (2001) argued that in society, communication happens mainly by way of language; those users of language as a community of human beings communicate and use language on the society premises. Then, at the same time, society restrains its access to communicative and linguistic means. From the context of this study, language (tool) forms a greater part of the communication (practices) aimed at providing better development for the the KKK.
- *Language as an identity marker*: Identities are consciously displayed and disclosed through language as well as other practices, socially. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) highlight that “identity is constructed in discourse, is performed, constructed, enacted or produced, moment-to-moment in everyday conversations” (p. 49) Through the analysis of conversations, identity will be able to be self-reflected. Excerpts will be presented in Chapter 5 to examine the shared linguistic makers indexing the KKK members.

2.6.3.1 Linguaging Practices

The social action of employing language in accomplishing shared and interactional goals is referred to as languaging. Individuals contextually practice the language through such ‘languaging concepts (code-switching, mixing, crossing, and so on) in their interactions, mostly for identification purposes. As such, this study is keeping with Rampton’s (1995). The idea that ‘code-switching’ and ‘crossing’ phenomena remain ‘translanguaging’ in

this new era. According to Garcia (2009), “Translanguaging is the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features on various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, to maximize the communicative potential” (p. 140) in conveying meaning, identities, relationships, and values. It might not be surprising to say that translanguaging has been existing outside the mainstream education system, even as evidenced in the variety of linguistic resources in this study. The multilingual treats the diverse repertoire of their languages stated by Canagarajah (2011) as “an integrated system” through their shifting ability between languages (p. 401). Many authors such as Blackledge and Creese (2014), Garcia and Leiva (2014) and Wei (2011) have conceptualized multilingual speakers’ flexibility using linguistic resources as ‘translanguaging’. By replacing the code-switching concept with the translanguaging concept in some part of this study, the researcher seeks to appreciate the ways multilingual in the KKK draws on their socially created linguistic resources across the bounded systems. They include Hausa, English, and other languages, not as-synthesized practices, but from their communication repertoires. Translanguaging practices cannot be understood in only linguistic standings but need to be perceived with regard to how the multilingual individuals use their semiotic, complex repertoires “to act, to know and to be” (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p. 137).

2.6.4 Presentation of Self in Everyday Life

Goffman (1959) proposed how to study social life from a sociological viewpoint describing it as a ‘theatrical performance’ and the doctrines as ‘dramaturgical’. The main link to this study is how he pulls his material from a variety of occupations, including Goffman’s (1971) ‘the junk businesses, and to describe the presentation of self to others by people in an ordinary work situation in the Shetland Islands. His dramaturgical perspective (‘frontstage and backstage’) functioned as a convenient heuristic process to interpret the practices in the KKK. My reaction to Goffman’s (1989) idea of

'performance' and its involvements when administered to the apprentices' daily practice provided a systematic structure and motivating parts of my exploration through seeing an apprentice as a performer with spectators and roles. They occupied the roles of novices and workers, performing to superiors and peers' onlookers. In their study, Yen-ning (2014) and Sarangi and Roberts (1999) embraced Goffman's 'frontstage and backstage' to describe workplace study on professional-client experience and communication amid and through professional domains and added workers. The KKK research explored the 'frontstage' (unrestricted face context) and the 'backstage' (restricted context) where apt. Goffman's notions of 'regions' inspired this study and acquainted the reader with the research context (frontstage), which according to LeCompte and Goetz (1982) formed the basis of some of my analysis and my research positioning. The researcher also took on Goffman's (1989) process of skilfully studying individuals' activities and built an analysis on clearly observable features of learners' practices in character.

2.6.4.1 Performatives and Negotiated Identities

A view related to Goffman's dramaturgical approach discussed above is Butler's (1998) performativity act theory. This theory is formed around the idea that core identity does not exist. Individuals need to understand that identity is 'an historical idea' rather than biologically determined. Besides this, in the 'mundane', an act can be described as carrying out or performing a task, where by in a theatrical context could be played in an entertaining and interesting way. Nonetheless, performativity as the reduplication of cultural norms and ritual as well as the body habitus wherein social and structural conceptions of meaning are inseparable is a rethink.

On the other hand, Ting-Toomey (2015) defined identity negotiation as a process of transactional interaction in which people in an intercultural context attempt to define, challenge, assert, support, and modify their personal and some others' desirable self-

images. In other words, it is a shared communication activity whereby individuals create desirable personal identity in the interaction and in any case, attempt to support or challenge the others' identities. This can be achieved by being mindful and/or mindless during the interaction and in compliance with the following criteria of identity negotiation process:

- Managing mutual identity meanings and effectively achieve desirable identity goals
- Communication competence (goals achievement through proper interaction):
 - Appropriate
 - Effective

A review of these other vital related theories would provide reinforcement to the other major frameworks in this study in analysing and interpreting the data. The performative and negotiated identities concepts and application are relevant to this KKK study because of its bilingual and multilingual composition and practices with the hope of deriving some similarities and/or differences in their identity acts.

2.7 A Synthesis of the Frameworks

Socially inclined applications generally embrace information on the source set carried in complex social situations that may perhaps embrace interaction between participants. In this chapter, the researcher considered two key theoretical frameworks complemented with other related viz: CoP alongside the situated learning perspectives and 'acts of identity'. Specifically, the two frameworks were used with the view to ascertain their adequacy to explore and describe how identities are developed and communicated in a business community. The researcher observed that the CoP concept had been a convenient framework and analytical tool in both micro and macro levels interactions and practices, as it attempts to understand the complexities in the relationships established between persons in this research environment. It has increased the researcher's understanding of

peculiarities that empowered discussing aspects that form a community's culture, i.e., their language, behaviours, norms, beliefs, values, and so forth. It also helped in recognizing the CoPs through its three characteristics; domain, community, and practice, along with the three CoP criteria; mutual engagement, joint enterprising, and shared repertoires. The characteristics and criteria are significant to understanding both common and real practices. Finally, the researcher clarifies reasons for using the CoP framework to familiarize the reader with its fit to the KKK practices.

Regarding the possibility to create and appreciate the trajectory of developing identities, examining the perspectives of insiders and outsiders' communication channels allowed the recognition of how the community members see possibilities through the three modes of belonging (engagement, imagination, and alignment) with coordinators, mentors and broker or agents as aids. Also, situated learning and legitimate peripheral participation (LPP) are based in examining the awareness degrees through a procedure thus, reaffirming that learning is somewhat essentially a social process than just psychological. These concepts permitted the researcher to explain how the practice became a location where people participate in the jointly creative dynamic and historical, as well as the unique and contextual practice of negotiation of meaning positively. The researcher further realized that an individual's engagement in a CoP united the two; that learning-by-practice supported both traditional and cognitive learning. The sociocultural consideration differently addressed the link between identity and learning as multiple identities of learning and position could be found in the normal lives of the individuals.

The acts of identity framework helped in explaining the participant's attitudes, why they vary their language use to either accommodate the others' language or not, and how they project themselves to others as they try to identify with their interlocutors. Also, acts of

identity outline appeared reasonable and realistic as the acts appeal to the consistent ideas and daily concerns regarding the causes and consequences of different identity practices. Likewise, the communication of identity was commonly understood through different acts of identity along with other studies reviewed to not only establish an aspect that revealed an individual's motivation into dissimilar established settings but also into the proper practices embedded therein. The researcher chose insights from all the works cited to suggest a 'heterogeneous' framework of analysing the data collected, hoping that this will lessen the problem of ignoring or overstating any aspect about their real lived practices and help in uncovering clear and hidden practices.

The language and languaging practices are given a more critical look related to the effects of social practices rather than communicative acts in this study. For instance, whereas the standpoint of code-switching centres on linguistic practice, translanguaging pays attention to the social practice by relating contexts socio-historically and concentrating on the processes of making meaning consistent with this study's perspectives. Goffman's (1959) 'presentation of self in everyday life' positions the community's practices. His concept of 'frontstage' - 'backstage or region' was used to contextualize and apply to re-characterise the community's encounters with their participants (i.e., the back-region considered with a more relaxed performance). This provides the LE empirical horizon in this thesis. Besides, depicting learners' apparent activities and 'performance in character' was a focal concern to making my interpretations clearer. These added approaches and matching ideas are fixed in this research to diversify in the ways used to accomplish joint and interaction goals pointing to the identities in this community under research.

The interdisciplinarity in this study showed interrelatedness in the sense that all the areas aimed to achieve one goal: that is, to investigate and explain ways to develop and

communicate identities in the KKK from diverse but associated perspectives. According to Craig (1999), interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary borrowing are convenient practices in themselves and must be encouraged, to ease knowledge disintegration amongst disciplines and communication practices. The frameworks differ in their respective methodologies, degrees, and emphasis on the specific aspects they set out to study, but each has something to contribute to the study since:

1. The study itself concerns a community and its culture; hence, it is based on a holistic approach that is, looking at their daily routine practices from different but interrelated perspectives, for example; the CoP, sociolinguistic, sociological, socio-psychological, sociocultural, socio-historical, and educational views, etc.
2. The study is also looking at the social phenomena (for instance, how to develop and communicate identity), which is common with all the frameworks.
3. The belief is that, for a meaningful and real study of the stated phenomena, no one single approach can describe them adequately or satisfactorily.

This model was proposed believing that to understand the social phenomena under study; the KKK shared cultural practices, their stereotypes about these practices, and their preference for certain practices over others, it is important to study them from diverse standpoints. Equally, for an effective study on how the participants communicate their identity along with the social structure in society, especially in a multilingual community like the KKK, and Nigeria at large, the social approach provides a better tool for such a study. All can best be achieved according to Creese, Takhi, and Blackledge (2015), through the heterogeneous norm in LE. Lastly, this study attempts to contribute to this research area by providing the source for perceiving identities as ongoing and socially constructed.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the selected areas to represent the theories and the key philosophers that influenced their emergence. However, the several gaps identified in this under-researched context suggest turning away from the traditional focus on a single area to a heterogeneous focus in exploring the community's practices. The heterogeneous nature of this study is summarised in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1 Heterogeneous Focus of this Study

Research Source	Category	Area of Interest
Lave & Wenger (1991)	Community of Practice	Learning-in-Practice
Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985)	'Acts of Identity'	Identity-Based-Practices
Cen Williams (1994) & Olivia Garcia (2009) Ramptom (1995)	Languaging Practices	Translanguaging
Goffman (1971)	Presentation of Self	Frontstage/Backstage
BAAL/LEF (1980)	Linguistic Ethnography	Interdisciplinarity
Hammersley & Atkinson (2007)	Ethnography	Cultural Practices
Butler (1998) & Ting-Toomey (2015)	Formatives and Negotiated Identities	Bilingual /Multilingual practices

Source: Compiled by the Researcher

Table 2.1 above depicts the adopted approach in this study which is a synthesis of relevant bits from each of the outlooks to the data collected. Accordingly, the researcher is in harmony with Frank and Uy (2004) and Craig (1999), who suggested the need for a more general framework that could be used to describe as much data as possible depending on the aims of the study. The related works cited have in one way or the other some bearing to the present studies on how to develop and communicate identities through the above outlooks in the KKK, which could not have been meaningful without collaborating with them.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the methodology used in the study. Specifically, it discusses the research design, participants, research context, data, data gathering procedure and ethical issues. The chapter provides a detailed discussion of the data collection methods and data analysis procedures that shaped and informed this study. Finally, it also explicates the research trustworthiness and researchers' positioning.

3.2 Research Design

The study adapts a qualitative methodology and this section will explain the methodology carried out in this study. The qualitative research in this study attempts to find out and describe how participants develop and communicate their identities by employing methods that enable the researcher to observe the community and have an immediate sense of whatever goes on in the community. Qualitative research is a situated activity that, "locates the observer in the world" comprising a "set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible" and a real-life approach to the world which uses "conversations, interviews, field notes, memos, recording, and photographs for inquiry" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3). The qualitative approach presents a better fitting and an advantage for the researcher's interest in the KKK, daily practices because it covers circumstances contextually: the environmental, institutional, and social situations wherein individuals' lives occur (Yin, 2011). Again, it provided the researcher with the natural locations for exploration and investigation for 20 months.

3.2.1 Linguistic ethnography (LE)

The 'site' where LE emerges (see Section 2.6.1), is an experimental and open one and Blommaert (2007) points out that "such experiments are rare and valuable" (p. 144). Therefore, the KKK, is an apt site for this kind of study, for which Creese, Takhi, and Blackledge (2015) maintain that it blends elements that form a heterogeneous tenet. LE attempts to lift voices by examining language, using culture to offer evidence that is mutually influential through analysing situated interaction. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) recognise that within the power relations of the local and the global, identities are embedded in studying the participants' positions and their relationships within the context. Thus, it is necessary to have an in-depth observation of the environments. Consistent with Copland and Creese (2015), LE observes how individuals use language and what it can inform us about broader ideologies, structures, and social constraints. Here, the researcher's interest was not simply in all that the participants did but also in anything that was said in their communicative acts with other people. LE proposes its fit for this study within the transactional space it releases up where language is the means of a link. Considering LE's reflexivity, the researcher resolved to make clear her concern by implementing it in the KKK's study where the interaction and the apprehension amid linguistics and ethnography are vital and can be handled.

3.2.2 Ethnography

In light of Agar's (2006) abductive (lead away), iterative (to repeat), and recursive (run back) logic core to ethnography, this study follows these four ethnographic principles and practices following Hammersley and Atkinson (2007).

1. The research occurs in the field where individual's accounts and activities are studied in normal contexts, instead of under the settings the researcher created (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). This study fieldwork was based on observing participants in their

contexts and interaction with community members even beyond their business environments 'backstage arenas' (Ball, 1990, p. 162).

2. Various sources are used to collect the data; however, the focal ones are usually informal conversations and participant observation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The researcher is generally involved in overt or covert participation in individuals' daily lives for a prolonged period in the community. The researcher watches anything that happens, listens to whatever is being said, and sometimes asks questions through focus groups, ethnographic interviews, talks, and gathers artefacts. Collecting any kind of accessible data, throws light about the questions that are the emergent centre of the search.
3. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) proposed slightly unstructured two perceptions of data collecting on the whole. Initially, it is not implicating to follow through with a thorough and fixed research design stated at the beginning. Secondly, the classifications used to interpret whatever the individuals do or say are not constructed into the data collecting process but are generated farther than the data analysis process. Therefore, at the start of this research the researcher in line with Ball (1990) partook in, like a novice researcher, and dove into the unfamiliar, experiencing risk, discomfort and uncertainty through the approach. Frank and Uy (2004) suggested that the fieldwork ought, to begin with slightly above familiarising questions and sustained with anxiety while waiting for an increase of other focused questions evolving by collecting and analysing data.
4. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), normally, perhaps in some cases a usually reasonably small scale or a group of people or a specific setting are taken into consideration to simplify in-depth research. This study focuses on a particular traditional business settings and its practices.

An additional ethnographic principle consistent with Miller, Wilson, and Hickson (2004) is the apprehension of the potential to develop an inside standpoint intended for interpreting the experiences of the community members. The above principles and practices are controlled by culturally oriented theories like CoP and questions around the social life in this study setting. Therefore, this ethnography will present an objective and distanced analysis of daily events of the social domain via insider explanations in line with Pole and Marrison (2003). The two terms commonly used, every day and thick descriptions, indicate that this ethnography provides interpretations and descriptions of people's acts in a setting such as the KKK. In other words, this ethnography started from the contextual evidence by observing and gathering first-hand accessible data linked with the key research questions to understand the acts connecting the researcher to regular participation in individuals' lives for a protracted time, corresponding to Aubrey, David, Godfrey, and Thompson (2000). Ethnography is therefore appropriate for this study since lacking the context to place the acts and interactions can be challenging to developing and communicating identity.

3.2.3 Reflexivity

Demands for reflexivity and subjectivity encourage related researchers to observe how data creation may be motivated by the individual, practical, or other issues. Miller (2003) states that reflexivity links the ethnographic exploration and the final analysis of the ethnographic version. Besides this, Denscombe (2017) identified the need to move beyond plain reflection and make it open to readers with an awareness of the potential effect of the researcher's identity on depicting social domains. Given that reflexivity needs "critical self-reflection of the ways wherein researchers' social background, assumptions, positioning, and behaviour impact on the research process" (Finlay &

Gough, 2003, p. 9). Thus, Russell and Kelly (2002) suggested that a qualitative researcher needs reflexivity as a necessary key 'instrument' of collecting and analysing data. Given that research is a process, not a product, England (1994) viewed reflexivity as self-critical introspection and self-conscious examination of the self and not being subjective by individual opinions and feelings. Similarly, reflexivity is the ethnographic researcher's cultural approach and attitude and in contrast to "certain practices, derived from the latter, which achieve rigour in the fieldwork process" (Nilan, 2002, p. 369).

In view of the above, the researcher decided to become responsive by further perceiving in line with Watt (2007), what permitted her and what could obstruct her observing. Consistent with Luttrell's (2010) assertion that reflexivity implies enquiring the yet pre-conceived classification of the researched, the researcher made the decision-making and research process perceptible at all levels. The purpose is to represent the KKK domain reality and describe its social context reflexively by being open to the personal influence on the exploration. By unavoidably taking along the researcher's subjectivities and biographies to each stage in the research it impacts the questions asked and the responses to the conundrums. Moreover, the researcher observed that subjectivity ought not to be understood as a luckless disturbance; rather, in Luttrell's (2010) view, as a component in social interactions that frame the study purpose. Nevertheless, Tusting and Maybin (2007) contended that in an ethnographic study, the researcher is as well an observer and a participant and thus turns out to be a member of the ongoing research social context, becomes part of the social interpretive act and the generated study therefore, there is an exposure of the vulnerability to embrace an objective place. A restraint related to ethnography is where the researcher's profound dynamic participation in the social practice raises insinuations and inspires the language practices. From this time, the researcher embraced an objective state to avoid interpretation manipulation of the KKK

language practices. Some participants noticed the recording device, some did not notice it; thus, facilitating the creation of stimulating data that did not have a negative influence on the data clarification. About the interviews, issues were confronted and there were attempts to make realistic signs by jointly negotiating the analytical views. To highlight reflective positions better, the researcher considered three aspects, viz.: the experiences before arriving the field; relationship with participants and my position (see Section 3.6.2).

3.2.4 Research Questions

This section explains the steps of selection, modification, and maintaining the questions in this study. Mackay and Gass (2005) clarify that, with other methods, researchers seldom get a flexible opportunity; research questions in this study can be dynamic, bound by constant review, and advanced as the research remains to discover new facts. Additionally, references on using “critical interpretative approaches to research on language-in-...practice” necessitates the researcher to “adopt a reflexive stance at each stage of the research process” (Martin-Jones, 2016, p. 192). This study began with forming tentative research questions. In realistic interpretative studies, forming research questions at the initial level of the study sketch may not be maintained as the last conclusion. Robson (2002) stated that “it is highly likely that ... research questions will be initially underdeveloped and tentative” (p. 165) at the inception of the enquiry as well as being refined and altered in the study procedure. However, the researcher speculated where the original research questions could lead the study; and considering the standing of fixed primary questions influence on the study from the start, Erickson (1986) emphasised that ethnography should not be reflected as an exploration method led by a particular approach. Therefore, adapting and choosing research questions in this study include vital intuitive, ambiguous, and uncertain procedures that can inspire it in various

ways. The first research questions focused on studying the purposes of email communication in the KKK context with the members as potential participants. After phase 1 data collection, the researcher gained a better understanding of the community's practices, then, the series in the original research questions became apparent.

With self-reflexivity, the research method instruments were checked over and over to make certain they are honed for the complexities involved in capturing diverse thick descriptions and therefore refocusing and rewriting the research questions into primarily centring on a broader outlook of some key research spaces. At this stage, the researcher became well-informed that redirecting the research from the framework's perspectives was necessary. The researcher promoted enquiring about the KKK practices, aiming to educate members on their identity. Talks with my supervisor and more search for the right design for my study underlines LE, where peculiarities and selectiveness are supported and standardized (see Section 2.6.1). Here, the researcher embraced one of the seven ethnography norms, which is "worries about idealisation, openness to data and sensitising concepts" (Rampton, Maybin, & Roberts, 2015, pp. 15-16). Despite sensitising the relevant concepts in this research context, 'openness to data' got identity development and communication as added major themes. Thus, dynamic awareness of the nature of the situated research foci and understanding that in the exploration, certain questions might appear less significant to the participants while further data-driven themes might emerge and make reasonableness in the same context as essential. This awareness awakened the researcher that the theme of identity development and communication should not be 'an issue' to deliberate with the participants but embedded as part of the study concentration which ought to be examined; as well as, believing that the removed purpose of email communication, would be discussed within the lens of the CoP data. Besides this, intensive rereading provided updated views and concepts which supports

the researcher in expressing new awareness and levels of thinking purposely for further data analysis. The following questions were redrafted after closing the data collection and almost through the data analysis, covering the research findings in the community to shield the unexpected findings.

1. How do participants perform their daily routine practices to develop identities in the Kano Kantin Kwari business community?
2. In what ways do the participants communicate their developed identities in the Kano Kantin Kwari business community?

Therefore, the complex concepts and stimuli evidenced and collected within the KKK context together with the whole phenomena to be served under (i.e., the interdisciplinary concepts and structural context) are briefly covered.

3.2.5 Research Context

Crystal (1987) traditionally defined a context as a 'place' wherein communicative practices occur. 'Place' has been used later as a technical term which is not only the linguistic, physical, psychological, and socio-cultural; but others may include situational, sociological, and material contexts. Nuan (1993) identified two types of contexts: the linguistics-which refers to the language that surrounds or go with the interaction, and non-linguistics-which include the types of interaction event that is taking place at a particular time and other things like the topic, the setting, physical situation, the relationship, and the background knowledge and assumption underlying the identity practice. Each study has its unique contextual variables, some studies variables contextually encase a much larger spectrum which may include the time, season, strategies, partners in business, policies, weather, and location. The KKK context is a business domain, which in addition to the above contextual variables; location, asset, customer, order of purchase, etc., are

included. Also, exposed in this business context are macro-economic issues like trade policies, financial markets status and trends, environmental regulation, competition, and variability that includes various conditions.

The fourth ethnographic principle and practice specified in Section: 3.2.3 emphasised attention on “a group of people or a particular setting” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 3). Instead of the confined spatio-temporal location described above, Rampton, Maybin and Roberts (2015) indicated that context is now more diversified. Blommaert (2010) considered context as interactively practised, dynamic and inherent to interaction through space and time. This dynamic view in ethnography involves the researchers’ observation and interpretation of the KKK context as a multimodal compound social setting where the political, economic and historical drives trajectory through a CoP concept; forms, informs, and reflected the members’ regular practices. Moreover, in line with LE, the KKK must be located relating to the multi-layered structures of the society and circumstances of super-diversity and globalization. In this regard, the research context in this study is not merely the KKK but supported by the Kano community in Kano’s super-diverse city and under the globalisation influence and late modernity. Moreover, an ethnographer must be mindful of the irregularities of the contexts as “the contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed” (Rampton, Maybin, & Roberts, 2015, p. 18). The researcher needed to clear the look of the goings-on to a wide understanding of the local meaning constructions.

3.2.5.1 Multisite and Boundaries

According to Eisenhart (2001), ethnography must respond to the demand of following peoples’ lines of cultural meanings and symbolic resources in ‘trans local’ ways. In agreement with Marcus’s (1995) view on cultural practices and symbols across contexts

and times to illuminate contrasts, connections, and parallels by which the people appreciate their social domain and their position in it, the study largely embraces a multi-sited approach. The socio-historical facts on the research location significant support agencies mentioned in Chapter 1 reflects “an ecological, resource view of indigenous, immigrant, ethnic, and foreign languages as living and evolving in relation to each other and their environment...” (Hornberger, 2007, p. 189). Defining this research context and its boundaries was for some time an unresolved issue. It was only after the fieldwork and rigorous involvement in the data analysis that the researcher perceived a clarification of the KKK context definition. At the start of collecting data from within the KKK, there was no limitation to its physical boundaries. Most interview participants appeared enthusiastic, while talking about their involvements outside the community as well as their business lives. Therefore, adding the outside community contexts to my scope was vital to fit the meanings ascribed to how members develop and communicate their business identities. Hence, the key participants were allowed the choice of where and when to conduct their interviews in settings meaningful to their identity. Collins (2013) and Collins and Evans (2016) noted that researchers must attempt to understand the ‘voice’ through layered sociolinguistic and socio-temporal scales and sites. Thus, while anticipating to adopt a multi-site design to data collection, the scope and the space necessity for my exploration was in line with Wei (2007), which is, as cultural, personal, and socio-historical as they remained physical. The frameworks and the researcher's rising awareness of the importance of the members' practices offered ways to conceptualise my research context that focussed as a naturally diverse and dynamic CoP. This idea seemed meaningful from the emic view, as the identity and readiness to belong regularly arise to the participants, which allowed them a level of activity in data co construction by the dynamic contextualisation process. Cook-Gumpertz and Gumpertz (1976) argued that the beginning of contexts is jointly forged between the broader cultural

and social relations and the participants. In a reaction, this study took up those facets, activities, and relationships reflected noteworthy by the community members to interpret and contextualise their identity, the researcher herself is included as a member and part of its boundaries.

3.2.6 Sample Selection

The snowball approach was used in selecting these study participants. Daming, Xiaomei and Wei (2008) revealed that this approach has been merged into sociolinguistics associated with James and Leslie Milroy. Milroy's (1980) work was at that time a refreshing deviation from other related studies like Labov's in the 1970's. It is a modified participant observation technique, slightly different by investigating through kinship ties. She became part of the system she was studying after being introduced into it as 'a friend-of-a-friend', and her analysis was based on the data she collected from each community. Milroy (1980) was interested in how stable linguistic norms (*vernacular norms*) emerged and were maintained in a community. These norms were not publicly recognised but somewhat perceived as symbolic values of solidarity and reciprocity rather than status. In this approach, Milroy (1987) stressed the rapport of the fieldworker to the community and each individual may be regarded as facing a direct or indirect relation with other individuals. To Milroy, the 'friend-of-a-friend' within a community does a vital social function by covering the kind of services and goods which members provided. Regarding 'ethnography' and 'ethnoscience' Morse (1994) suggested 30- 50 interviews for both; Bernard (2000) added 10 participants while Bertaux (1981) argued that "fifteen is the smallest acceptable sample" (p. 35). Consistent with Marshall and Rossman (2011), a typical sample guarantees trustworthiness in the study participants' outcomes. Table 3.1 summarises the participants' information.

Table 3.1 : Participant Information

Title	Age	Participants number & sex (M), (F)	Education experience Formal (F) Islamic (I)	Experience in the KKK	Interviews (I) Observation(O) Focus Group (FG)
Government Committee	40-65	11(10M), (1F)	F & :I	Nil	FG
MT & Sons Nig. Ltd.	25-65	5 M	F & :I	40-60	FG, I & O
ELS Nigeria Ltd.	30-65	6 M	F & :I	20-30	FG, I & O
DASU & Bro. Nig. Ltd.	20-65	5 M	F & :I	20-30	FG, I & O
Africa Global Nig. Ltd.	30-65	4 M	F	20-30	FG, I & O
Managers/owners	30-65	7 (6M) (2F)	F & :I	20-60	I & O
Sales/branch managers	25-65	5 M	F & :I	20-40	I & O
Secretaries	25-30	3 (2M) (1F)	2 F & I, 1: F	1-10	I & O
Elder statesmen	45-75	4 M	3 F & :I, 1:I	0-65	I
Others	40-60	1 M	Nil	10	I

Source: Compiled by researcher

Table 3.1 above has shown the data obtained for this study was from 51 participants. These participants range from 20 to 75 years of age while taking into consideration the above stated categories. From this number, 20 key participants were interviewed individually while 31 participants took part in the five focus groups conducted for the study. Of the total, 48 were males and 3 were females (See Appendix L). Their educational background ranged from Islamic informal to modern formal education. Their occupations were mainly managers, sales or branch managers, secretaries, accountants, agents and marketers in the KKK. The participants were both native the KKK, native foreigners and expatriates, speaking the Hausa language mainly. The native foreigners use Nigerian Pidgin and the expatriates use a variety of English specific to their countries. The expatriates were from China, India and neighbouring African countries. The researcher is part of the larger Kano community, in Saville-Troik's (2003) view, she became an added source and obtained access to this community through the gatekeepers. At this point, the researcher was getting familiar with the community's composition of

the small, medium, and big marketers' examples. The purposive selection assisted in the study purpose in line with Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2011).

3.2.7 Ethical Issues

Burton and Bartlett (2005) opined that ethical concerns ought to be observed as the primary steps of the research plan. Since ethics demands that the real nature of the research be explained, the participants should not be misinformed. Gaining access, consent, introduction, and confidentiality are some ethical reflections considered in its successful undertaking. Consistent with Robson (2002), the researcher must investigate and define a culture's system and values to disengage from personal views based on an accustomed social background. Given that this study took place in realistic human settings, individuals involved become susceptible by revealing their opinions, actions, and words each time the researcher stood in their company, consequently, different ethical issues were raised. Dornyei (2007) and Kubanyiova (2008) viewed these traditional standards of ethics as not proper and requires contextualised concerns of ethics. After pre-entry and pre-visit planning and piloting the study, the researcher observed a dual ethical system; the explicit and the peculiar. This dual ethical system is consistent with Guillemin and Gillam's (2004) procedural ethics and ethics in practice under the qualitative research ethical scopes. The procedural ethics is presented below.

3.2.7.1 Procedural Ethics

According to Guillemin and Gillam (2004), procedural ethics involves consent from an appropriate team to embark on inquiries comprising humans. However, the researcher obtained relevant consent letters from her faculty (see Appendix G) and other verbal and written approvals at the sites. They include; valuing participants dignity and rights, keeping privacy, gaining participants' consent, data storage, and protection, with the

researcher's ideas to deal with possible ethical problems that can arise during the progress of the research. These letters offer the researcher with confidence to present herself as a credible researcher backed by her university as well as reflect on the ethical questions about keeping privacy, gaining access and informed consent discussed below.

➤ *Gaining Access and Obtaining Informed Consent*

A core phase in LE research is negotiating access to the study location and participants. However, Erickson (1990) clarified that without having to build rapport and trust with the participants, accessing the setting is of no significance. The researcher's best advantage was belonging to the larger Kano society. It enhances the ability to: behaviourally, visually, and socially blend; establish rapport and sustain alertness; humbly adapt to their expectations and discover a common ground; steadily furnish the community with a disparate perspective on general research and primarily in identity development and communication. The community cannot be observed entirely, therefore, further understanding of participants, analysis of the contexts and their probable effects encouraged the researcher to seek sets of skills focused on integration, interdisciplinary, and open-mindedness to different approaches. The Traders union office was previously introduced to the researcher during her pre-visit inquiry as the office managing the community's affairs. It became a clue to what, where, and how to begin. While at the KKK, the researcher paid decent attention to all the introductions. When asking for a direction to the union office, the researcher embraced the traditional Hausa norm of the female calm and humble way of talking. It also simply expressed me in a well-adjusted role as a researcher and a member of indigenous Hausa society. This awareness of the flexibility to perform as an outsider, insider or both, have proved helpful at this primary phase by observing the current Hausa and Islamic conduct revealed in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 3.1

- 1 **R:** *Assalamu Alaikum.* Peace be unto you.
- 2 **'D/Tebur 1:** *Alaikumu salaam.* Peace be unto you too.

(FN1, September 21, 2016)

The *salaam* greeting on line 1 comes first occasionally followed by the Hausa greeting on meeting anyone, any-time and then the reply on line 2 is equally the same manner. At this point, the researcher asked for the direction to the KKK union office '*Ofishin 'Yan Kasuwa* literarily (The Marketers office). The fellow looked dumbfounded and repeated; *Ofishin 'Yan Kasuwa, ko ofishin 'Yan kungiya?* (The Marketers office or Traders Union office). Here, the researcher's outsider position needs to be corrected. In these prolonged processes, several scenes were performed with different actors on different stages. The initial encounter provided the researcher with little understanding of the situation of things in the community. That, there were two splinter groups, each has a self-appointed caretaker overseeing the affairs of their supporters. This situation was a result of an unelected chair in the Traders Union office. After a long protocol, the researcher was finally taken to an elderly caretaker. The researcher introduced herself and briefly highlighted the purpose of her visit (FN1, September 21, 2016). The elderly caretaker, pleased with the researcher's wits and especially coming from a mature female, spoke with a mutual voice (a Hausa cultural practice). The elderly caretaker verbally guaranteed their willingness to offer the support and suggested that the researcher come back the following day at about 3.00 pm to develop better rapport and discuss further entrance. The researcher's familiarisation with the elderly caretaker as an in-law reduced the anxiety in starting from unfamiliar to familiar. Though the day's activity was hectic, the first entry was noteworthy from the positive motivation received.

The next day, the researcher felt the need to try the other self-appointed caretaker. The fellow we asked clarified to us that it was not the union office' but *Ofishin Liti Kulkul* (Liti Kulkul's office), he said, "*don shine dai offishin 'Yan kungiya*" (because it is the only one referred to the Union office) (FN2, September 22, 2016). At the office, after the usual greeting protocol and brief introduction. The researcher and her escort met a 60-70 year old elder. The elder showed his familiarity with the research practices from his experiences with renowned journalists who often frequent the office to seek updates about the community, he insisted he could assist with oral data about the community. The researcher presented her university consent letter, the elder advised us to come after three days to check on the secretary. In late October, the elderly man after consecutive visits without meeting the secretary, gave us the secretary's phone number. Several attempts to get him on the phone failed. The November 13, 2016 phone call was the breakthrough. After the introduction, the secretary admitted that he received information about my visits, apologised and gave me time to meet in his office.

On the appointed date, the secretary met the researcher at his office. After all the protocol and apologies, he explained that the situation at that time had reduced their doings. On presenting my university consent letter, he declined and explained that besides the current unstable situation in the community, the state government introduced the new 'Land Use Tax', which the people are unhappy about, so it is co-opting an ad hoc committee to intervene. The secretary advised the researcher to exercise patience and keep calling him for any updates. And that he regretted saying that it was a very odd time and thus, warned me to take care due to the general apprehensions to anything the members suspect is related to the government. After a few days of my meeting the secretary, on one of my calls, informed me about the committee's commencement of work and requested my presence to meet the chairperson to present the consent letter. The secretary's attempts to

call the chairperson's phone proved abortive. Then, he gave me the chair's phone number to call later. Part of the friend-of-a-friend sampling was establishing rapport with Kantin Kwari Traders Association (henceforth KKTA). The Hausa language was used in the interactions so far to avoid stigmatization. On December 6, 2016, the researcher had a phone chat with the chairperson ad hoc committee. After the greeting protocol and introduction. The chair referred to the secretary's earlier explanation, responded nicely to my determination, but suggested presenting myself before the committee members during their next meeting. The chair's invitation for the group interview at 'Dankabo's house, Kawo Giginyu, Kano, was a sign of acceptance, identity, accommodation, and an extension of the research context boundary. On January 7, 2017, the chair called me on the phone and provided the venue and time for the meeting. However, deep in the researcher's mind anxiety began, questions were asked like: what is the size of the committee; what will the negotiation with the assumed first-met participants be; will I gain formal access to the study location? or what would happen if the committee members decide to disagree with me after our meeting? As such, the researcher prepared some documents listed below for the group interview:

- The University of Malaya (UM) faculty support letter, introducing the researcher as a PhD student and requesting any assistance needed for this research purpose.
- A request and explanation in (English and Hausa) of the current project, and the tentative research title, and the possibility of complain from the key participants or the community on the research related issues (see Appendix H & I).
- A copy of the researcher's UM identity card.

The researcher set out for the unfamiliar meeting venue; some roadside fruit sellers assisted with the direction. On arrival, the two people outside the building pointed at an entrance and direction where the receptionist was seated, who showed me a seat. He got

up, went into a door where the meeting was taking place (all these were non-verbal). After some minutes, he came out and told me to wait along with others sitting. On getting into the hall, the *salaam* (greeting) was observed along with their responses, but the first obvious thing observed was the group structure (all males and one female) from both private and public sectors. They pointed at a chair before them for me to sit. The chair began the introduction to the members. Then, ten minutes were given to me for brief reintroduction and to present my intended fieldwork with the written consent letter. My highlights encouraged them to include a website and an email address request for the community as part of their amendments to the old constitution because there were never any, which motivated and inspired me more. They were stunned and impressed to see such an initiative from a mature female from the Hausa society. After all comments, the members collectively counselled on exercising tolerance, knowing the community under study. The chair officially collected the university consent letter, handed it to the secretary, and instructed him to provide all the necessary assistance. The researcher in this semiformal context maintained a flexible switch according to the explanation between the Hausa and English languages. The introduction was in the Hausa language, while the explanations and the rest of the talk were with a code-switch between the two languages. The meeting scheduled for ten minutes took almost an hour. It later became a vital moment of my fieldwork. This committee assisted in establishing and reposing secrecy, trust, security, and reassurance of my study. Equally, this meeting seemed to provide openings for sharing experiences, comment on misconduct, and as a tête-à-tête time to exchange thoughts or anxieties. The chair checked my progress often and directed me to archives in ministries for print materials on the KKK.

Undertaking interviews points that “details which seem minor were influential in the ethnography interviews. For example, looks, can shape interview responses” according

to Bucholtz and Hall (2008, p. 416). In the meeting, how the researcher acted, dressed, and talked remained influential and purposefully fashioned in covert Hausa cultural ethics. The decision on the decent idea the researcher presented of an ‘appropriate outsider’ who may be permitted to ‘get inside’ remained with the committee members. However, it made the researcher's future attitudes and twenty months of fieldwork possible and established the basis to conduct the study in the Hausa language.

After getting the formal consent, the researcher proceeded to Bayero University, Kano, Faculty of Nigerian Languages, to look for a certified translator. After all protocols, the Head of the department introduced me to a staff. Rather than the usual practice of picking on my family members as escorts, the researcher pleaded with the translator to equally assist in the data collection. Time and a meeting point were arranged to continue with the fieldwork. We met and proceeded to the secretary’s office as fixed in the committee meeting. The secretary advised, first to find individuals responsive to the KKK practices from his boys who already have a level of familiarity with the people and their activities, for instance, and those we can get valuable information from (snowball sampling in locating the target participants). The secretary wanted to produce copies of the consent letters presented to each key participant, and the researcher offered to assist. The secretary suggests we begin with five registered companies specified in the following talk extract.

Excerpt 3.2

3 **Sec:** Hajiya, these are the introductory letters. I suggest you start with these few
4 to see the community’s reaction under this tense state.

5 **R:** OK. Thank you. Is someone going around with us?

6 **Sec:** You are going with one of the boys in this office to take you around and
7 introduce you to the key participants. (FN11, January 16, 2017)

The ongoing fieldwork is more formalised at this stage, on lines 3-4 the KKTA secretary handed the first set of letters to the researcher. In addition, the secretary also assisted with a locator on lines 5-7 to direct the journey. Therefore, each verbal introduction is accompanied by the KKTA introductory letter presented to each key participant (see Appendix J). All processes were reflected in my field notes, capturing some overt ways of their identity development and communication, which turned out to be the exciting data reserves to be used for interpretation. The short practices from the KKTA office members also serve as data extracts (see Chapters 4 and 5). Although the processes of getting permission had been perceived all through the research, it much involved a relationship between the researcher and researched. Many of the interviews conducted were without the written consent letters signed beforehand. Such irregularity in the field demands the researcher's profundity to, and observation of the participants' passing act as well as to know how to immediately fine-tune herself to meet the pressing constraints. However, handling these kinds of situations diligently created a respectable bond wherein the later observation sessions were conducted well. When the first phase was concluded, many key participants offered that the researcher is welcome anytime and should feel free to ask any questions any-time. As such, in the second phase of my data collection, they shared their updated stories about personal life and businesses. This trustable and sociable rapport with participants was understood as a vital situation for positive ethnographic research. All the above took place during the peak of insecurity in Northern Nigeria (Boko Haram insurgency), and the KKK was a target.

Despite not initially having broad information about this research, the knowledge of the purpose and nature of the research, fieldwork duration, data collection methods, and data usage were comprehensive. Consistent with Silverman (2013), there was no alteration in any of the central parts of the research details initially given to the appropriate gatekeepers

in the community in the information-gathering. Though there might have been minor alterations in the research process, it did not affect the information presented to the gatekeepers in any way at the outset. Moreover, Guillemin and Gillam (2004) stressed that it became essential for the other participants to be equally cognisant and give their consent to participate, so as to develop them as participants instead of subjects.

At each participant level information of the study was provided; their participation demands were explained; their secrecy will be maintained in case of potential threats; their participation was voluntary, not a straightaway decision as to agree or not to participate; their decision can be communicated later and their advantages of participating were spelt out. Since most of them have no research awareness and skill, the researcher role was described and all that a participant-observers may likely do, see or hear and that the facts about understanding their daily practices would become my research data. When the tense nature for them to be kept under observation and noting all they said was recognized, the researcher advised that the generated data could be useful for the community and society and their contribution in enabling this to come about. As the KKTA introductory letter was distributed and requested that they sign for acceptance and let the researcher have copies. Most of these letters were never returned. However, despite their busy schedules they all willingly participated in the study by creating a meeting time and permitting me to conduct audio-recorded interviews. Any-time the signed introduction letter copy was casually enquired; some instantly said that it has been misplaced, while a few others continued to pledge to sign and make my copies which were never done.

In the light of this, the study was sustained based on the Federal regulations that permit the UCSF IRB16 to waive the obtaining signed consent requirement when found that: “the subjects ...are members of a distinct cultural group or community in which signing forms is not the norm, that the research presents no more than minimal risk of harm to subjects and provided there is an appropriate alternative mechanism for documenting that informed consent was obtained”¹⁷. Also, in agreement with Crow, Wiles, Heath, and Charles’s (2006) view of the norm of informed consent which denotes individuals’ free consent to participate and to easily withdraw without any impact, applies to all consent. The researcher’s contact details were offered lest they had any queries.

Each introductory meeting was aimed at obtaining the consent of the key participants. Some found the researcher a free consultation advantage (from her MBA knowledge) and willingly endorsed me to participate in their core decision making. Though the proper consent was obtained, there was a little apprehension before, and at the start of the fieldwork. The researcher's firm traditional rapport with the participants was so fragile. The presence of the male research assistant was projected to change the interactions with other anonymous participants. The researcher at the beginning resolved neither to request for approval for any kind of interference nor ask for extra help rather, decided that it would be a gradual thing as the trust between the researcher and the KKK members heightens. The double consent from both parties became an advantage to the researcher in an attempt to avoid what Tagliamonte (2006) considered surreptitious recording. The first elder caretaker's verbal approval was exploited, the time was used to pilot the study, for instance, through some observations and had the hand-written FN. This offered a clearer, yet not a broad picture of the KKK culture and nature. It aided in handling the

¹⁶University of California San Francisco Institutional Review Board (<https://irb.ucsf.edu>)

¹⁷<https://irb.ucsf.edu/verbal-electronic-or-implied-consent-waiver-signed-consent> Updated: Apr 28, 2021

participants' views in the data collection, and by then, my rapport with the community members has become stronger.

➤ *Confidentiality and Anonymity*

Giordano, O'Reilly, Taylor and Dogra (2007), explained that maintenance of confidentiality is to manage private data. However, full confidentiality is impractical as the researcher's responsibility is basically to generate data from the respondents and, once duly analysed, forward it on to others (Walford, 2005, p. 85). However, anonymity shields confidentiality in Wiles, Crow, Heath and Charles's (2008) view. On the other hand, Walford (2005) revealed instances from studies of the impossibility to conceal the community or individuals' concerning identity, since, in ethnographic research, the investigator would have to spend a protracted period at the location, and several persons would come to be acquainted with the study and the identity of the researcher. The actual question raised in my study by confidentiality concerns was if it would be practicable to anonymise the community's identity. The KKK is a privately owned community by different individuals; some of the participants explained that using their identity is a kind of a subtle advertisement because many people can simply locate their site and reach them. Besides, one purpose of this study is to explore a prosperous but under-researched community in the local milieu, and a portrayal of this situation certainly gives away the community's identity. However, specifying the community enables contextualising and enhances appreciating the status quo. Since this is the researcher's resolve, to be open about the community would only be for purposes of description. The researcher was alerted to the likelihood of threats to the location and the related individuals, though she personally noticed a little of them.

An associated issue about how to anonymize the research participants' identities in settings where they may be identified by the facts and or the features of persons have been changed by the researcher on condition that it does not negotiate the reliability of the data in line with Wiles et al. (2008). The researcher became ill at ease with this practice for it could be exciting in judging the influence of these choices on the study, it might according to Kaiser (2009), change or destroy the data's original meaning and are at times unusual in hiding the participants' identities or in Baez's (2002) view, demand into enquiring transparency issues and trustworthiness. The researcher has observed the convention and anonymity, using pseudonyms for all participants, and promised to conform to the community's norms. Finally, though the researcher cannot assure full secrecy, the community's' uniqueness can be secured as much as possible.

3.2.7.2 Ethics in Practice

Questions often raised in this section include; what method or choice would we take in the 'ethically important moments? Ethically, these choices have effects particularly when a piece of information was disclosed by the participants or a participant suddenly becomes emotional. They suggest being reflexive about research practice which was previously expounded (see Section 3.2.4) by recognising the microethics; understanding the 'ethically important moments', in all their particularities; and ability to develop a means of addressing and responding to ethical concerns if and when they arise in the research. Impliedly asking ethical, relevant questions as suggested by Guillemin and Gillam (2004), for instance have we appreciated the privacy, dignity, and autonomy of our participants, besides considering the threats and harm towards them when we fail to do so? Though, the unsettled process that a researcher seldom is left further enquiries; it agreed with my aspiration to deal with my participants in a dignified and proper way.

Certainly, had a less well-thought-out approach been applied, the researcher would have fallen into the fortune of the sad anthropologist.

The 'micro ethical concerns are also vital and thought-provoking. This current fieldwork required a trusted link with my study participants. However, such 'trust' and 'positive relationship cannot be tenable always and may simply be made vulnerable. As explained earlier, I had to get approval, and the consent letter from my university provided evidence about my identity. Nevertheless, the formal approval from either party does not guarantee participants to partake in the research and is also not secure for them not to feel any discomfort by being there in their shops. Bearing this in mind, staying alert to the local proxies of all the participants' moods and positions on a moment-to-moment basis during the study became vital. Even though I was presented as a researcher to the participants and their shops, because of my regular engagement in their routine business activities (refer above), they began to ask me what they cannot ask from others. This relaxed relationship appeared to make them inspired in speaking to me at will about distinctly issues without me asking. Still, while audio recording the interviews and some of the talks, usually focused questions were asked. Despite their tight schedules, some participants seemed to appreciate spending some time with me, few often call me on the phone to enquire willingly about my next call, which has improved their inclination to let my visits extend to branches outside the KKK intended for my study purposes.

The researcher understood two aims for the chair ad hoc committee demand for updates and access to my observation and interview data. Firstly, he showed genuine interest in my raw data because it will help their given tasks, aid in their accepting the community better, and make them more comfortable with my research, which in time fortified them to share their views with me based on their observations. Secondly, it was their way of

stirring me more because they were pessimistic with the nature of this study in the context and as a chance to build up reliable relationships. Hence, the basic data were shared with him. The committee offered the researcher a support letter. Ethnography permits collecting data in the participants' private spaces. It prioritizes some participants' comfort to participate. The committee members were surprised at how data were collected in late hours at participants' private residents. As the fieldwork was ongoing these micro-ethical concerns were recognized and kept recurring casually. Such study shifts remained obvious it at times leads to partial data access reflecting that preserving trust rapport with participants in that time allowed access to in-depth interview data and appreciating the collected material.

3.3 Data Collection

In keeping with Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) third principle and practice (see Section 3.2.3), the data collection in the KKK was on the whole, in two phases for 20 months. Delamont (2002) clarified that an ethnographer must live an adequate time to realize the shared meaning, data complexity, and historical rhythms that might be present in the field.

The first phase was initially planned for nine months, however, took place in 17 months (September 2016 - February 2018). This extension was necessary due to the long process of gaining access and formal consent detailed above, insecurity in Kano and obtaining a new Malaysian return visa. A broad scope of data was collected in the first phase, with diverse participants and contexts, purposely to develop an awareness of what Heller (2011) described as the 'typical' community's patterns and practices. While the customary and the unaccustomed can be significant examples in several ways, it is vital to make proper distinctions through rigorous study design and data collection. This

general phase adapted to understanding the practices, email purposes, language repertoire, ecology, and diversity in the KKK. This representation was by merging collected data from the ethnographic methods; practices observed and noted, ethnographic interviews conducted, and a survey questionnaire exposed me to challenges and revolves around the emerging themes, e.g., the shift to explore identity.

The second phase took place after the data analysis of the first phase, in three months (December 2018-March 2019) which was further focused and well informed. The survey questionnaire was the only technique dropped. All other techniques continued, to have a broader representation of the community. The fieldwork, however, stretched out the context to the branch out volunteers in their respective locations in the Kano metropolis. Hornberger (1995) stated that it is by moment-to-moment interactions and negotiations, people contribute to the 'flow' of wider languages, their identities, and significantly ethnography of this kind, too, address these aspects. The resolve was to enhance the search on how the bilingual individuals develop and communicate identities within the sociocultural located tensions as to the structure and activity shaping their respective lives. I also sustained collecting documents and artefacts such as photos too. Table 3.2 summarises the two data collection phases.

Table 3.2 : Data Collection Procedure

Period	Phase	Data Collection	Reflective and Analytical Activities
Sept. 2016- Feb. 2018 17 months	First Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participant observation • Field notes • Group interviews • Ethnographic interviews (with patrons & managers) • Survey questionnaire • Documents, photos and video CD 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observing participants activities and practices • Preparing and writing FN • Transcribing and translating interviews • Summarizing interview • Analysing survey questionnaire • Review and writing data reflection • Researcher journal
March 2018- Nov. 2018	Intervening Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nil 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Extensive review through all data sets ▪ Drafting analytical notes and reviews ▪ Developing primary themes ▪ Reconsidering research focus and questions ▪ Plan for Phase 2 data collection ▪ Researcher journal
Dec. 2018- March 2019 3 months	Second Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participant observation • Field notes • Group interviews • Individual interviews (literate elites) • Documents and other artefacts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observing participants activities and practices • Preparing and writing FN • Transcribing and translating interviews • Summarizing interview • Review and writing data reflection • Researcher journal

Source: Compiled by the researcher

Table 3.2 specified the data collection methods, the two phases of collecting data in 20 months, the activities and the added sources to gather contextual facts. A summary of the data corpus is in the following Table 3.3 which is a summary of the two phases of data collection and data corpus.

Table 3.3 : Duration of Data Collection

Data Type	Duration
Participant observation plus field notes	420 hours
Individual interviews with Key participants	34 hours 6 minutes
Other participants recorded audios	14 hours
Group interviews	15 hours 6 minutes
Documents and artefacts	6 months
Survey questionnaire	5 months
Researcher Journal	11 months
E-mail retrieval	3 months
Second Phase	
Data Type	Duration
Participant observation plus field notes	23 hours 50 minutes
Individual interviews with Key participants	12 hours 10 minutes 38 seconds
Group interviews	2 hours 11 minutes
Other participants recorded audios	3 hours
Documents and artefacts	3 months
Researcher Journal	3 months

Source: Compiled by the researcher

Table 3.3, presents the duration of the two phase data collection indicating the actions and time.

3.3.1 Data Collection Techniques

Based on Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) second principle and practice also (see Section 3.2.3), the researcher employed multiple data collection techniques: participant observation, ethnographic interviews, field notes as well as the researcher's reflection, journals, and other supplementary documents. Consistent with Eckert's (1989) ethnographic approach in Belten, the above-mentioned data collection methods categorized by actual immersion in the individual context under study began only after the community acknowledged the researcher and rapport established. Eckert (2000) maintained that involvement of an individual's activities through observing cautiously and fitting as part of them, their networks and talks, are the best approaches to learn and understand the significance of their activities besides appreciating what is significant to them. Furthermore, additional unforeseen openings extend my data collection. Some ad

hoc committee members advised that I meet some informants outside the controlled research localities to gain more insights. A member furnished the researcher with sensitive, anonymous facts (the KKK dos and don'ts), it helped to streamline my talks and kept his door open anytime there was a need for clearing up. Similarly, the invites to privately arranged family activities, for example, a key participant's invitation to join his family members during his daughter's marriage ceremony were some like minds were met, and we were opportune to share views and talk over issues (societal and my research challenges). It was an unexpected chance to relate and spend free time with participants and, notably, for safer understanding to develop and enhance what the data already contained.

This fieldwork concentrates on observing the participants in a natural setting, and for that reason, my inquiry was not specific; relatively, they were allowed to act and talk on all they wanted. At each key participant level of data collection, usually, the locator makes the formal introduction. Their premises were requested to be used for observation after communicating the research purpose, motivation, and situations. Besides this, a written brief that is conditional on the particular context and reassured of confidentiality and anonymity was earlier discussed in this chapter. Though, the participants would like exposure as a kind of advertisement strategy. They were asked whether they would prefer to be addressed by their names or pseudonyms in the final report and would like to be recorded or not. One participant preferred his information to be handwritten in front of him and verified the content. But all other participants were assured that the recorded data would be discarded after data content has been transcribed and translated.

The community's activities were held daily; initially, the researcher's visits were regular. However, the frequency decreased when the accumulated data started repeating itself

which amounted to 79 total visits. At a point, it seemed my frequent visits were tantamount to disinterest, ingenuity, and unreliability in the participants' responses; they no longer show any enthusiasm, a sign of data saturation. Mostly, the work was done at home along with searching for well-informed elders within Kano to get the KKK socio-historical facts. The researcher conducted home-based and office visits to the agreed participants and interviewed them. The ad hoc committee chair referred the researcher to the archives in KSMCTI, *Gidan Radion Kano* (Kano Radio House), and institutions of higher learning though no specific material was found, it formed part of the review.

The researcher collected particular data used for this research outside the exhaustive period of her fieldwork to broaden ethnography's open nature. Besides this, the field notes supported the extra data along with compensation for the lost data inherent in additional methods (e.g., descriptions of context and non-verbal languages of participants). In Delamont's (2016) view, some methods in the qualitative study are usually employed to make certain validity by cross-data collection termed triangulation and, in this context, amid methods. It is considered useful in decreasing the chances to misinterpret and detect diverse realities that Stake (2005) showed in resolving the bias problem, to assure that the researcher's analyses reveal the participants' identifications in accord with Hammersley (1990). So, this study used many methods not only for data verification by triangulation but for seeing such variances.

3.3.1.1 Ethnographic Interviews and Focus Groups

The descriptive feature of what Baynham and Simpson (2010) referred to as 'talk-in-interaction style' in Codo's (2008) view, created shared relations between the examiner and examinee and the informants' extended accounts. It allowed the KKK participants to specify and describe natural phenomena taking place without an experimental process by

speaking about their lives. Tierney and Dilley (2002) emphasised their impact as a common practice in social research, since “any misunderstandings on the part of the interviewer or the interviewee can be checked immediately” (Brenner, Brown, & Canter, 1985, p. 3) as it permits negotiation of meaning. Interviews were vital for this research to understand participants’ awareness of their practices using their viewpoints from ethnographic interviews and focus groups.

The data acquired were used to contextualise the interactions and rapport between the participants and myself expounded in the researcher’s positioning (see Section 3.5). The interviewer’s role was not to produce the present facts of the interviewee but to make a clear thing that had been implied-to articulating their understandings, feelings, and perceptions in accordance with Arksey and Knight’s (1999) view. All interviews were carried out face-to-face to expand the researchers understanding not just to gather information. The participants seemed less attentive to the recorder in most of the recording times, though the researcher tried locating it in a strategic place to get a clear enough quality of the data recorded. Also, the researcher informed the participants on the recorder and recording purpose; at times, the recording was played back to take note of their responses. On the other hand, Sagoe (2012) opined that the focus group is proposed to acquire the collective group story. This technique provided insights into the persons’ thinking in a wider social context wherein communication re-frames an opinion in line with Lewis (2003) and Strokes and Bergin’s (2006) research. In addition, Greenbaum (2003) and Ritchie (2003) suggested that it is perfect for between 4 to 12 participants (see Appendix U & V).

In this study, ethnographic interviews were guided by Spradley’s (1979; 2016) views as speech events of a friendly conversation following a natural-flowing talk style (see

Appendix O). Unlike what Blommaert (2006) termed a cross-examination, ethnographic interviews here are somewhat close to Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) 'non-directive interviewing' or Dornyei's (2007) 'unstructured interview'. These interviews were directed to selected participants and communicated with the help of a locator. Thrope (2012) stated that interviews explore the views of the persons involved and encourage replying to questions besides talking about the questions with the researcher. Together with the tenets to the principles of observation, ethnographic interviews in this study were considered a two-way rapport, since the researcher participated and presented her understandings about issues the participants raised and not emphasising simply on conveying their ideas. The interviews were conducted as presented by Defina and Perrino (2011), in a natural context under a trusting and sociable setting to achieve close associations with participants and to arrest the minute-to-minute insights on these practices by their accounts in the KKK's historical and spatial setting. According to Gaskell and Bauer (2000), these types of interviews take full gain of the chance for the participants to involve with their daily talks and narratives by reducing control over issues by the researcher. The whole idea was to have diverse exposure based on how the interview was getting on, taking up issues and developing them according to how the conversation flows. All interviews were administered in a related way to fully gather and mirror genuine participants' ideas, details, understanding, and awareness of how they develop and communicate their identities. A friendly atmosphere was always created in the interviews, and by chance, many participants felt we were partaking not only in a friendly conversation but also a purposeful talk due to regular contacts. The researcher merged roles of Copland and Creese's (2015) 'friend-like listener' and Agar's (2008) 'professional stranger' through reflexivity and responsiveness as expected of linguistic ethnographers. A Sony ICD-BX 140 recorder was used to record the interviews, and a

mobile phone took the photos. Interview questions have descriptive, structural, or contrastive features (see Appendix P), but the rapport determines the question to begin.

During the interviews largely, the researcher too joined the participants' talks in the shops, their offices, or within the community, but reduced interfering by asking organised questions. Routinely, the interaction started with an opening question by the researcher in a way that encouraged the participant to feel unrestricted and comfortable in providing beyond a 'yes' or 'no' reaction and not simply to offer the required information in line with Legard, Keegan, and Ward (2003). The interview's central issues focused on the research questions, and their design reflected the specific areas that needed to be addressed and flexibly described to avoid misinterpretations. Once the researcher came across actions that needed to be searched in further depth, immediately the participants were asked for more information. Usually, the arranged interviews were audio-recorded, but for those interviews not arranged, they were simply regarded as pieces of routine talks. The participants were sensitive to their use of language; thus, the issues linked to the stated research phenomena regularly appeared in their routine talks, and those issues were not each-time mentioned for research purposes. Ethnographic interviews showed efficiency since the researcher might have embarked on the participants and other community members at times when they were ready to talk about the KKK experiences, their homes, the larger society, and on the streets. The long period permits capturing the 'situated practices' with what they reflect as fitting and consider reconsiderations and disparities expressed by participants since they were "not aberrant factors to be resolved, but ...narrative adjustments that reflect the teller's changing perspectives" (Kanno, 2003, p.10).

Most of the interviews were conducted in the Hausa language, except for a few situations (e.g., native foreigners, Indians, and the elder statesman). When other language speakers are involved, English with ‘linguaging’ features and/or Nigerian Pidgin were used. Audio-recorded interviews include talks between participants when involved in a shared enterprise with other members; including responses from the participants and the contributions from the researcher as proposed by Hitchcock and Hughes (1995). During the interview, the researcher clarified questions that were vague to the participants or added more explanations to expand their understandings. This improved the researcher's place from a researcher to mentor or vice-versa to interrogate more profoundly as the ethnographic research calls for. All the data linked to the audio-recorded interviews and talks were transcribed in the participants' languages; Hausa, English, and Nigerian Pidgin, without variations to keep the meaning of their discourses.

The non-audio-recorded interviews' contents were written down beside the data for observation in the field notes. The transcripts in the English language used in succeeding chapters are the translations made by certified translators from Hausa, except when otherwise specified. Darlington and Scott (2002) mentioned that the transcribing process itself motivates the researchers' comments, inferences and data interpretations. These notes were based on the researcher's insight, rather than systematic analysis, which became beneficial while classifying and coding the data in the analysis process.

Other additional methods, such as the research journals kept by the researcher after the interviews and listening over the audio of the concluded sessions of the interviews, were convenient in recording specific contextual events previous to and after the interviews as suggested by Wellington (2000). Recordings of the participants' talk with other people were sometimes made, not for analysis, rather to be used as observation data towards

learning more about the participants' behaviour when relating with others. Block (2013) pointed to how talk samples from taken actions were used in exploring speakers' identities that were then indexed in their different language uses. Samples of such talks proved beneficial in presenting how they valued multicultural socialising and practices. Also, the researcher's attempt to improve the sociability about the interlocutors and herself created a feeling in them that the researcher was their community member, using the local dialect and avoiding being so formal in the style of interview used.

3.3.1.2 Participant Observation

Boyce and Neale (2006) found that interviews have certain limitations demanding resolution, some of which are: collecting limited data, prolonged engagement with the community, and concerns with the 'truth' of opinions. To compensate for the interview flaws, the researcher embraced observation to uncover complex relationships in a natural social setting. Robson (2002) considered it a vital technique in the ethnographic study, thus, suitable to look at how the KKK participants develop and communicate identities. In line with Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) first ethnographic principle listed (see Section 3.2.3), its main feature is studying peoples' activities and accounts in the usual contexts and the observer's attempts to be part of the community and provide the inside data, according to Wei and Moyer (2008), through the informants' eyes. As such, the participants were often overtly observed in their activities. Therefore, active input and direct participation in the KKK are central to real participant observation.

Dynamism, fluidity, and a data co-creator were balanced against the disparities that researchers must reduce their influence on the data were the reflections for my ethnographic researcher's place rather than being stable. Thus, my process of collecting

data was not simply referred to as 'collecting' current data but somewhat clearly to the 'generation' of the data with the participants given that it is a local community, which is uncovered by getting the researcher observer involved or modelled as an interlocutor and partner in the activities. In the fieldwork, the researcher's part has been to embrace their activities to ease developing more appreciation of their practices instead of observing them from afar. The researcher was involved firmly in observing the KKK, where she became physically present in their daily lives, accessible to their social and business domain practices and so a part of them.

The researcher's participation was mostly a 'participant-as-observer' kind, in that the participants and herself already have the same common community, which was of assistance on coming nearer to their routine lives. The purposes were twofold specified by Spradley (1980, 2016); that is, engagement in undertakings with participants, along with observing the individual's physical location and activities at a time. These undertakings were demanding because it was essential for the researcher to have the circumstances balanced while participating as an insider and having an objective view as an outsider. It entailed shifting identity between a friend, mentor, and researcher to a participant besides becoming a visitor to a host. Becoming an insider within the community was a benefit as participants' behaviour was normalized since they were very familiar with the researcher. Also, it was a drawback as it took very much energy for being together, a researcher and a participant. In the interim, precisely during the researcher's days in their shops, she befitted as a key participant in the shops and the community at large by observing the members while participating in their daily business transactions and other activities as somebody assuming different roles. However, the researcher's previous MBA knowledge on business and the rapport established permitted acting out the different roles of a customer and a business counsellor through participating

in the *'hira da Yaran Kanti'* (chatting with shop attendants), *'hira da Tsofaffin Kasuwa'* (chatting with elders in the market) all carried out in real life. The field notes were enriched with data from observing people as they engaged in different activities (for instance, errand boys or men, hawking, shop agents, *'Yan Tabur'* (table-traders) and *'Yan Dako'* (loaders). This rapport management is described as “talking the talk and walking the walk” (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2011, pp. 8-11). The major role of the researcher during the activities in the main shops was supporting the *ciniki* (business transaction). Sometimes the researcher helped customers who were finding it tough to choose a particular product or to keep up with the current vogue. Moreover, mostly the researcher's role involved participation in motivating and encouraging either or both parties, customers to buy and participants to sell. Usually, the researcher was offered a corner as a place to sit facing the entrance to the shop, but she often moved around and got involved in different activities necessary for the business to grow after the set-out guidelines by the manager or business owner. Hence, the participants seem to identify the researcher as a part of the community. The use of language was generally skilful to Hausa during the participation because of the researcher's different roles and depending on the context. As such, using the English language was avoided within, which was a main conviction in the KKK, discussed in the subsequent chapters. Notably, the community members and visitors used their available linguistic repertoires in the negotiation of meaning and exploitation.

The observations also included the time during the breaks between the two-afternoon prayers, when the participants usually meet freely in their back regions (Gofman, 1959). The participants' leisure activities were also observed; they have no organised activities, but rather, the researcher was allowed to observe them under the shades of trees. Therefore, the researcher strolled into the KKK now and then for a change from her rigid

duties of observation walked about as a common customer visiting the community simply to buy some textile materials and dissuaded my participants from trying to show their familiarity or disclose my identity. The community members knew the researcher was getting around and did not bother to seek any explanation. The KKK is always noisy and crowded, to avoid it and instead, the researcher stopped close by the largest tree in the community. Its roots stuck out of the ground on which people sit to gossip or transact business as well as patronise the food-sellers around them. Moreover, the researcher extended the observation further to the core group of the shops as per the community 'insider', in becoming involved in their design and colour selection processes and requested to get an expert designer or already designed batik sketches for purchase, by one of the focus group participants being interviewed. Similarly, the researcher was invited as an observer to a discussion session organised by the caretaker committee with the KKK stakeholders on the new policy change and at another time in a round-table meeting to perceive their behaviours and listen to their views on how to move the community ahead. Participation in these activities enabled the researcher to gain more insights into the members' manners and mannerisms, as a way to obtain obtaining important unforeseen data which may not have been observed in the field.

In the above said activities, on attaining individual approval, some of the discourse data were audio-recorded for three purposes:

- 1) for recording participant's talk during transactions and interactions
- 2) to self-record whatever was observed during my stay with them in preference to taking notes, and
- 3) finally, for recalling what transpired while writing down my field notes.

The KKK study involves dealing with different groups of individuals, those who may be documented as having diverse resources of language repertoire. As such, a holistic observation was conducted regularly and repeatedly, just to appreciate more "what people

do in particular contexts, the routines and interactional patterns of their everyday life” (Darlington & Scott, 2020, p. 74). By following this plan, the researcher could deepen her appreciation and capture the moment-to-moment distinct routine practices. These practices were always produced, reinforced equally by those with the moment-to-moment needless unfit practices in such routines, formed by those in some of the KKK spatial and historical contexts. Given the above, asking direct questions by methods like surveys would have barely generated proper responses. The experiences so far have established the reflexivity and openness impact in ethnographic research related to the KKK context, current practices, and the overall research, described in the field notes.

3.3.1.3 Field Notes

Field notes (henceforth, FN) “are all things to all people” (Richards, 2003, p. 135). In another view, Marshall and Rossman (2011) stated that field notes are a methodical ‘noting and recording’ of issues under study about the social context. However, FN are discriminating in this study because all the contextual occurrences of this research cannot be noted. Therefore, consistent with Copland (2018), the scenarios selected for note-taking were informed by the research questions through obtained data from the participant observation describing the KKK experiences and artefacts in record books or files. Though from time to time, there were limited opportunities, and once they appeared, notes were written. Following the discussion in Section 3.5, the researcher adopted an interpretative standpoint amid the diverse styles to take the FN characterized on a “continuum between a naive observation ... and an interpretative reading” (Tjora, 2006, pp. 435-445), where the meaning of the KKK daily doings was sought after. Accordingly, the FN described the carefully chosen activities; the researcher’s interpretations of these activities were written based on reflection not pending when the descriptions were written. Table 3.4 is the FN template sample.

Table 3.4 : Sample Field Notes Template

Space	
Goals	
Actors	
Activities	
Acts	
Objects	
Time	
Events	
Feelings	

Analytic memos _____

My interpretations _____

Adapted from Spradley (1980)

The above FN template in Table 3.4 was slightly modified and used for easy reference and convenience of the researcher. It provided clear direction to the kind of data that we needed to observe and note. The documentation processes of the observed data were based on the data collected through participant observation, central to the LE design and relevant to arguments concerning Wenger's (1998) CoP and other interdisciplinary perspectives on focused areas. The researcher became familiar with this view of FN, which “was not written one-off”, but somewhat initially formed as a reduced account using keywords and phrases regarding core events that were later turned into an account with more details and reflection (Spradley, 1980, pp. 69-70).

The first step involves engaging in developing quick notes by writing down related keywords for the experiences. Perhaps, this was instantly done during my break time and sometimes at a private corner of the shops when the memories of the activities frequently attended to were still fresh. However, sometimes notes were hardly ever taken in the field. This might be because either the researcher was not prepared to put the participants' natural behaviour at risk by making her presence overt or for the reason that her involvement in the goings-on was too involved, for example, actively participating in their back region decision making and others. In such cases, the activities observed were

recorded afterwards, when the researcher had gone away from the field. Later at home, the recordings were expanded into inclusive FN. The researcher made efforts in describing the experiences as accurately as possible based on the brief notes. These notes took into consideration the contextual information, the order of their occurrence, their verbal and non-verbal responses, and the interlocutors (for instance, in terms of who the speaker was, what was said and to whom). In situations where there was an opportunity to record, the audio recordings were played later. It was not practicable for the researcher to transcribe the complete audio recording, but only the relevant interactional data useful to this study.

Reflexive notes and journals were drawn from the researchers' daily experiences. The FN reflect diverse information evolving patterns through practices. The field notes were handwritten consistent with Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, and Martin (2008), sorted, classified by number and date typed into words document in English and Hausa (see Appendix M). The FN consisted of 145 pages (42,317 words), in line with Erickson (1990), developed into descriptive, narrative analyses extracted into 'analytic vignettes' that were presented in the interpretation and discussion (see Appendix N). Summaries of the experiences not suitably the study focus areas were compiled to assist in performing added transcriptions when relevant themes newly emerged in the analysis process following Charmaz's (2006) grounded theory.

3.4 Data Analysis

The qualitative data in this study requires analytical processes and interpretation according to its subjective nature, therefore, perceived from diverse approaches with links between the two-phased data collected. In Hargarty and Postlethwaithe's (2003) view, the data are analysed for varying factors contextually, including individual and mutual

values. Data in an LE study are “examined in terms of emergent meanings and significance for participants’ different perspectives, generating a far richer understanding of context and contingency” (Rampton, Maybin & Roberts, 2015, p. 39). This data analysis focused on detecting the common patterns of activities and talk which described a group of persons. However, the researcher was faced with the dilemma to easily identify such common patterns as a result of the limited ability to participate in the KKK multiple sceneries to explore further.

How to start the analysis with raw data or a theory focused the researcher back to her ontological and epistemological position together with her research questions. As such, the researcher employed a pragmatic approach in the data analysis through an eclectic view. Already predetermined frameworks informed and directed the data analysis besides discovering the emergent ones. The researcher’s initial decision on using the NVivo data analysis software became obvious and provided a clear reason to drop it; while NVivo is convenient to analyse extensive and trivial data from numerous persons, it is, however, ineffective to analyse deep and narrow data collected from a certain number of participants, as in this study. The researcher had confidence in having more convenience in reading between-the-lines of the participants and self’s co-constructed data, exhausting one of the most significant aspects of this data analysis, which is the familiarity of the socio-historical context of the participants which was untenable using NVivo. For example, Gallagher (2007) and her research team’s multi-site ethnography; started using CAQDAS software. Instantly they learnt it was operational in managing data but insufficient for the data analysis as multifaceted and nuanced work. Gallagher (2007) said, “[the software package] gave us style, but no substance”; it forfeited the consideration to, control of, and the complexity we were after (pp. 71-73). As a result,

they returned to manual [coding] that appreciated the complexity and quantity of qualitative data and the immediate contexts.

Thus, the researcher became encouraged to analyse the data manually in agreement with Silverman (2006), who claims that a qualitative study must ascertain that it has not tumbled into 'anecdotal deception'. Again, since my primary analysis had already started with the data collection, it was further enthused by Saldana's (2016) declaration that "there is something about manipulating qualitative data on paper and writing codes in pencil that gives you more control over and ownership of the work" (p. 26). By relating data extracts to the methodical concepts and finding actual patterns opening with those research frameworks and questions reflecting the targeted areas as identity development and communication.

The researcher became aware of the data analysis method through Corbin and Strauss's (2008) view of seeing beyond the evidence in trying to discover new meaning. Miles and Huberman (2009) pointed out that a central difficulty in a qualitative study is its data analysis methods are both well framed and inadequately clear. As described in Section 2.5, Yin's (2011) five phases of ethnographic analysis and other qualitative processes are employed for this study's data analysis. Although Section 3.2.3 presented ethnography as iterative, in reality, the procedures involve iterations and crossovers; thus, the flow might reverse accordingly. Yin's (2011) five phases were not tagged in their given order; the closely related phases were combined as most of the placid facts for each phase that share cohesions were embedded into the other only to function as a guiding principle for analysing the KKK data in this study, described below.

3.4.1 Data Analysis Phases

1. *Compiling Data Phase*

Data analysis in this study began at the onset of the researcher's foot in the research field for data collection. Consistent with Snell, Shaw and Copland (2015), this analysis sheds light on the minor (but important) features of the KKK practices, behavioural patterns, and views, taking ethnography into lesser more attentive spaces and depicting regular devotion to fine detail. In analysing interviews, Baker (2001) claimed that positing interviews is a 'discursive practice' to linguistically deconstruct the interview experience in showing meaning construction on a turn-by-turn basis. The researcher listened to the interview audio-recordings (total 31.4 hours.), organised in folders under each participants' identities and began these stages of analysis:

1. *Listened, re-listened to the audio recorded interviews.*

Li Wei and Moyer (2008) maintained that a transcriber must produce a clear and accurate transcription and likewise needs to agree on the extent of facts linked to the interpretation that could influence the data analysis. The researcher transcribed the interviews and daily talks in Hausa, English, and Nigerian Pidgin. In proportion to Pavlenko's (2007) claims that "undoubtedly, in studies of the subject and life reality where the speakers' L2 proficiency is low, and the L1 is shared with the researcher, the choice of L1 as the language of data collection is justified" (p. 172). Therefore, the choice of the Hausa language made sense for interviews and talks in that majority of the participants, and the researcher has better fluency in Hausa than in English; thus, it offered us ample freedom in expressing ourselves perfectly like Morita's, (2004, p. 582) Canadian study. Again, the Hausa transcription was practically the principal step towards analysing the interview data satisfactorily. The transcription was verbatim, written on an A4 paper with proper punctuation and paragraphs, when necessary, by building a pattern of transcription through removing and adding some related symbols from adapted forms (see Page xiv).

It became necessary to include pauses as it is frequently a Hausa talk feature where speakers judiciously reflect on their views and a particularly important back-channel in which a hearer expresses respect and pays attention to the talker. Paralinguistic clues included in the transcription conventions assist the researcher in shaping the meaning of the transcribed words in the daily talks and the interviews in agreement with Marshall and Rossman (2011). Transcribing and manual writing helped the researcher to engage in the data reduction process by taking preliminary notes separately, which were kept for reference later for descriptive analysis and categorisation. During these procedures of iterative listening and reading; tentative themes and categories in line with Charmaz (2006) directly identified within the domain and sub-domains' practices emerged. As such, transcription was another huge challenge of this study (see Appendix Q).

Similarly, additional transcription conventions presented are consistent with Bucholtz's view that "transcription focuses primarily on an interactional structure that sometimes a simplified transcript can make a point more concisely and clearly than a detailed transcript" (2007, p. 788). With these processes, there were added concerns about the transcription, for instance, awareness that it holds numerous choices about which to render a precise handwritten transcription of anything the participants and the researcher said. Before typing the transcripts, the researcher requested the research assistant and a colleague to listen to the recorded audio while reading selected parts of the transcription's certainty of their accuracy.

Typed the written scripts into 82 pages (38,173) words for individual interviews and the focus groups formed 55 pages (14,315) words while reflexively jotting pertinent points.

The need to efficiently transfer the meanings into English and target for a coherent approximation of the words and meanings of the participants' made translation even more challenging. The audio-recorded interviews, daily talks, and typed transcriptions were

handed to certified translators (see Appendix S) for re-transcription and translation. Lefstein and Israeil (2015) observed that the transcribed recordings regularly become the central object of the contemplation and a physical depiction that smoothers the transient nature of communication that offers close analysis. The translations were verbatim, unless there was the likelihood for meaning distortion (see Appendix R). These stages took four months to complete.

2. *Disassembling Data Phase*

Elliott's (2018) view on thinking about the process of coding and Syed and Nelson's (2015) guidelines with the researchers ongoing reading and re-reading assisted the researcher to settle and sort out information sources used for data collection. Through 'pre-coding' the researcher used Layder's (1998) idea of circles and highlighters on Boyatzis's (1998) 'codable moments', phrases and sentences and underlining keywords in finding themes and categories linked to the research questions and frameworks. An issue rests in deciding the type of coding, to begin with, whether the priori codes or emergent codes. This study channelled this dilemma back to the design's epistemology and research question. The researcher is consistent with Rapley's (2011) description of a pragmatic researcher, thus, both approaches were applied in analysing my data. According to Wellington (2000), it is the best-balanced approach to qualitative data analysis. Saldana's (2016) eclectic coding, which permits using varied but apt coding methods were used, through wearing the analytical lens and approaches to generate codes. Creswell stresses that "If a 'prefigured' coding scheme is used in [the] analysis, I typically encourage the researchers to be open to additional codes emerging during the analysis" (2013, p. 185). The researcher began with Saldana's (2013) first cycle priori codes with the interview participants, coding a letter and number. For instance, P1, P2, and P3 for

individual interview participants 1, 2, and 3, etc. and focus group interviews FG1 and FG2 for groups 1 and 2, and so on. Also, other codes were used for group members depending on the group alignment and designation. Individual names were coded for daily talks for easy reference and appreciation of context. These codes, derived via Saldana's (2013) descriptive coding, created the basis of any qualitative inquiry purposely to aid the reader to “see what you saw and to hear what you heard” (Walcott, 1994, p. 55).

The researcher, iteratively re-listened and re-listened to the recordings and compared them with the translated transcripts, this prompted questions asking. In line with Rapley (2001), these questions were explicitly based on the what, how, who-or why of the participants turn-taking of the here-and-now micro-interaction to apprehend larger social construction practices. By perceiving the interview communication act as a series of Blommaert's (2005) ‘socially constructed discourse’, the researcher and interviewees identities were appreciated. An interview sample coding illustrates the above explanations (see Appendix T) wherein the researcher charted the data by initially providing columns, after and besides such data. One related to contextual facts and priori thematic actualities to reflect in the later analysis; the other to keep record of what was intuitively thought about the analysis of one of the interviews which took place in the KKK context.

3. *Reassembling Data Phase*

In examining the micro-outlook vis-a-vis the macro, Holliday (2010) stated that codes, categories, and themes are three vital components. The researcher summarized the documented data at first, coded by transforming data to phrases or words as per ‘shared daily practice’ and ‘community’. Related codes were grouped into complex categories; equally, related categories were gathered and merged into main themes. At this instant, in attempting to define the number of codes, to begin with, the researcher reflected on;

Lichtman's (2013) 80-100 codes and Friese's (2014) codes of about 50-300. However, the resolution to start with Creswell's (2013) 'lean coding' was aborted because of the bulk data. Instead, the researcher put together Creswell's (2013) and (2015). Creswell's (2015) modified version suggested more practical coding with 30-50 initial codes in both small and large databases, reduced to 20 codes, then further analysed to 5-7 themes that develop the main titles in the section of these study findings.

Codes were generated, reviewed, and expanded into subcategories and, again, another sub-division eventually arrived at 45 codes. All concerning the frameworks and the emerged data were coded in this category before further coding. During the second cycle of coding, upon another rereading and rereading, the 45 codes were reduced to 20. The theme reduction at this stage mostly related to the participants' family history, migrants' and immigration history, learning, and well-being, which it is assumed were significant aspects regarding communication modes.

This study's research questions became more informed on identity development and communication thus, the former information about their lives became less significant. Initially, all themes appeared applicable and vital to me after several codings, I picked those related to my research questions. Reading and rereading the coded data implicates using multiple data sources; thus, the data were triangulated. The 20 codes suggested by Creswell (2015) were generated by eliminating marginal and redundant codes, which resulted in recognizing important facts. Analysing the processes of identity development shown by participants involves creating codes to look into their opportunities, stages and systems, indicators, trajectories, and impacts by stressing points and writing comments then the category and concept coding ensued. Different colours highlighted the relevant codes in both the field notes and interviews.

Based on the above principles, the researcher considered Lacey's (1976) process of progressive focusing, to simplify the 20 categories holding a central leach for the corpus review and a foundation building for the forthcoming cycle of coding. Also, Saldana's (2013) pattern coding, a system of uniting those reviews into lesser themes, groups, or constructs was the focus on the 20 generated and updated codes. In this data reduction process, it was essential to reflect the guide of "code smart, not hard" (Saldana, 2016, p. 18); coding as "an action of winnowing" (Creswell, 2015, p. 160), and the collective opinion as a "data condensation" (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2014, p. 73). However, they were more inclined by Hatch's (2002) features of thinking about patterns based on; similarity, difference, frequency, sequence, correspondence, and causation. The 20 codes were sought; patterns and relationships were found between the categories that combined and led to making seven major themes that turned out to be the main titles in the finding's chapters of this study. The pre-existing themes include a community of practice, learning-in-practice, identity-in-practice, social categories and language, while the emerged themes include: negotiating identities, sociocultural learning opportunities, and practices, as well as identity-based practices. The pre-existing categories imply that research questions can be applied as filters for data analysis. While the emerged categories imply that there are other filters for the categories not pre-existing. Themes originated from the community and remained simple succeeding this ethnographic fieldwork, akin to Bucholtz's (1999) highlights on how categories in a CoP approach come from inside the community and remained firm after her ethnographic fieldwork. Moreover, consistent with Delamont (2016), other markers were used in noting the generated themes and categories, those linked to CoPs, others, and the emergent ones.

In addition, the researcher wanted a clearer analysis of the transcripts' content to form a detailed system to support the data analysis and for contrast by adopting a double dimensional form of analysis in looking at the what and how of the discourses in the data. Firstly, the analysis of the interaction between the interviewee(s) and the interviewer by looking at the communicative practices in the discourses. The researcher interpreted each turn of speaking as connecting to what the interviewee was going to say. The interaction in this interview was seen as “an ongoing process of negotiation” (Gumperz, 2001, p. 218) to understand ‘what’ others expect to express besides observing ‘how’ each contribution was acknowledged. This, too, supports my position’s contextual appreciation and the identity of the interviewee. Secondly, a system of open coding was driven by unanticipated emergent themes (i.e., literacy and cultural diversity, agency, translation, and the likes) all over the analysis. For these data, the relationships were perceived as replicating the socio-historical impacts explained in Chapters 1 and 4. The researcher might not have incorporated these perceptions in the first coding based on her appreciation of the community’s practices. The participants’ consistent mention of their varied experiences with diverse people, in effect, resulted in codes constructed around these unanticipated concepts integrated into the findings. This situation provided facts used for certain themes that emerged as well as affirmed several additional sub- themes that showed they are unrelated to the contextual gist the participants are constructing. The researcher journals and reflexive notes were drawn from the KKK daily experiences.

4 & 5. Interpretation and Conclusion Phase

In the last dual phases four and five, the procedures above vividly indicated the need to present the study’s findings, and to do so, Croker (2009) made clear that the screen on analysing data must be shut at a saturation point. Nevertheless, Wellington (2000), specified that a saturation point manifests once there is a recurrence of patterns and

themes. This fact has been established, as the findings were reinforced by the participants' responses in our interactions, the researcher anticipated redundancy in any further attempt to collect more data, except the research questions were dramatically modified. This stage suggests the researcher's temporary withdrawal from the field. Thus, in addition to the verbal appreciation the researcher presented a letter to the KKTA office (see Appendix K). In other words, the fourth and fifth phases were developed by structuring the community's findings through data derived from the techniques and all the analytical categories in different groups' practices that emerged as themes. Hence, the emergence of interpretive themes rests in the reflexivity of interpretations by depicting broader contexts into serious analyses and reflections on the micro phenomena in the emic-etic analytical discussion, using an apt framework. The thick, interpretative description thematically prepared was to explore and resolve with the CoP and other frameworks concepts to "begin tentatively talking about findings" (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 44). Hence, the themes were interpreted by describing and summarising the KKK picture in the excerpts and presenting an articulated story.

Supplementary data sources like documents from the higher institutions and state libraries, KMCIT archive, *Gidan Radio Kano* (Kano Radio House), talk with elder statesmen and sundry skilled persons, video CD of community's stakeholders' talk sessions with the government-imposed caretaker committee, artefacts, pamphlets, photos, and the researcher, equipped this study with handy and rich contextual and perceptual information. The researcher's day in the community provided some explanations on their different expositions on both Goffman's (1959) 'frontstage' and 'back regions'. A researcher studying her or his culture has a benefit in building "explicit the systems of understanding which are implicit [for her or his capability to] use themselves as sources of information and interpretation" (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 89). As such, the researcher is also a source of data and analysis. The researcher sees these data analysis dimensions

on the interactions as data analysis triangulation. The results of the analysis are presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.5 Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research

According to Marshall and Rossman (1999) and Mishler (2000), validity, reliability, and rigour concerns are realised and interpreted in ethnography through the concept of 'trustworthiness'. There are, for researchers, many variations connected to their data authenticity to contend with "we want to be comprehensive, but also selective; we want to analyse singularities, but also to generalize; we want our accounts to be accessible, but also acceptable; we want to be rigorous, but also creative" (Dey, 1993, p. 265). For trustworthy results to be realized, Robson (2002) argued that the subjectivity problem ought to be accessed through understanding. Besides this, "if we see the idea of testing as a way of information elicitation then the most important test of any qualitative study is its quality" (Golafshani, 2003, p. 601). Piloting the study from the start provided the researcher with insights into how to have headway in the main study and check if the formulated research questions could elicit desirable responses as well as generate the data required to answer them. By interviewing three prospective participants (a business owner, a branch manager, and a secretary) who were willing to participate and qualified the snowball sampling selection norms of this study. Their responses were without any indication of ambiguity regarding the interview questions. Golafshani (2003) emphasized the impact of testing either quantitative, qualitative instruments, or both, in that, increasing the reliability and testing quality, trustworthiness, validity, and rigour are important to the study in any paradigm.

Bearing in mind the subjective nature of the qualitative study, this current research attempts to overcome the issues raised above by employing different techniques. The research findings were supported by triangulating the whole procedure (i.e., theory,

methodological, method, investigator, data, and analysis triangulation). This act, according to Creswell (2012) made the analysis richer in addressing validity issues. Also, Starfield (2010) added that it provided a contextually thick description of the study. In the theory triangulation, the study employs a heterogeneous view inherent in LE; in methodological triangulation, the LE design has two approaches (linguistics and ethnography); in method triangulation, several techniques were used for data collection (ethnographic interviews, focus groups, participant observation, field notes, and others); in investigator triangulation, some research assistants and participating individuals and groups were employed from different places and shops with a diverse line of businesses, language, and culture. Other methods employed include the researcher's interpretations "double-checked" with the participants and their perspectives sought after such as in "member checks and peer comparison" (Burns, 2010, p. 86). Furthermore, prolonged engagement; transcription and re-transcription, translation, reflection, and external auditing before findings were presented accordingly. Holistic, contextually thick descriptions were provided from the data analysed about the participants, their practices, domains, developing skills and identity, attitudes, needs, and drives concerning the areas deliberated in this research. The data collection and analysis processes were progressive; the first interview yields the researcher helpful insights that developed other successive interviews consistent with Teijlingen and Hundley (2001). On approaching the close of the fieldwork, the researcher requested participants for a go-ahead to draw on the data collected by sharing its interpretation with them, namely, 'briefing' or 'debriefing' (Johnstone, 2000) and was inspired to put across their view or helpful comments. The researcher welcomed their observations and provided an opening to demand the removal of the section(s) they were not composed with.

3.6 Positioning

In addition to the researcher's ontological and epistemological position in this study, Grix (2019) identifies three central areas in which the researcher's positionality can be located: the context and process, the participants, and the subject under study.

3.6.1 The Researcher's Ontological and Epistemological Position

The researcher was in conformity with Ybema et al.'s (2009) view that ethnographic research raises from a realist perspective in which behaviour is observed constructivist where understanding is socially constructed by the researcher and the informant. In other words, this ethnographic, interpretive study relates to the social constructivist research paradigm that targets "understanding meaning and action" (Carr & Kemmis 1986, p. 83). Consistent with Galtung (1990), the researcher considered the significance of undertaking a study with people and not on people. Besides, Richards (2015) argued that in searching for meaning and diverse understandings, the fact is relative and mutually created as persons interrelate with their localities. Also, the researcher understands that she would improve from this 'creating meaning' process that mirrors her selection of the qualitative method for investigation. In this study, my goal is to construct different understandings in the context that will guide the researcher and participants in their daily practices. Fixed in this position of epistemology, and from studying related research in the area of identity, at a stage in the observations, the researcher strongly associated her position to her teaching profession and in full swing assessed the modelling and scaffolding processes of the community members.

3.6.2 The Researcher Positions in the Ethnographic Context, Process, Participants, and Subject Under Study

The researcher's position in the ethnographic context.

The researcher is an indigenous society member, determined to explore the KKK domain

through the researched eyes, besides finding it vital to show herself as someone prepared to acquire some skills from the members. Conceivably, through reducing the influence of her insider or outsider position, and the advantages and disadvantages of becoming either. As an insider, the researcher was considered somebody who recognizes herself as a member and in turn identified by the community as who shares their culture, which Martin, Stuart-Smith and Dhesi (1998) suggested that at a shallow level, show, i.e., “skin colour, language, dress, knowledge, neighbourhood, as well as at a more central level, such as consciousness, belief and value systems” (p. 110). Put another way, the sociocultural identities of the researcher can be reflected as helpful as an ‘insider’. Yet, her situation may not be simply as per an ‘insider’, as the non-practical skill and gender put her as an ‘outsider’. The researcher cannot always presume a fixed position, instead, a “strong reflexivity” is required to check the “socially situated research project” and more to note “the cultural assumptions that undergird and historically situate it” (McCorkel & Myers, 2003, p. 203).

In agreement with Hallowell, Lawton, and Gregory (2005), the researcher, always influenced by where she was, who she was, and how she was appreciated by other individuals so as to become alert that her world view must be derived from her representations when she is presented to new data. Moreover, the researcher needed to become aware of the community as Gonzales, Brown, and Slate (2008) suggested, to closely observe it as her familiarity with it influenced her wider context view of the participants’ practices in their daily positional identities in the KKK and universally.

Besides this, placing herself around some participants’ localities and getting to know them outside the community created an informal setting that made both parties comfortable. Even though Ortega (2005) expressed an optimistic view that a value-free study is impossible, the researcher, in examining her understandings about the data and

in what way they were generated gave rise to habitually questioning her inferences. As social agents, Giampapa (2016) stated that researchers are placed by and create discourses that form how they may challenge, manage, and negotiate identities and positions in the field. Therefore, the researcher's position was constantly studied, negotiated, reorganised, changed, and constructed in the practices with her participants and others. Additionally, the argument of her position in the KKK context relied on Punch's (2013) stable and inflexible 'social categories', e.g., ethnicity, class, and gender.

The researcher's positions in the observation process.

Originally, the researcher applied many styles in building close rapport with her participants instead of the officially simulated link, and later, she freely began appreciating meeting them. The researcher was involved in the community life, talking and observing as she learned from them-what Agar (2008) referred to as their opinion of reality and so, developed an appreciation of the "multiple voices and points of view" (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011, p. 94) in co-constructing the field study. Consequently, their contributions were treated as significant and helpful information.

Nonetheless, there was the need to know the participants' form of language use before defining their position. Though real portrayal or a verbal agreement of the researcher's linguistic position can impact the participants' linguistic behaviour, her predetermined position might be defied if it is unsuitable with the participants' conditions. The researcher's 'macro roles' were a researcher and Hausa person, even though her 'situational roles,' in line with De Fina (2011), were different on the positions (for instance, aunt, sister, in-law, friend, counsellor, etcetera). Like various shops context, the participants in the researcher's approved shops as a salesperson were not kept in identifying her position during the visits, especially in the mixed ways of their reference to her. While some participant labels were based on familiarity as, *Hajiya* (title for adult

females), others addresses were in an unlike manner, e.g., the researcher's ex-students relate as their *Malama* (Teacher), my kindreds as *Anti* (Aunty or sister), and *Suruka* (In-law), etc. These ongoing different references in negotiating the researcher's positions and their language use were often more of translanguaging, exposing the joint flexibility between us in the practice. Being mindful of her linguistic, cultural, and ethnic position, the researcher attempted incorporating them into her study design. Gregory and Ruby (2011) indicated that the research participants might even see the researcher as the contrary of whatever position the research design intended to remain. While exploring, the researcher was present as part of the informants. As such, when the researcher's associate came along to the community, he perceived and defined her as 'an appreciated businesswoman; connoting, he is on a social basis less influential than the active society members'; similarly, he indicates her position of an outsider through a description of her as a seasoned teacher that is, a 'non-member' (Yamashita, 2015). In this instance, reflexivity may be implied as a "turning-back of one's experience upon oneself" (Steier, 1991, p. 2; Lazards & McAvoy, 2017; Carlett & Mavin, 2018), which also assists in the researcher's assessment and awareness of her identifiable position and its influence on the process of research, the design, the collection and analysis of data, and the consequent findings. The explanation above proposes the need not only to explore how the researcher observes her position but, to attempt to understand how her position was observed and understood by participants.

Researcher's positions in the interviews process.

During the ethnographic interviews, the researcher positioned herself to become an attentive listener to the participants' stories more willingly than to speak to them. As soon as an interesting response was perceived, additional questions were asked. Some participants were always keen to speak straight-away; once provided space, they would start pouring out their stories and their ideas for hours. While few others had to be

prompted and probed at intervals. In addition, non-verbal signs like; facial expressions and utterances (i.e., ‘huh!’ and ‘oh!’) were considerably used in the interviews. Given that the field is apt to be continuously changing, England (1994) encouraged the researcher to manoeuvre around such unforeseen circumstances. The interviews that exceeded the scheduled duration, however, “could have the effect of reducing the number of persons willing to participate, which may, in turn, lead to biases in the sample” (Robson, 2002, p. 273). At times, while an interview had been prearranged, once there were awkward split seconds of a break in the proceedings, the researcher then asked questions. Hence, in the interview, other plans had to be thought-out: B, C, and or D. On some days, the participants appeared reluctant to talk the researcher decided to talk about her personal life as plan B, with the intention that if he still looked disinclined to talk, plan C could stop the interview. Finally, if he started talking about his progression in the KKK, and the interview could be sustained. As such, when during the interviews, the participants were whining about challenging issues in the community; the researcher was significantly involved as if talking to a friend. Therefore, “the research encounter [was] structured by both the researcher and the research participants” (England, 1994, p. 86). Hence, strategies for interviewing must be employed according to the mood of the participant. In that perception, the participants themselves decide what data will be collected. Now and then, the researcher asked them to reflect on their regular community practices with their friends and at home with their families, perhaps, their interests, leisure activities and so forth. Then researcher noted her interest in their considerations on being business learners, their behaviours, activities, practices and meaning-making, positional identities, and their future expectations. Moreover, after the interviews with the stakeholders in the researcher’s sequential visits to the shops, there were no offers of engaging one-on-one with them. In some shops, maintaining distance between them and the researcher became obvious. A pragmatic reason for this might be associated with the social class the society has placed people and the lingering impact of unacceptable of

western education in Hausa land. These were the reasons behind the forewarnings received by the researcher before getting on this research journey. However, the western-educated and exposed shop members felt it calm during the researcher's visits.

Researcher positions with the participants, and subject under study.

As the participants' multilingual resource during the observation, the researcher understood how this multilingual, multi-ethnic community required suitable language resources. The key participants created chances for their shop attendants to get exposed to different languages through customers and visitors from other states and countries as well as from business partners and regular visitations to India, China and other countries. Considering the KKK contexts, where gaining access to several languages is easy for the members, the researcher's multilingual talker's visits encountered some participants' aspirations. In this regard, participants considered the researcher their multilingual resource, e.g., a key participant often kindly attested that in my visits, some shop attendants learnt and were inclined to use more English words, Nigerian Pidgin, and translanguaging than usual even with the researcher while she kept them updated about her nature of research to avoid exaggeration in such acts. The process adopted by the researcher in the concurrent data collection and analysis was to protect, interpret, and take notes ethically about participants. The researcher, also aware that her analyses might differ from how the participants interpreted themselves, shared her views with them some months later. Some diverged in the analysis focus of an under-achieved community. They argued that just one gaze into their community was inadequate to take this position. As we could not agree on that view, we settled on why one observation was short in making an exact analysis of their practices. While some participants trusted the researcher and expressed satisfaction with their link with the research, some were not concerned with that aspect. The participants' negotiation of the researcher's position can be explained through an instance during one of her afternoon prayer breaks at a manager's office. After

the normal chats, the manager inquired about the researcher's area of specialisation and politely requested her assistance in the processes of selecting beautiful textile designs and matching colours and editing some of their emails written in English (FN31, May 7, 2017). In the data collection second phase, some participants invited the researcher to join their companies, which created a mutual feeling of acceptance (FN55, January 17, 2018). Relating the two instances, one can perceive how our rapport had transformed over time. First, my teacher and researcher position was stressed, appearing to create reservations between us. Later, they appeared to identify the researcher among their associates. As the positive rapport continued to progress, most participants confessed that they had become more contented in sharing their business and time with me. Also, there was a tendency that the features of the interview data might be altered by becoming more personal and responsive close to the end of my research.

3.6.3 Social Categories Challenges and Impact for the Study

Careful reflection of the social categories suitable in my label as a researcher, my participants' descriptions and their observed social statuses were important at this stage. The researcher was carefully using 'routine categories,' since meanings that are socially constructed are built up by the labelling of the term itself in agreement with Bourdieu (1989) and Rawolle and Lingard (2013). Although social categories are vital features to consider, it is also important to become mindful that they are not stable but conceptual, fluid, and dynamic. When referring to my research participants in the transcript, it required me to mention their positions for clearness. The researcher became attentive to the possible intricacies of ascribing the pre-constructed inferences to them and how our interaction context also influences such categories. Through the researcher's linguistic, cultural, and ethnic position, social categories like people, age, language, gender were considered and observed how they are suitable "markers of relational positions in society, rather than intrinsic qualities" (Chacko, 2004, p. 52) by seeking clues from participants.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter reflects issues that supported handling the conundrums associated with undertaking the entire study through the CoP and acts of identity frameworks besides other vital concepts that aided the research. The qualitative LE methodology chosen to explore and analyse the main evidence from the data were presented. The LE heterogeneous viewpoint, concerns, and complexities along with Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) four ethnographic principles and practices and Agar's (2006) abductive, iterative, and recursive logic aided the purposes of collecting and analysing the data together with other supplementary methods. The qualitative ethnographic data collection and analysis methods shows how identities are developed and communicated in the KKK. They are also useful in displaying how particular themes shows that the data merely emerged after building what Erickson (2004) considered as ecological relationships. The chapter discussed reflexivity, research context, snowball sampling and selection, ethical issues, and positioning as well.

CHAPTER 4 : DEVELOPING IDENTITIES: LEARNING-IN-PRACTICE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes how participants developed identity in the KKK. It rationalises the KKK as a CoP through its components and criteria as well as describes learning-in-practice through different trajectories. However, the excerpts of the discourse presented in this study are primarily translations from the Hausa language, unless otherwise noted (in such cases, that implies that they should be noted). The chapter also responds to research question 1: How do participants perform their daily routine practices to develop identities in the Kano Kantin Kwari business community?

4.2 The KKK as Communities of Practices

This section explains the KKK under the CoP conceptualization to explore their culture.

4.2.1 The KKK Domain, Physical and Structural Context

Wenger's (1998) refinement of CoPs improved understanding of the feature that allow discussing aspects that form the KKK domain, context, and culture (see Chapter 1 for highlights of structural and physical setting, language, actions, and ideals). The KKK had undergone processes of label shift, shown in the following interview excerpt.

Excerpt 4.1

- 1 **P13:** The Kantin Kwari, as you know, is situated in what used to be known as
2 the Syrian quarters. The area where the Syrian and later the Lebanese
3 formed, settled, and lived. (Turn 5, March 30, 2017)

This interview took place at the participant's (a volunteer elder) residence in Kano between 9.40 - 11.08 pm. On lines 1 and 3, the first account above discloses that the

Syrians and Lebanese were the originators of the KKK. Therefore, this is a clear indication of the global mobility impact on Kano City and the KKK, which is also diversifying, according to Blommaert (2010), as new migrants settle in older immigrant areas. The elder further explained the KKK origination and its developments.

Excerpt 4.2

4 **P13:** These people had their *Kanteens* or (shops) where they sold their
5 merchandise, and the area came to be known as *Kasuwar 'Yankwara* (the market
6 of the Lebanese). It was in a *Kwari* (valley), so to speak, hence later KantinKwari.
7 (Turn 7, March 30, 2017)

The explanation from lines 4-7 showed that the KKK has been going through re-identification and reformation processes from its inception to the present time. Hence, it developed into their layered settler space when linked to Blommaert's (2010) view and has been providing work for its members since that time. These settler activities license language mobility in conformity with Pennycook (2012) and Pennycook and Osiji (2015). Understanding the KKK CoP features involves referring to its context and demography. It is typically well-located in terms of Bourdieu's (1985) "social space" in which great relation forces come into contact, briefly described in the FN extract.

Excerpt 4.3

8 The KKK is located at the heart of business centres amidst major busy roads
9 leading to strategic places within Kano City, operating from morning until
10 evening, Sunday through Saturday. It used to be an open-air bazaar, then
11 transformed into high-rise Lebanese buildings, earlier designed into flats atop and
12 stores below with many entry points. It faces both ancient Plaza Cinema and
13 Ibrahim Taiwo Road linking to Singer and Sabon-Gari markets on each side, yet,

14 on another side is the *KofarWambai* market attached to the Eid ground, and
15 adjacent to it is the *Tijjaniya* Friday Mosque. (FN1, September 21, 2016)

The above description in excerpt 4.3 summarizes the KKK location viewed from all angles and high spots from its historical base. Though, its current landscape separates along with the social patterns of age, gender, ethnicity, power, and other identity practices. This study focussed on the practices amongst the KKK members and between them and others that come into the community. Hence, the community is reputed to be, one major CoP. Consistent with Wenger (2004), the researcher reflected that the KKK is a CoP sharing a domain of an identified textile business interest covering several cores, peripheral and marginal members, as well as other individuals that cover both local and global communities. The KKK business domains depicted in Figure 4.1 were the support that springs diverse individual and group identities as well as separated from others. The CoP concept has also been established as a tool in business groups to benefit from collective knowledge in line with Fletcher (2011).

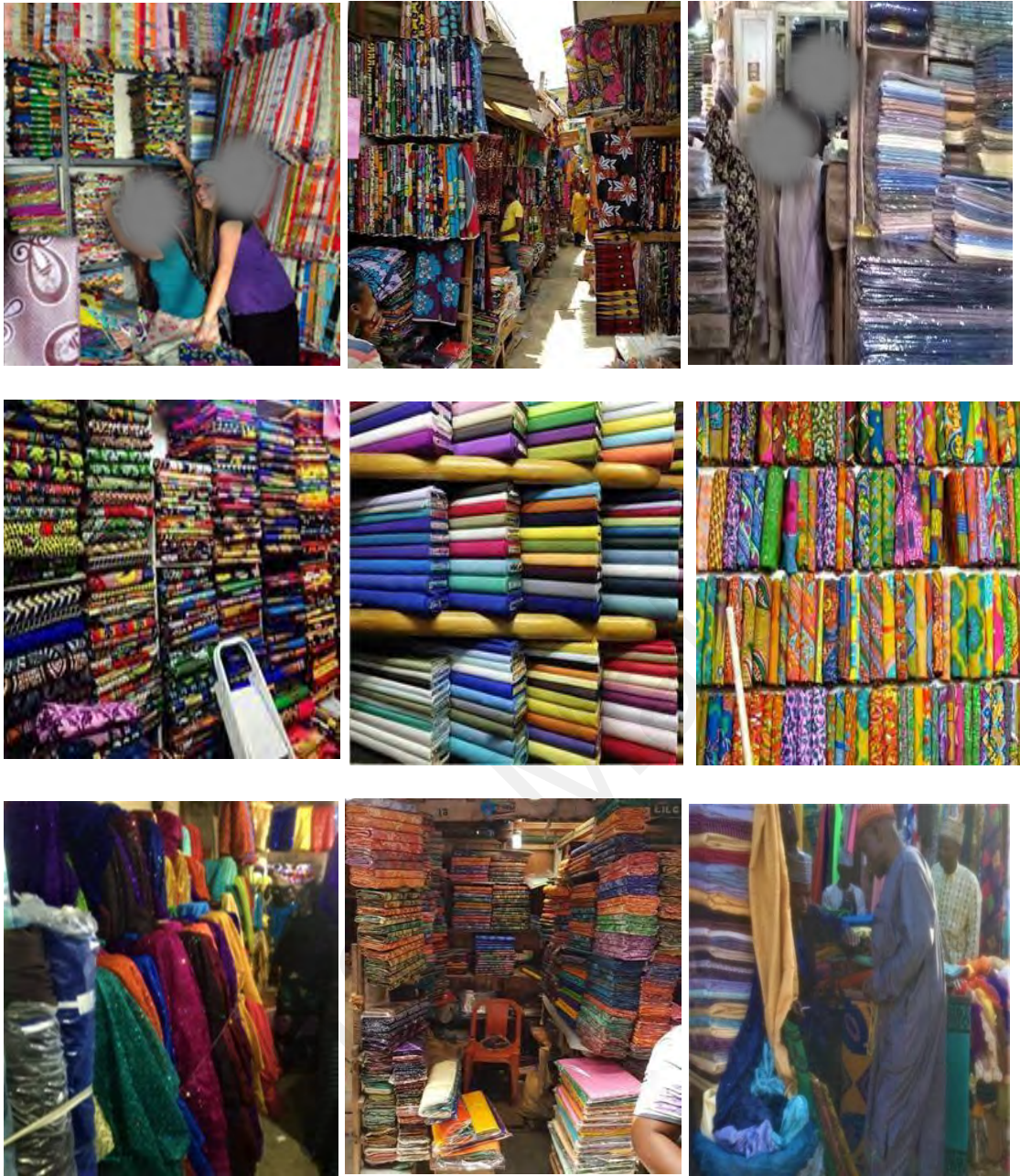


Figure 4.1 : The KKK Diverse Textiles Business Domain Samples

Source: The KKK homepage https://kantin-kwaricloth.market.business.site/?utm_source=gmb&utm_medium=referral

Figure 4.1 above explains the diversity in the community portraying the well-displayed shops and different kinds of textiles arranged for customers' varieties. The pictures indicate diversity in the types of people that visit the KKK and the textiles they are dealing with in their open shop spaces as well as choosing and negotiating prices of textiles. The KKK domain composition is further categorised in this interview extract.

Figures 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 above represent each core group in the KKK involved in a talk with the researcher. Figures 4.2 and 4.3 were in their shops, and Figure 4.4 is in the community's remote car parking area. Unlike before, the government intervention led to the expatriates' restrictive visits to two days a week to the community. The picture was taken on the restricted days; it expresses their lack of space but is linked to some community members as their guarantors. The sceneries connect facts about the KKK diverse business contexts; however, this study emphasises Kano indigenous group.

4.2.1.1 The KKK Kano Indigenous Group

The Kano indigenous group is the dominant group in the KKK because the population of the indigenes though not explicitly stated, is over 75%. It consists of groups and sub-groupings, and their presentation of identity is in the relationships between different individuals, concerning their several settings and in participating in their CoPs linked to the traditional Hausa socio-cultural hierarchical system. As explained in the larger Hausa society, a hierarchical direction is observed in the KKK, authority and role relationships are manifested in their positions, and the engagement within the community is structured, informal, and immediate. The system shows the simple stratification of the following four hierarchical groups reflected in the KKK (see Section 1.3.4).

- Group A '*Sarakai*' (Rulers): is the uppermost class.
- Group B '*Malamai*' (Learnt people): is the higher class.
- Group C '*Attajirai*' (Wealthy people): is the high class.
- Group D '*SauranJama'a*' (All others): is the bottom class.

Possible movements are revealed in the KKK within the groups, which are so obvious, and the social status labelled above are community-related components given emphasis

and recognised to influence interactions in their CoPs. From the above-listed groups, Group D is the largest group described in the excerpt that follows.

Excerpt 4.5

21 **P3:** There are very strong groups, like four or five that are in the community,
22 e.g., there are carriers (labourers) of goods, the stalk-owners, pick-up-
23 owners, and so on. (Turn 24, February 7, 2018)

The manager, business owner, and chair of the KKAGWA (some elite members origination) in his third-floor well-furnished office in the KKK lists a few sub-groups on lines 21-23. The description below provides explicit info about the KKK sub-groups.

Excerpt 4.6

24 The narrow passages were crowded with temporary sets (tables and standing), so
25 people had to squeeze themselves through. They walk side stepping on one only
26 to come close to bumping into another. That often forced everyone to catch hold
27 of her or his property. I noticed diverse minor groups from customers, hawkers,
28 agents, food sellers, *Almajirai* and other beggars. Also, there were '*Yan Talla*,
29 (men, women, boys' and girls' hawkers) who brought along different foods,
30 snacks, small packs of water usually named *piyawata* (pure water), fruiterers
31 selling different fruits and butchers selling unlike recipes of smoked and fried
32 meat of all kinds (beef, chicken, lamb, etc.). Each of these people uses a variety
33 of dialects to talk, and they all form part of the KKK. (FN10, January 9, 2017)

The sub-groupings listed in the two extracts above are examples within Group D of the Kano indigenous group. While members in each group had their distinct specific focus and business tasks, each group contributed to the common constellation exemplified on

lines 27-32. Though this study takes a holistic approach, it focused on indigenous officially registered companies, as suggested in this talk extract from the FN.

Excerpt 4.7

34 **Sec:** Now, where do we start? You see, first of all, we need to find out those
35 individuals who are a bit enlightened and familiar with business
36 communication practices. They are your target participants, those you can
37 get valuable information from. (FN10, January 9, 2017)

The secretary to the KKTA, on lines 34-36, was suggesting (that is, snowballing) the category of participants he anticipates the researcher can select. Those who are aware of the KKK practices and how they develop and communicate identities, as he explained on lines 36-37. All of the above details were consistent with Wenger (1998), who identifies a diverse community, specifically, as there were numerous sub-domains or groups in an indigenous community, which captures a larger space of engagement likened to a distinct CoP as a Constellation of Practices. Wenger (1998) also pointed out that this formation can be a huge configuration, for instance, the worldwide economy, a metropolitan or a common movement, or a minor configuration, for instance, a shop, office or school, even though the contexts are dissimilar with the KKK context in the works of, e.g., Rock (2005) and Brannan (2007). The former used it to examine the informal practices used by a police force in interviewing detainees, and the latter used it to describe in what manner sexuality is created in call centres. All the studies were conducted in informal settings to develop the CoP concept further. To Wenger (1998), two purposes are attained when observing any group as a constellation: it is an approach to identifying it as communal, and it includes interpreting main incoherences concerning separate communities. The proposed parameter used for considering a group as the constellation of practices is as follows:

- Sharing historical roots
- having related enterprises
- serving a cause or belonging to an institution
- facing similar conditions
- having members in common
- sharing artefacts having geographical
- relations of proximity or interaction
- having overlapping styles or discourses
- competing for the same resources (Wenger,1998, p. 127)

Based on these parameters, the Kano indigenous group findings so far have accomplished and satisfied the criteria above, therefore it may well be regarded as a constellation of practice, as it will be further verified in this chapter. Wenger's (1998) familiar terms with the physical space between CoP members might be an issue that grounds CoP to be unsuccessful or fizzle out. He again claims that CoPs are formed by the participants' active participation by choice than by being defined by physical form. The KKK CoP has a natural physical formation, entailing structures, and vicinities. Some structures were rebuilt, yet most of their structures are still old and unplanned, short of provision for basic infrastructural facilities (i.e., poor road networks, toilet facilities) and old fashioned randomly planned built-up houses, mostly in a state of disrepair and dilapidated. Figures 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7 below depict the structure samples now in the KKK.



Figure 4.5 : The KKK Old Structures (Front View)

Source: Picture was taken by the researcher



Figure 4.6 : The KKK Old Structure (Remote View)

Source: Picture was taken by the researcher



Figure 4.7 : The KKK Modern Structure

Source: Picture was taken by the researcher

The above sample structures portray the present the KKK. Figures 4.5 and 4.6 represents the old building styles with the common characteristic of the traditional Arab style building. In the past, shops on the ground floor and residents atop. Gradually, residents turned into either shops, storerooms, or offices. Atop each building, the property owner's name is written as its identity. The new building structure looks more business-like; a registered business name is written atop or aside like the model in Figure 4.7. Besides the shops, the *tampararay* (temporary) shades and tables of the Group D members who were unable to rent a shop, created in the spaces are depicted in Figure 4.8 below.



Figure 4.8 : The KKK Old Temporary Shades and Tables

Source: Picture was taken by the researcher

The pictures in Figure 4.8 above displayed the old temporary shades and table styles comprising the KKK larger population. Also, they depicted different Group D settings in the community, where and how some members engage in their business activities.



Figure 4.9 : The KKK Partitioned Temporary Building

Source: Picture was taken by the researcher

Figure 4.9 above represents the transformed building styles replacing the KKK temporary traders' shades and tables in Figure 4.8. They are constructed as an intervention exercise by the Kano State Government. As shown in Figure 8, they appear just provisional as the name directs (*Tamparare*), where, daily, each person displays his textiles and then uses the small canopy for protection from the hot sun, dust, and rain. From my observation, they seemed to be the reason for congestion, roadblocks, and anxiety to the customers and visitors.

4.2.1.2 The KKK Daily Routine Practices

In this section, the KKK participants' daily routines are considered purposely to ascertain whether the community was functioning in a manner that satisfied Wenger et al.'s (2002) criterion of presenting together familiarity and excitement, thus allowing the building of links between learners and experienced members in developing their identities. Similarly, Consistent with Hornberger and Johnson's (2007) ways of creating a space in any context

indicating the individuals' access limits to the CoP. These ways are reflected in the KKK spaces, and they decide the access boundary of individuals to the practices. The results showed that individuals are allowed free entrance and free exit into the community's practices to support the entire society. It was each individual's responsibility to determine their entrance and identify with the group that they fit most. The groups' daily routines did share some communal features. First, all in all, they had to engage in business activities, such as practices whereby each person remains in their shop even if they have customers or not. When there were no customers, members utilised this time to do other business goings-on.

As revealed in the participant observation, Ahmad in DASU BROTHERS Nigeria Ltd took an unbiased and compliant attitude to his shops' demand for additional undertakings during the less busy hours. Instead of being retrospective to what the chairperson had specified during the interview, he endeavoured to adjust to the practices. He accepted the circumstances as 'the KKK way' or 'how things are'. All other members of Groups C and D in the hierarchy showed a parallel attitude to these added practices and adjusted to the circumstances by engaging in meaningful business transactions, for instance, with their customers. This was a diverse form of meaning negotiation, a process whereby Wenger (1998) stated that the world is experienced with meaningful engagement. Like this, they were developing their individual and group identities jointly, even though the circumstances were forced by the community. Likewise, for all the shop members, the schedules of businesses were directly or indirectly managed and decided by the chair of the company. Hence, on account of dynamics within the KKK, some members were unceremoniously sometimes moved from one place or branch to another. As presented above, in the real daily routine, the higher hierarchy members differed from the other groups.

Through these practices, the middle and lower groups undergo a reification process of their perceptions about becoming members, whereby they learnt to take notes in a precise way, “enabling new kinds of understanding” (Wenger, 1998, p. 60).

4.2.2 The KKK as a CoP

What makes the KKK a CoP? The response to this inquiry focused on discussing the need to satisfy at best Wenger’s (1998) three CoP criteria: mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and shared repertoire. These criteria were revealed through instances collected from the participant observations, ethnographic interviews, focus groups, interaction, and other methods. Then again, how do researchers define that the people being studied establish a CoP; what point of reference is used in confirming that the three main CoP criteria are present? Responding to these demands, this study used Wenger’s further skeleton of fourteen CoP ‘criteria features’, each fitting into the three main criteria which are instantiated and propose that they may form the beginning of analysing the efficacy of the CoP framework. The following nine criteria are significant in this study as they are apparent in the community:

- sustained mutual relationships-harmonious or conflictual
- shared ways of engaging and doing things together
- absence of introductory preambles, as if conversations and interactions were merely the continuations of an ongoing process
- mutually defined identities
- the ability to access the appropriateness of actions and products
- specific tools, representations, and other artefacts
- local lore, shared stories, inside jokes, knowing laughter
- jargon and short-cuts to communication, as well as the ease of producing new one certain style recognized as displaying membership (1998, pp. 125-126).

The features may be applied as a tool to identify the KKK diverse CoP qualities and relate the communicative practices of the group. Also, this study will comprise the micro and macro analysis for presenting similarities and dissimilarities among the KKK practices.

4.2.2.1 The KKK Mutual Engagement

According to the findings, the KKK practices were based on harmonious routines that supported one another, in line with Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999). These practices encompassed regular dealings through the convenience of physical spaces, as suggested by Wenger and Snyder (2002), where members conducted businesses and activities; rooted in compounded social relations. The KKK mutual engagement was positive due to some shops' open layout, which permitted free movement that promoted members' participation and interaction. Instances were discourses from formal to informal business-related discussions. In most shops, only the cashier's space was demarcated into a half wall that promoted the concept of open dealings. While awaiting customers, shop members met at the cashier's cubicle for negotiations on business and non-business-related issues. These layouts eased unrestricted flowing interactions as members called out to each other and passed messages or goods without taking a step from their spaces.

The research findings revealed the KKK had focused meetings slated for selection processes on the arrival of new shipments to discuss marketing and distribution strategies. Members usually met in small groups or pairs for particular consideration and negotiations. The '*Attajirai*' core group, for example, met every evening to enjoy local snacks, *Suya* (roasted meat) and '*Fura da Nono*' (millet balls and yoghurt) to discuss general and pressing issues (FN23, January 21, 2017). The KKK also had less harmonious

sub-groups, i.e., the various chairpersons represented each case; they met and interacted to deliberate on issues in progress as the government imposed ad hoc committee meetings at the Dankabo house, Kano (FN9, January 7, 2017). These groups' interactions were by far less in harmony than in the '*Attajirai*' groups; however, individual members may be related to each other (FN11, December 21, 2016) and (P1, P3, & P9, January 29, 2019). Similarly, some lower group members met briefly at their food joints to share early or late morning *Shayi da Biredi* (Tea and Bread), *Koko da Kosai* (Pap and Beans-cake), *Waina da miyanTaushe* (Rice-cakes and Vegetable soup) or other local varieties. These group members used this opening to catch up while relaxing and getting closer to others, besides greeting one another on the streets, pathways, stairs, shops fronts, corridors, or under the shades.

Notably, the KKK interactive practices were tied to sociocultural, economic, political, and psychological scenarios. Shop members constantly met to keep each other posted on business-related concerns, to accomplish goals, strategize plans, decisions making, and solve problems. Each section head and branch manager offered verbal reports on their transactions and discussed related issues. The findings noted that these meetings enable members to be appreciated by their company and their responsibilities unveiled.

Regarding the physical structures, the findings showed that the administrative offices were mostly located at the first or second level of the managerial buildings. These offices were often quiet, and the doors always remained shut, but periodically there were certain fast interactions of greetings mostly happening at early mornings encounters. The ground level was usually the main shop, sub-divided into sections. Shop members did not meet for small talk and lively chatter during business activities. Only high-ranking group members had periodic meetings based on the chairperson's availability. The chairperson presided over the meetings (which can last for hours) to determine the outlines and control

the business track. Accordingly, the chair signified the conceptualised power voice. It confirmed legitimate power akin to Hausa culture by ordering the company secretary to pronounce a meeting and to stress the compulsion to attend. Every section head presented his update, and vital concerns were deliberated. These section heads did not usually have meetings with their subordinates. Still, they had face-to-face encounters on an ad-hoc basis, in the morning updates that sustained the rigid control executed in the community. The sales manager in company NTG Ltd. testified that because of the business demands of his subordinates, it was difficult to have consistent meetings, but he usually had brief morning updates before full business began at 9.00 am (FN29, April 11, 2017).

The researcher attended a meeting in ELS Nigeria Ltd (FN31, May 7, 2017) held around 2.00 pm, suitable for the leading group members. At the meeting, some managers gave her the impression that the meetings served as channels between themselves and the executive on limited aspects only. The lower-level members could not use the meetings to raise concerns and get updated on the company's growth. Periodically, the executives informed lower group members of changes and seldom sought their opinion. However, the shops had networks where section heads were their members' voices and presented their concerns in the meeting, confined to business-related issues written in this excerpt.

Excerpt 4.8

38 I was called to join a meeting in the Chair's office with all sectional heads, branch
39 managers, and a Chinese business partner. The chair opened a non-business-
40 related talk by inviting the Chinese to talk about education chances in China. It
41 was a small talk exchange as the Chinese seemed to know little English; this talk
42 instantly moved to business-related concerns. (FN43, August 21, 2017).

For instance, this meeting comprises both the KKK and the non-KKK members, in this case, the researcher and the Chinese business partner specified on lines 38-39. The meeting took place in the chair's office, controlled by business-related issues and showed that small talk was insignificant, as portrayed in lines 40-42. However, the researcher realised that such periodic meetings provide shop members chances to resolve issues, strategize, and develop relationships and affinity.

In the same way, in the AT group meeting (FN41, July 17, 2017), some rising issues led to a restructuring of members' positions, after which they were requested to consider their new roles, business locations, and representations. According to Wenger (1998), in getting the members involved in all that matters, i.e., by seeking their view, the chairperson substantiated that they aided the progress and unity of that particular CoP. This indicated that members were only interrelated when the necessity arose, stressing that meetings were important to align business targets and purposes in line with Wenger (1998). Equally from the research findings, there were activities where shop members engaged through stable business transactions such as small talks, social gatherings, and celebrations. While prompt inquiries were made without introduction; however, small talk seldom occurred during festivities. Sometimes, only formulaic interactions of greetings paved the way to the next inquiries as shop members did not feel obliged to talk. Moreover, if these members were chanced to meet during a late lunch, business-related issues were talked over again. This demonstrates that the shared repertoire during the small talk was mostly mutual at the start of every day. For instance, on arriving at the researcher's special shop one early morning, the shop members were involved in small talk in the open space; the researcher wrote.

Excerpt 4.9

- 43 The marketing manager asked his subordinate about his father's condition of
44 health before giving direction on a business-related task. (FN34, 27 May 2017)

developed corresponding to Blommaert (2010). Hence, the dynamic shifting of such amalgamation consequently needed considering the community's problem of super-diversity. The disorderly-shaped structure connected some native foreigners' shops; their doors were always opened and juxtaposed with the community's open layout nature. Unlike the open-plan layout of the Kano indigenous shops, the native foreigners had small interconnected shops managed by two or more people. They also display their textile varieties differently along their narrow pathways. It was stated in my FN that 'most native foreigners' shops were small and had two wooden benches positioned facing each other during negotiation' (FN48, December 17, 2018). This layout simplified interactions and permitted free talk. The expatriates were placed in their affiliated company offices transacting together.

When the researcher shared her native foreigners' site experience with an indigenous key participant, she understood the influence of cultural and ethnic differences in his responses. For instance, the Kano indigenous shop open-plan concept was designed to encourage a 'free-family-friendly setting'. The concept was projected to have a significant impact on their rhetorical styles and models in a culture wherein status is oppositionally envisioned to inspire, and it appeared to have a divergent outcome. Members understood that small talk was unwelcome. It is written in my FN that 'small talk and joking were not a common practice during business activities. Sporadic talks were business-related. Shop members seldom gathered around each other for social tête-à-tête. They were too full of doings to share social talks in business active hours' (FN37, June 19, 2017). The social and business talk boundary was weak in the shops.

4.2.2.2 The KKK Joint Enterprising

From this research findings, it was perceived from the community members' behaviours that the members shared similar objectives in terms of activities and the nature of their dealings, though it was not spelt out (FN30, May 1, 2017). Therefore, the community was not only targeted at an identified common goal but an enterprise of negotiation that entailed Wenger's (1998) mutual accountability. The following instance might validate this point. A dishonest act engaged in by the AREWA TEXT GROUP shop members to a customer leads to a series of customer grievances as this immoral behaviour would later affect the business. Therefore, resolving the issue had become their priority, as shown in the following FN.

Excerpt 4.11

51 Because of a member's slip-up, all business dealings had to be handwritten in the
52 customers' record book. It was time intense and tiresome, involving all shop
53 members, myself included, gave a helping hand. When the chair arrived, he
54 ordered for an offhand meeting to make up for the issue. (FN40, July 11, 2017).

The above action on 51-52 added supervisory activities for the managerial group. This group's willpower, shown on lines 53-54 through the chair's instant action, substantiated their kindly negotiated enterprise to keep their customers pleased. Unfortunately, days later, the company chair visited the bank involved with the issue, and the bank's customer care apologised and pleaded that it would take a while before the issue was decided upon. The KKK context verified Wenger's (1998) view that a joint enterprising signified a procedure, not a static arrangement and was not limited to identifying collective goals. However, it included mutual accountable relations development while depicting the business skill of prudence, alertness and seriousness. Also, each individual had a well-defined purpose subject to their membership, level of engagement and shared repertoire

(FG3, February 10, 2017). Regarding information sharing and building rapport, members were empowered (FG4, January 19, 2019), and through this perception, the group described a CoP.

The following findings also reveal that contextual clues made members aware of the community's goals. In another privileged meeting, Alhaji (the chair) reiterated his subordinates to be well-mannered and constantly perform their roles skilfully (a subordinate responded). This quote ("Alhaji, we always consider how to improve our customer services", FN44, August 30, 2017) showed that shop members contributed to their joint enterprising. Again, when the KKK was vandalised by the Boko Haram attack. Participant 5 and his company members were actively involved in the clearing up, working the whole night to ensure they addressed their customers' whines in a timely and competent manner. Alhaji, called the senior shop member and said, "*Ko zaka karbi nabbobin wayar ma'aikatan mu da kuma jama'ar da zasu iyataimako, ka kirasu*"? ("Could you get the phone contacts of our members and others to come and help"?) FN12, November 23, 2016. They called their backup groups and volunteers. The above examples displayed the community's team spirit and sense a joint negotiated enterprise.

In addition, the findings found that despite the members' different entities, they shared similar opinions, had mutual concerns and confidently believed in addressing the community's issues freely, for whatever caused the members to be concerned or satisfied relatively at different levels as established in the interview excerpts below.

Excerpt 4.12

- 55 **P3:** The ad-hoc government committee seemed indifferent to our complaints.
56 Our businesses were crippled before the expatriates came with diverse
57 strategies. To create legitimate grounds for the 'expatriates', we had to

58 form this union and register it. We rejected the committee; it served as a
59 stumbling block to the expatriates who produced and supplied the goods
60 87% of members buy and sell. (Turn 6, February 7, 2018)

This interview with the chair the KKAGWA on lines 55-60 revealed how they simply proved their obligingly agreed enterprise and Wenger's (1998) shared accountability.

Excerpt 4.13

61 **P3:** We deemed it was necessary. The move stands, supported and backed by
62 the KKK and the Kano society. I am now the head. (Turn 8, February 7, 2018)

On lines 61 and 62, the chair provided more insights into the KKK joint enterprising.

Excerpt 4.14

63 **P3:** Silently, we engage in all that will bring good tidings to the community.
64 You see, for example, the revenues collected are sent to the government
65 treasury. What does the KKK benefit from it? Besides that, the committee
66 alleged that the expatriates defiled the business norm. If they were banned,
67 many businesses would collapse, and people will become jobless. Besides
68 that, they provided affordable goods that common people could wear,
69 namely, new clothes. (Turn 14, February 10, 2018)

The above explanations reveal how the KKK members on line 63 remained aligned in their joint negotiable enterprising. Some community members jointly negotiated their skills and became mutually responsible when they identified the government's ad hoc committee's shortfalls. These members shared identical goals to make affordable goods available, and they provided better services to customers by testifying their needs to liaise with the expatriates to satisfy all peoples' wishes on lines 66-69. Therefore, the KKK joint enterprise is not simply a stated common goal but an enterprise of negotiation,

relating the multifaceted relationships of shared responsibility that developed portions of the community in line with Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999). Individual company structure also revealed a joint enterprise in the KKK. For instance, the following samples in Figures 4.10 and 4.11 present two different structures.

Universiti Malaya

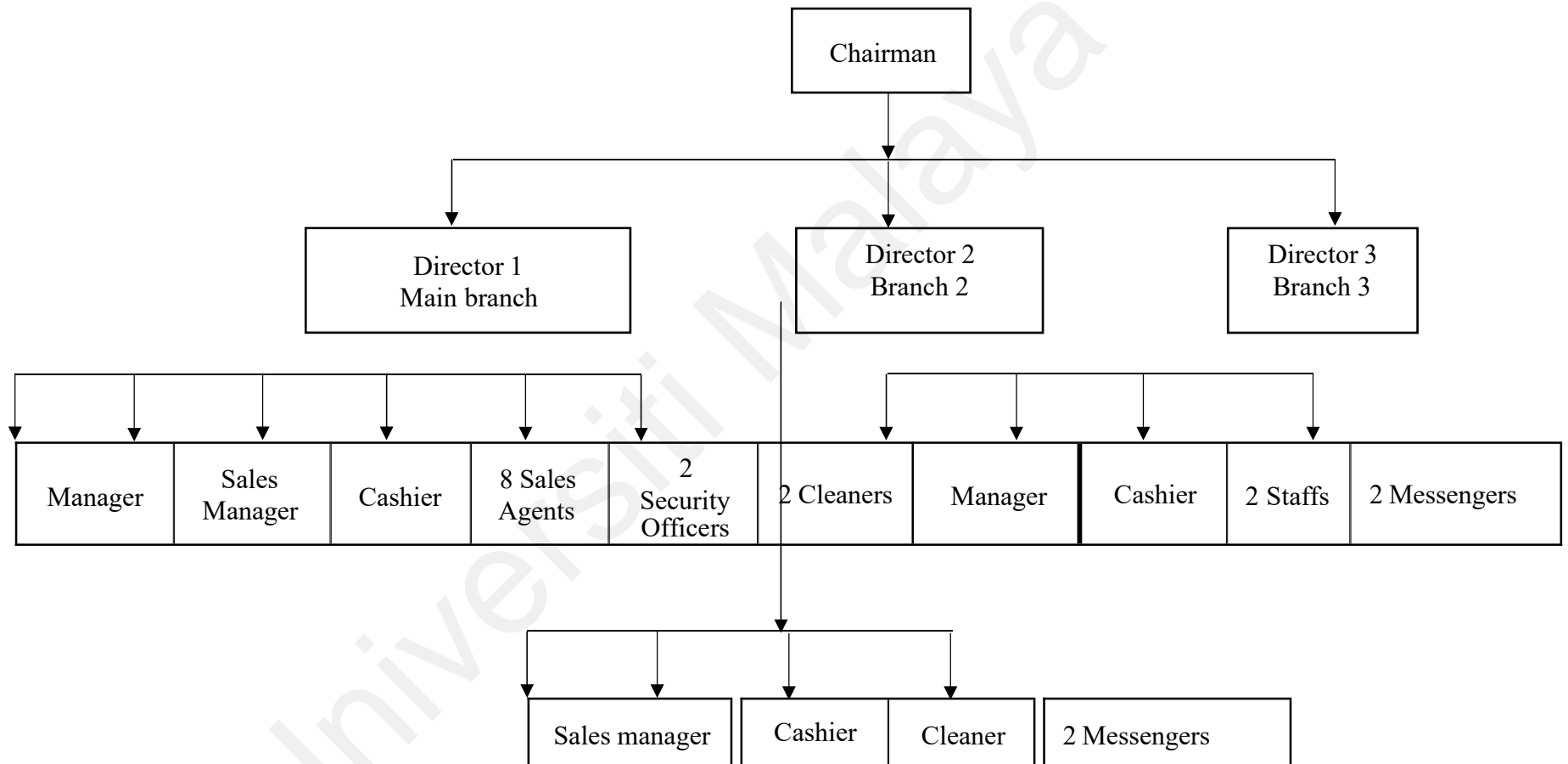


Figure 4.10 :: Sample 1 HALI GENERAL INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS LTD

Source: Compiled by the Researcher and Stakeholders

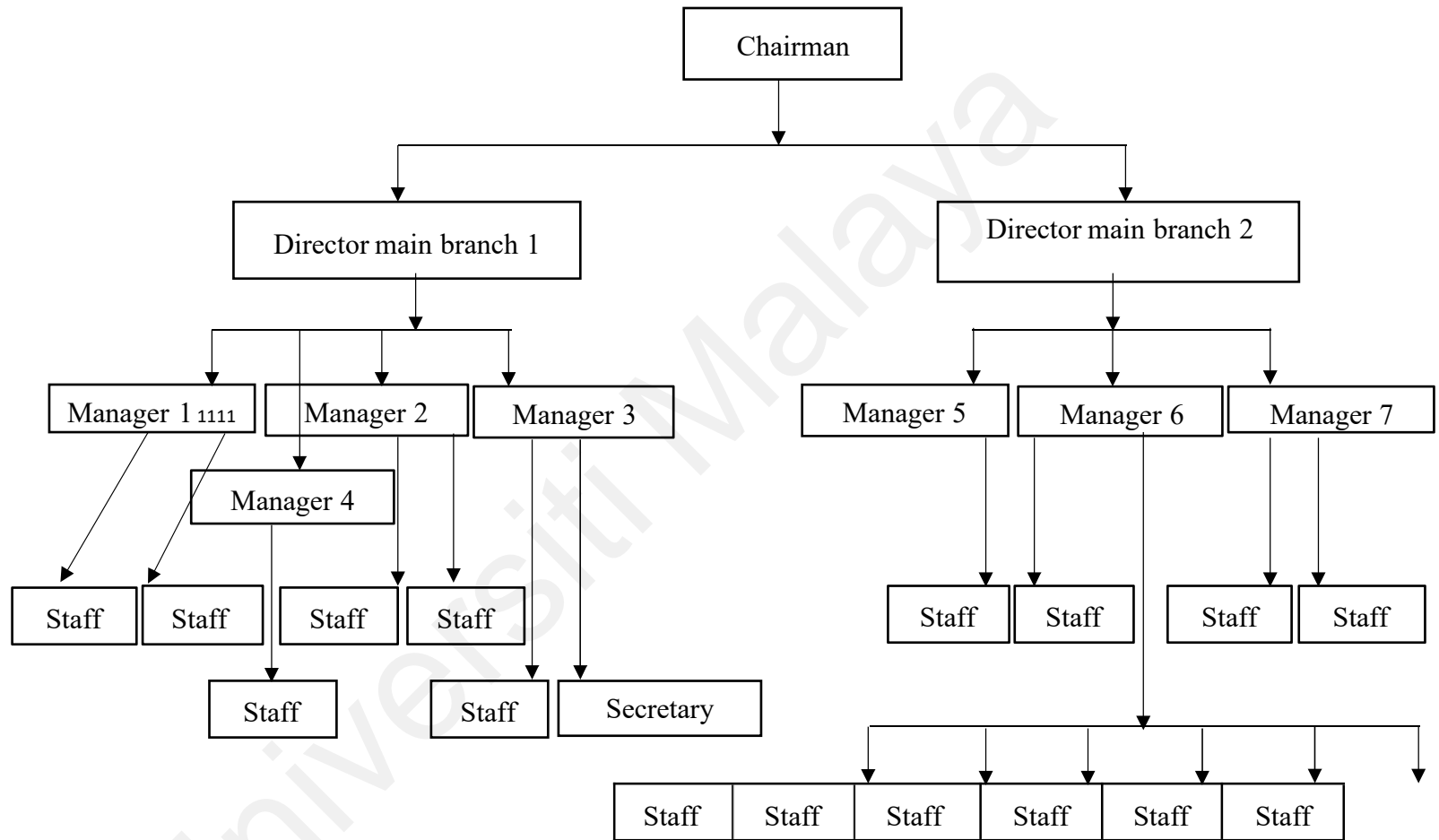


Figure 4.11 Sample 2 MT & SONS LTD.

Source: Compiled by the Researcher and Stakeholders

In Figure 4.10, the company structure shows the father as the chairperson and Director 1 in the main branch, the two branches where his elder sons as Directors 2 and 3 respectively were understood to be a family business. Each branch had its joint members striving for the attainment of one common goal. While in MT. & SONS LTD., the company chair was the overseer, as depicted in Figure 4.11. The company has two main branches under the directors and seven managers supervising the other branches. Unlike the first example, this company had outlets across the community with both family and non-family members. These two structures are commonly applied to many companies in the community, while most chairs interviewed tried to reassure both family and social settings for members. They exposed that those social relations provided openings for the KKK CoPs to create a feeling of belonging together from their companies and formed cohesion among members through their shared repertoire, which will be clarified in the next section.

4.2.2.3 The KKK Shared Repertoire

The findings indicated both linguistic and non-linguistic resources of shared repertoire in the KKK, which had developed over time by members who were interacting verbally either face-to-face or via phone and or WhatsApp. These are the predominant modes in their message construction to achieve anticipated purposes and get businesses completed. Verbal inquiries and instructions were conducted either in an asymmetrical manner to a higher group or spontaneous way to the social group with different implications. The findings showed that the core members who came to the community regularly and engaged with members and customers embraced similar life experiences besides their having enjoyable times after a series of successful sales activities and identity situations. They also had close links, direct or indirect rapport with each other who communicated from networks to networks bordering on practice. The new members increasingly learn

to share their practices and diverse marginalization stories that were coming from people, laws, or the community. Moreover, they usually engaged in information exchange directly besides seeking reciprocal understanding with their co-partners, customers, and others, as illustrated in (FN9, November 9, 2016, & FG5, February 3, 2019). As shown below, constant greeting rituals among members (Holmes 1998) and other visitors were considered a norm.

Excerpt 4.15

72 **R:** *Assalamu Alaikum* Peace be on you all.

73 **P:** *Wa'alaikumus Salaam* Peace be on you too. (FN11, November 20, 2016)

The greetings on lines 72-73 have been the common norm in the Hausa land since the dawn of Islam. Subordinates and younger ones greeted their superiors and elders at the first meeting with different greeting rituals. Also, those in the same social class or age group greeted each other in different ways; for specifics (see Section 5.3.1.2).

The outcome of the community's shared negotiation process revealed their full involvement in mutual engagement in getting things completed in business as they developed distinct informal practices. The community had developed a special vocabulary for its entities which was significant to their joint business engagements; their interaction included asymmetrical turn-taking and linguistic routines of phraseology convention patterns as follows:

Excerpt 4.16

74 **All:** *Hajiya! Zo nan!* Hajiya! Come here!

75 **All:** *Mu nada shi a nan* We have it here!

76 **All:** *Akwai a nan* It's here!

77 **All:** *Kai! Kawosu nan* Hey! Bring them here. (FN1, September 21, 2016)

Lines 74-77 pattern showed part of the community's routine jargon used as a marketing strategy. Also, consistent with Wenger (1998), the KKK other non-linguistic acts formed part of the shared repertoire resources understood between the members.

Based on the findings, the chairs often gave straightforward, complete, and firm guidelines concerning business issues, and the sectional managers would pass them on to their subordinates. During the observation, a member's name was picked following sentences such as, 'sort out this'; 'you need to follow up with so and so customer regarding those textiles' and (call this phone number for me). Once, a manager in HALIS Nigeria Ltd. used a declarative form as he was overheard saying t to a subordinate (I want you to go to this customer's [customer name] place this evening about this payment", FN30, April 5, 2017). These commands were usually followed by the response, *Toh* (okay). It was a mutual understanding that these commands were part of their predictable tasks characterised in the community's culture. But there were instructions given in a lighter mood; some interviewed subordinates said they always looked forward to such instructions with small gestures from either one or both sides.

In answering phone calls, only one company (anonymous) had a lady native foreigner secretary, receiving, screening, and redirecting calls to individual recipients. When the researcher positioned herself at her counter, the usual (Hello + company name + may I help you) was the initial response. The company secretary created a sense of uniqueness for the company after presenting its name to callers. As a shared practice, inquiries might be directed up or down the hierarchy while members acted for every inquiry made. This is further exemplified in Section 5.2.

The study found that when members embraced specific practices, it communicated distinctiveness of authority, whereas other practices communicated esprit de corps. The following examples validate this observation. In the early hours, Ahmad (Sales Manager) in Company DASU Nigeria Ltd came to his subordinate, Shehu's stand in the open shop space so they could write an invoice together. Instead of instructing Shehu on how the invoice ought to be written, Ahmad stimulated a lively talk of exploring the possible way of preparing the invoice (FN22, March 3, 2017). Whereas in ELS Nigeria Ltd, Isa came to Nasiru's space (cashier) to convey the cash one-on-one instead of making a fund transfer from his on-line sales. Both interactions were respectful and casual (FN29, April 25, 2017). The above experiences confirmed that while the members' tasks were purposely transactional, diversity in executing the transactions proposed attention to the personal aspects of shared repertoires.

Another finding was rejoicing over special events initiated by the community members as cases of managing relationships. Members supported these events by creating a little time in their business undertakings in their special new or clean outfits. The individual or his friends sent out a generic verbal invite, and/or his subordinates were sent to announce the occurrence. The use of third parties made networking peaceful as members were dispersed around different branches. The researcher witnessed many such happenings; for example, the branch manager in BARUWA Nigeria Ltd, Junaidu, rejoiced over his marriage in the shop after the traditional celebrations by treating his shop members to home-made traditional snacks and drinks (FN39, July 3, 2017). On a new child's seventh day naming rite, the ELS Nigeria Ltd accountant feasted a costly local afternoon lunch of Rice balls and vegetable soup with sweets and kola-nuts to the members at the shop's open space (FN42, August 7, 2017). Sometimes, it involved choices of home-made varieties of food and drinks. This mutuality with members contributed to the common

understanding and harmony within the community. In the observation, some community members re-counted not having lunch together because they were always busy attending to customers or performing some other business dealings. A new marketing manager expressed his regrets about how he missed his former company's lunchtime (FN27, April 13, 2017).

There were also the seasonal events (i.e., the two *Eids*) linked to their business activities that formed part of the community's culture, a negotiated shared repertoire, and made mutual engagement doable. The late lunch was another finding. The KKK has identified open meeting spaces ideal for mutual engagement, for functions, be it personal, social, or transactional, and a sense of belonging and fitting together. In the FN, I wrote.

Excerpt 4.17

78 The lower group members converted cool tree shades into their eating spaces for
79 both morning meals and late lunch. During the time-out, as there were untold
80 enjoyments, societal talks, and jocular manipulations (FN23, 9 February 2017).

During their gatherings from lines 78-80, members engaged in different repertoires, teasing, and laughter, signifying the harmony and unity shown in the following extract.

Excerpt 4.18

81 **Ad 1:** Which kind of kolanut do you like?
82 **Ad 2:** (Mockingly). The *namijingoro* male kolanut? Why is it named male
83 kolanut? (Laughed)
84 **Ad 3:** (Pulling his prayer beads). It may be for its bitter taste.
85 **Ad 2:** To me, the male kolanut is not the same kind of fruit completely. Though
86 it is firm and broken into portions like the normal kola-nut.
87 **Ad 4:** Indeed, certain normal kolanuts have three or four slices.

- 88 **Ad 1:** You mean the one known as *kwar-uku*? But they are rare.
- 89 **Ad 3:** My grandma once gave me some fine particles of kolanut. She grates the
90 kola-nut on the coarse lid top using a recycled shoe-polish tin with holes
91 bored from inside. The mince amasses in it.
- 92 **Ad 2:** You must have been eating too much of it then. What was the taste?
- 93 **Ad 1:** Like minced meat, I had not eaten too much, perhaps, as they said, because
94 of its health detriment.
- 95 **Ad 4:** You just like to be generous and serious at the same time.
- 96 **Ad 1:** It is not so; I crunch the nut similar to pieces of fried meat, while the old
97 woman eats hers like minced meat.
- 98 **Ad 3:** I assumed she still has all her teeth.
- 99 **Ad 1:** Surely not, except the two or three leftovers. (FN32, May 13, 2017)

This discourse sample was in the Group D spaces, and their talk topic was on the traditional kolanut culture. In Hausa society, the young people rarely ate kolanuts and took them to be for elders; some consume them as an after-meal snack, and some in the manner of cigarette smokers (a habit that leads to addiction like the drug or weed addicts). These members described and joked about their habits and how the old people craved the snack by the speaker referring to his grandmother on lines 89-91. They were not offended at each other's comments but contributed to their wisecracks as "shared ways of engaging in doing things together", According to Wenger (1998, p. 125). This state of accepting humour contributed to founding a good rapport that communicates their shared repertoires. In line with Mara and Holmes (2007), this confirms the vital aspects of this community's interaction and provides a hub for its divergent culture.

Similarly, the research found another possible CoP feature: the lack of introductory accounts. It appeared that members remained capable of picking up talk after a small or extended disruption and yet were able to carry on from wherever they had left off. This was exemplified in my FN, when Alhaji (stakeholder) bought a tray of kolanuts from a girl hawker, and she was not paid for it. Each time the girl asked Alhaji for her money; instead, he would ask for her home address. Meanwhile, Alhaji instructed his subordinates not to pay for the kolanut amusingly. While I was unable to follow the talk because I was unfamiliar with the situation (i.e., the background context), the subordinates seemed to know what Alhaji referred to, although it was not openly stated. This might be possibly due to the community's culture-related 'ethnicised CoP' representing enactment in ways consistent with their ethnic identities close to Norreby (2018), norms, and values as stated by the subordinates ("that's the way we do things here", FN42, August 7, 2017). These research findings showed this CoP has customary styles of conducting themselves, parallel to Wenger's (1998) certain style of showing membership' CoP characteristics. The researcher observed that shared repertoires provided signs that these community members must behave steadfastly to the cultural practices. The above negotiated shared practices discussed aided in developing the members' identities and offered them the feel of collective and group identity.

4.3 The KKK Learning-in-practice

Here, there is a need to make evident the KKK learning-in-practice based on their distinctive backgrounds that create the participants' understanding of business and influence their identity development. In the KKK business goings-on culture, it is plain that the learning-in-practice differed from stage to stage, group to group, and individual to individual in situated spaces and times consistent with Lave and Wenger (1991). Each person has to become accustomed to the new situation with the constant change in a CoP

membership à la Wenger's (1998) idea of the entrance of fresh members and exit of old ones. The KKK membership implicates a shared relationship; as the participants engage, they actively hunt to fit in and inspire the kind of membership involved in the community. Spotting the procedures and tools used towards bringing around whatever Wenger (1998) refers to as 'aliveness', the community's distinction that constructs its 'real' membership is important in this section. The KKK participants' identity development was open through their communication channels and modes of belonging, situated learning and legitimate and peripheral participation and sociocultural learning opportunities and trajectories.

4.3.1 The KKK Communication Channels and Modes of Belonging

This section explains how the community members' communication channels and modes of belonging helped their identity development.

4.3.1.1 The KKK Communication Channels

The findings showed that communication in the KKK conforms to May (2017), as it led to the community, mutual valuing, intimacy, and understanding. It is a process of sharing meaning, à la Pearson and Nelson (2000) and active concerning preparation, persistence, and practice in line with Moore's (2013) view and within its context and environment along with Mclean's (2005) consideration. The findings also demonstrated that communication is a skill, an art, and an activity across a spectrum of human understanding and business activities that modify the KKK history and influence its culture and more communities. For effective survival and development of an upright community, the KKK needs active communication and communication channels to accelerate the interactional positions of the insider and outsider. Undoubtedly, only a KKK insider can appreciate matters central to the domain, the information that is vital to share, the trials their field is

confronted with, and the hidden potential in emergent ideas and practices is consistent with Wenger et al. (2002). In the following interview, the guarantor's association shows the insider sight and outsider attitude with the chair.

Excerpt 4.19

100 **P3:** And it was because the Caretaker committee sent by the government did
101 not listen to anyone's complaints as it should be. Our affairs have been
102 deteriorating. This is the reason behind the creation of this association
103 purposely to create legitimate grounds for these expatriates. We were idle
104 when foreigners came with diversified business strategies. We, the young
105 adults, organised ourselves, formed a union, and registered with CAC.
106 Now, we have rejected this government committee because it did not
107 consult the community members. It was not interested in knowing our
108 problems, and it is serving as a stumbling block to these expatriates who
109 are the suppliers and manufacturers of goods we deal in. About 97% of the
110 KKK relies on and collects goods from these expatriates; they sell out the
111 goods, identify their profits and pay up their debt to these same expatriates.
112 (Turn 6, February 7, 2018)

This interview is with the Chair and patron of the KKAGWA, another friend-of-friend network that exposed the community practices to open negotiation between the insider and the outsider. It implies the establishment of communication channels by which practice develops into Wenger's (1998) situation of learning, meaning, negotiation, and identity. Hence, through their participation in their communication channels, these CoP members experience a negotiation process across time and space, as suggested by Giampapa (2004). In these processes, the chair stated that the government committee passed over the local interactional practices significant for the members' participation

globally, as shown in lines 100-102. The practice on lines 104-107 marked their conformity with Wenger's (2000) three modes of belonging viz.: engagement, imagination, and alignment. These young adults refined mutual practices in their recurring process of developing identity will be reflected as what Wenger (1998) referred to as reputable members of the CoP. Also, their constant participation in the KKK CoPs allows them to show belonging, and their existence and the dynamic blend are essential to its change into a learning site, which is not reciprocally exclusive.

In addition to the above examples, another way to instantiate one of Wenger's (1998) CoP features, to be precise, "certain styles recognised as displaying membership" (p. 126), is the shared repertoires in the phone communication channel. Equally observed when the participants received phone calls, there was no identified way of answering, but related protocol as with face-to-face was applied, all depending on the rapport level, status, and age. Regarding receiving both external and internal phone calls, as previously stated, the only instance I observed was that of the non-indigenous lady secretary. Below is an example of how she was receiving a phone call from my FN.

Excerpt 4.20

113 **Sec:** Good afternoon, you are welcome to MT and Sons Nigeria Ltd, may I help
114 you? (FN57, January 21, 2018)

Although there was an imprinted procedure on the salutation used while receiving phone calls, the instance on lines 113-114 provided the impression that the greeting ritual and presenting the company name signals feel of belonging. An added observed characteristic of the communication channels in the KKK were the artefacts presented in WhatsApp messages, SMS, and emails. WhatsApp messages sent for inquiry or responses were short of any notes in the body of the message, which was generally a follow-up on or after

typically enclosed an attachment and most of them were short of salutation, introduction, or closing. The discussion above signifies that failure to create effective communication channels in the KKK will greatly influence the members' three modes of belonging.

4.3.1.2 The KKK Modes of Belonging

Engagement, alignment, and imagination (Wenger, 1998, p. 183) are the three modes of belonging in the learning process of developing identities in the KKK.

➤ *The KKK Engagement Vis-a-vis Local Interaction and Participating Globally*

In this study, the practices observed indicated some 'communication channels' by which the members could interact between themselves and with others. Members of the KKK are mindful that they need active participation in their community engagement to avoid freezing out, according to Wenger (1998). They look on themselves to have somewhat shared with other persons through the imagined communities, such as fitting to a like hierarchy level or sharing similar traits in a communal context. In the KKK practices, language, gender, race, ethnicity, citizenship, discursive channels, and the like, also exist in line with Giampapa (2004).

As earlier specified, different communities exist within the large KKK CoP, and their challenge for continued existence is from the diverse communication context that they developed practices as varied as coughing and other linguistic codes to confirm and withstand their survival. The reference in this aspect is the Kano indigenous Group D *Sauran Jama'a* earlier described in Section 1.3.4. From my observation, Group D members seemed to uphold their deficiency of a shared Hausa language variety as a reason not to be recognised in the community's practice. While this language variance was a barrier to rapport building, they still accomplished a local rapport with the

participants in this group. Other seasoned community members were sociable with the learners and had friendly interactions with them. To engage with each other, it is required to have shared practices, e.g., “doing things together, talking, producing artefacts” (Wenger, 2000, p. 227).

The findings again revealed that the KKK learners from all groups felt like outsiders and described this concern as the deficiency of a shared language. Indeed, while the language in the KKK is not the one thing necessary to form a local rapport, language variance does form a basic communication barrier consistent with Wenger et al. (2002). The KKK members must have a joint obligation linking them to conflictual or consensual sense-making to engage mutually. To accomplish such conventionalised acceptance, a shared practice is essential in the KKK over time and an obligation to common understanding (Eckert, 2006). Shared experiences were absent in the KKK newcomers to the practices; besides, the language barrier obstructed several commitments to a shared obligation between the learners and the seasoned members, as they perhaps will be incapable of communicating. In this link, there might not be much engagement as a mode of belonging. This has been revealed in the FN extract below.

Excerpt 4.23

120 **R:** My perception was that there is a barrier in language between you, the
121 experienced and the learners, and in this community.

122 **Mem:** Mmm. Yes! I think it rather can't be avoided. (FN55, January 17, 2018)

This talk with a seasoned Group D member on line 120 implies that such situations are foreseeable in a diverse community like the KKK. The researcher observed the learners' apprehension about making slip-ups in the presence of other members and customers. However, the learners kept up “they do not in real talk, but relatively act on instruction”

(FN55, January 17, 2018). While engagement may well have been attained by non-verbal input in the CoP, as in this group's instances, they give the impression that verbal communication is the most important means of building relationships. In another FN, I wrote, "Ok. Just then, I heard the learners were saying to each other that they incline to say something, but they are anxious to make an error in the presence of the others..." (FN52, December 5, 2018). I assumed this was because they do not talk. The three core groups will be used to show engagement in local interaction and global participation in the KKK. The *Almajiri*¹⁸ in group D represents the Kano indigenous group.

➤ *The KKK Almajiri Engagement*

Because they come from neighbouring countries, states in Nigeria, or rural areas around Kano, they had simply a rudimentary understanding of their Hausa variety. However, the seasoned *Almajiri* had advanced skills in the Kano variety of Hausa; as an agent, he created a shared setting where local relationships and communication possibly will occur. About the absence of communication, the seasoned *Almajiri* held that the learners needed persistence and appreciation. As such, instead of placing effort in engagement, the seasoned *Almajiri* advised the learners to laze around until a local rapport was established through the transient time. Even with this advice, the learners were ready to participate in any act that the seasoned members gave them. It appears that the seasoned *Almajiri* understood the rate of recurrence of casual interactions beyond the community as constituting an accustomed relationship. Accordingly, the learners *Almajiri* in this community become recognised in good time because, as stated by Wenger (1998), it takes a while to develop legitimization and progress the inside of the community. Social dealings cannot take place fast, so the learners looked slightly too

¹⁸The Nigerian National Framework for Development and Integration of *Almajiri* Education into the Universal Basic Education Scheme (UBES) in 2010 describes *Almajiri* (itinerant Qur'an school pupil) as a three and 12 years old male child who attends the *Tsangaya* or *MakarantarAllo*.

concentrated on building a rapport, although they were fresh and still in a position of marginalization. However, the minute these learners' aspiration to be insiders was not recognised, they in full swing found extra behaviours to develop a sense of belonging to a particular shop or group.

➤ *The KKK Native Foreigners Engagement*

In the KKK, it has been suggested that the native foreigners attempt to build rapport with the indigenous community members purposely to be engaged in the practice. Though the indigenous community members were still of a mind that relationships may be built merely by a shared language and talk, they related the issue of interactions to that of language expertise. In mimicking their current interactions in the practices, native foreigners' previous involvement seemed to intensify their rapport with the other indigenous members. In the following excerpt, 'Yellow' stated in this focus group.

Excerpt 4.24

123 **Yellow:** *I am a joking person, that's most likely why people know me in this*
124 *community, and since I do talk with everybody, really everyone*
125 *knows me. The moment you say 'Yellow' ehen! That is my name in*
126 *this market. (Turn 35, FG5, December 21, 2018)*

The findings clarified Yellow's nickname because of his colour. Yellow revealed on lines 123-125 his popularity and joy through the Nigerian Pidgin and his founded extra behaviours to develop a sense of belonging. Both parties in this mutual engagement adopted and contributed to shaping their relationships of accountability by which they define their actions as experienced, corresponding to Wenger (1998). The native foreigners interpreted their familiar dealings as being on account of their ability to engage with the KKK members. Though the community members were ready to lend their hands

to them, the native foreigners sensed that the link was no further than purposeful. Besides this, the native foreigners had later understood that it would not be challenging to communicate the moment one interacts within the community, and the language barrier did not come to be a great problem that would hinder their engagement with the individuals in practice. Despite the reality that, there was no common language, the native foreigners did not feel inaccessible in the community. But they perceived the language variance as a task they had to overcome to form better relations with the community members. At the same time, they were not concerned about the flexibility they might create in the community members namely, the Kano indigenous people, an unpleasant impression by making them talk in Nigerian Pidgin. This might have made the native foreigners reluctant to participate dynamically and move to what Kanno (2003) regarded as the 'middle ground' of the KKK CoP in this instance and opt not to initiate talks with the community members. In their case, the language barrier did not prevent them from trying to engage and talk with the KKK members. In its place, the native foreigners decided to learn Hausa. Like the learner *Almajirai*, the engagement between them became positive, and they now shared the same language. They could talk easily and, in time, developed close mutual relations. Relating to Roberts (2006) hints that, in classified organizational constructions where control is centralised, only limited key figures of authority negotiate; and the community members' voices may be to some extent muted; the KKK also provided evidence of this kind of situation. In addition, the native foreigners also reported that their relationship with some members was optimistic as the members, in any case, tried to talk with the native foreigners in Nigerian Pidgin (see Chapter 5). The native foreigners perceived the reasons why they were able to form a rapport with the KKK members was their effort to speak in Hausa when encounters occurred. Together they were committed to mutual engagement.

➤ *The KKK Expatriates Engagement*

The first expatriates in the KKK, were a set of Syrians and Lebanese migrants who had already settled and intermarried with the indigenous Hausas, and became part of the Hausa community (see Chapter 1). Currently, the Chinese and Indians are referred to as the expatriates in the KKK. These expatriates conform to the Wenger (1998) claim that “engagement ... can also be narrow” (p. 175). Both groups perceived their relationships with the individuals in this community as actually business-like. And this suggests a likely channel of communication by which they may well engage with these community members. According to the Indian I interviewed, he said they had access to the KKK through Alhaji Bakur (anonymous) whenever they had business with the community and vice versa. In contrast, Alhaji Bakur, in reasonably few interviews, described their dealings with the expatriates as a business-oriented relationship. Besides this, the only communication channels the expatriates could use in the community were with members who understand the English language. Their absence of communication with the community members influenced their view of those members and the KKK, which were understood as well-founded. Yet again, their conviction of understanding with the community members that were affected by their language barrier appeared to be established. However, they were capable of building a reliable link with the members of the KKAGWA who understand and speak in their separate English varieties. This business-like relationship was not different from what the Hausa indigenous community members had initially experienced with the Syrians and the Lebanese, as explained in Chapter 1. It was not what the government had looked forward to. The Kano state government was unfulfilled, that history is repeating itself, as the rapport with the expatriates was not promising to the indigenous members, and again the KKK had been dominated by the expatriates, the Chinese in particular. In his expressions, the committee chair, in turn, repeated the word ‘distressing’ with constant worry. The series of

discussions took place within February-April 2017 through my first phase of data collection, just a few months into my participant observation in the KKK. That was reasonably very little time to form any well-grounded connections to enable me to recognize the real picture. Later, in my second phase, with the interference of KKAGWA, issues were resolved wherein the expatriates now visit the KKK two times a week. Even in that, limited to their guarantors' offices only and not permitted to penetrate the community's space (the guarantors ensure the agency and coordination between the expatriates and the KKK members). Nevertheless, the expatriates found the business-like setting of their regular interactions now unsatisfying. Expressing a pessimistic attitude, they related their current affiliation to the KKK with the rapport between the tenant and the landowner. Swiftly, the expatriates misused the dealings they had enjoyed in the KKK. Lack of mutual engagement in this rapport created unfulfilled feelings and cynicism about their new status.

➤ *The KKK Alignment with Communication Channels*

The researcher observed that alignment in the KKK is regarded as compliance in place of engagement, wherein the participants 'align' themselves as members of a group. The contention here is not that the recognised relationship, physical vicinity, or rate of recurrence of interaction are unrelated, but relatively that the geography of practice might not be focused on them. So also, is the issue of marketing and easy location, the frontal shops have more advantage, (thus, the gap in the rental amount of the parallel to the back shops). Hence, the back shops resolved in the use of agents to market their textiles and lead customers to the shops, as shown in Figure 4.12.



Figure 4.12 : The KKK Agenting-in-practice

Source: Retrieved from the KKK homepage

https://kantin-kwaricloth.market.business.site/?utm_source=gmb&utm_medium=referral

This picture in Figure 4.12 above demonstrates how the KKK agents persuade customers at the entry points to take them to their shops. The lady in the photo is a so-called potential customer entering the community, and both men by her side were agents representing their shops. The direction of their faces and their hands' positions, sans spoken discourse, explained the activity taking place in the photo.

Similarly, alignment is a common process of organising perspectives, actions, and interpretations so that members can realize greater goals, consistent with Wenger (2000).

The expected greater goals to be realised in this community's practice were to develop an individual's identities to transact real businesses, as well as provide efficient customer services. Thus, the profit-making, customer fulfilment, and survival of the community.

To this inference, they created open spaces for members to develop themselves. Also, to reach this goal, they need to collaborate and negotiate to align to fit together using each

other as community members. But, the lack of proper channels of information meant that this was not a simple success. For example, few people in the KKK apprise the learners of what was bound to happen or its reason for occurrence in a certain manner. In such settings, the novice had to discover ways to form networks for the community.

In the KKK, another bit of worth mentioning evidence of the absence of proper channels of information was the prompt relocation of members free of notice. Individual members' schedules were altered, and at times even important information such as the arrival of the new consignment was not revealed in progress. Roles and responsibilities undergo frequent modifications without notification. In this manner, the KKK community was exercising its influence to control and direct initiative and to demand or inspire alignment in line with Wenger (1998). The community needed the learners to align themselves with the demands made on them. This can be known in my FN on a case in ELS Nigeria Ltd. When Ahmad, a sales manager in the main branch, was assigned to manage a new branch. Ahmad re-counted in the following manner:

Excerpt 4.25

127 **Ahmad:** You know, sometimes, you... at times, as you pointed out, must
128 always be ready to handle tasks that you had not prepared for.

129 **R:** And is it really, ok?

130 **Ahmad:** Mmmm! Well! Of course, I mean... it's ok. We have been doing
131 these practices for years... but yes, I expected it is just like some
132 of these business things. But I now know it is far more than that, I
133 do at times get a little lost before I got used to the new position).

134 **R:** An interesting part of this community was that the members
135 understood that their problems were common with all members.

144 *as he like. I will do business, collect my money and go. Na money I need.*

145 **R:** *Na money, you know. So, you always talk in your language, isn't it?*

146 **NFI:** *I can talk in my language (Igbo). Now, many people, know me. Because of*

147 *I am popular person in this place. As far as this place is concerned because*

148 *of Igbo, come down, if you see many people, ask them, Pastor, they will*

149 *say I know him, I know him, I know him. That thing makes people to be*

150 *know me. (Turns 79-81 FG5, February 1, 2019)*

Pastor, in the extract above, used Nigerian Pidgin to express himself throughout the focus group, and he ceased attempting to form relationships with the KKK. As he verbally talked, his sarcasm, with 'whatnot' on lines 141-144, he boycotted building an advanced relationship with the recognised indigenous members of the KKK, and he had no cause to place effort to align himself to a collective goal. Indeed, he is not even acquainted with whatever the goals of the community might be since not one person communicated to him for anything. The instances described above displayed how the KKK followed the custom of "all-powerful and others powerless" (Wenger, 1998, p. 181). On the contrary, many participants in this study usually reported this form of deficiency of apt communication; not a single person expressed a view of its cause, but they simply approved things the way they were and conformed with whatever the community communicated to them. Somewhat, this passivity could have been a resolve towards aligning themselves with the particular roles their shops anticipated of them, even though nobody indicated this intent. Regardless, the KKK alignment process has to link space and time to form bigger enterprises to facilitate participants' connection by coordinating their practice, actions, and energies (Wenger, 1998). The significance of their learners' involvement needed a practice where they possibly will coordinate their energy and action. Being novices, they needed to be linked with skilled members to align them into the practice and share the

understood common goal. As presented above, this looks as if it is reflected as the concern of the learners only; in fact, it required resolution from equal sides.

➤ *The KKK Participants' Imagination of their Projected Business-Self*

Imagination in a CoP has been practically demonstrated by Wenger (2000) in his references to constructing a self-image, our community's image, and the world image, that position ourselves to mirror our condition and to discover opportunities. The stone-cutters' story described in Chapter 2 has shown that some individuals perceive things just as they are, yet others dream of what they will look like in the immediate future (Wenger, 1998). Some of the KKK members were perceiving things simply as they are, while some others were seeing their potential business self identities. Even if the practices were not diverse, the insight varied individually, which consequently, they might be learning disparate things from unchanged activity (Wenger, 1998). This was apparent in the KKK marketing and agency activities as (fit or unfit) practises of business that transpired across the community. The researcher noticed on her initial visit that many shops in the KKK used young adult boys to advertise their products all over. In my FN, Jamilu, the Manager and business owner of NTG Nigeria Ltd, said.

Excerpt 4.28

151 **Jamilu:** They just pop up anytime, anywhere, across the market, i.e., in
152 front of the market, right at all entry points, in the middle, etc.,
153 which you see, for one, they are part of the major causes of
154 commotion and overcrowding that disrupts the community's

155 ambience. Due to their aggressive marketing strategy, they push
156 our customers and make them miss their steps and lose focus.
157 Again, I simply cannot understand why they do not do it in other
158 modern ways like on social networks? This is when you could do
159 it at home unless it is somewhat like those that still refuse to accept
160 and use the social network and need to market their textiles, but
161 save for that, these young adults disturb the entire community. I
162 cannot say why it is so conservative here (Laugh). Else, once they
163 start running after customers and chanting their phrases, I always
164 say to myself, but we are in the technology age right now, like what
165 are they still doing? (FN41, July 17, 2017)

Interestingly, I observed people like Jamilu were not participating in this particular business communication (marketing) activity, perhaps due to their educational variance and business experiences. However, from lines 157-162, he seemed not to regret the non-participation. Instead, he reasoned that these kinds of channels of communication were outdated and unsuitable for that community at this age, as they disturbed the community's business activities and therefore affected its efficiency. Jamilu continued.

Excerpt 4.29

166 **Jamilu:** Well... It was just that I can surely not join them; thus, I simply
167 reduced them and keep ongoing. (FN41, July 17, 2017)

Jamilu's reaction to this communication strategy on lines 166-167 was to ignore it.

Excerpt 4.30

168 **Jamilu:** Also, they will come around before the visitors or new customers
169 and persistently persuade and take them to their shops. It is ever

170 like [“We do have this, this plus this, and we do have that plus
171 that”]. Although they use gestures, mostly those that understand
172 Hausa grasp better what these young adults were saying. Some of
173 these guys can speak more than one language, hence translating for
174 the visitors or new customers. (FN41, July 17, 2017)

Jamilu raised the issue of how these young adults move about the community to market their designated shops' textiles on lines 168-169. Jamilu and his like's response to what they saw as inept channels of communication points to the identity development of their imagined model business context and the behaviour of the community members. However, this was not an imposition upon Jamilu and others alike, but it developed over the course of experiences; through observing and acting in response to the other people's behaviours, they were capable of gaining a vibrant idea of how and where they desired to align themselves as business experts. Thus, they identified all they considered to fit to any person in this business, and that process of identification (Varghese et al., 2005) was a process of learning, creating new relations through space and time that become constituent of the self (Wenger, 1998).

To this end, the discussion above showed that amongst all the sub-groups and between the main groups, the interactions among the participants, as well as other individuals in the KKK practice, have diverse communication channels. The issues of Hausa language varieties and the other languages' differences were important shared factors that influenced the communication channels, far elaborated in Chapter 5. The participants reacted to the situations and then proceeded differently learning after the practice.

4.3.2 The KKK Situated Learning and Legitimate Peripheral Participation

Chapter 2 was not explicit in explaining what ways a learner learns and develops into the CoP's core membership. In whichever CoP an individual finds her or himself, there is usually a process of belonging that the participant needs to learn together. The language and non-linguistic fitting behaviours signify the group and separate it from other groups. The consideration is to further elaborate on Wenger's (1992) primary outlook on learning for both individuals and their communities. Instead of examining the type of conceptual organizations and cognitive procedures implicated, they examined the type of social commitment that offers the suitable context aimed for learning to occur (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In the KKK, it was evident that members learnt by their participation, reified by the meaning negotiation process, which serially impacted the practice progress and befitted part of the community's history.

From my participant observation experiences, each member of the KKK learns by engaging in and contributing to their CoP via the main concern about learning addressed through presenting a practice Morita (2004), identified this as 'legitimate peripheral participation' (LPP). However, LPP in the KKK route was a developing form of membership that resulted in Davis's (2005) three manners of legitimate participation: full, peripheral, and marginal participation. Hence, at the KKK local level, each member's status was likely to move, as Tooley (1999) suggested, from the marginal to the peripheral and the full participation. The specific company's process of developing a learner's business identity among real instances of some skilled and unskilled core participants' situated learning trajectories from the periphery or marginal group to the core group in the KKK will be shown below. First, the ELS Company Chair.

Excerpt 4.31

- 175 I- How do you engage people in your company?
- 176 C- Yes, two ways: based on knowledge and performance, e.g., the accountant
177 and marketing manager [your ex-students] came here recently but because
178 they are skilled and already obtained their respective certificates. They
179 immediately assumed the company accountant and the marketing
180 manager's positions under little supervision. Others unskilled, through
181 day-to-day experiences, one begins from an errand boy, shop cleaner,
182 shopkeeper, sales representative (dealing with customers and selling out
183 goods), an assistant sales manager, at a gentle pace to the sales manager if
184 employed in that unit, but this takes time. (Turns 22, 23, FG3, February
185 11, 2017)

This focus group was held at the ELS company's head office in the KKK. In response to the researcher's inquiry on line 175, the chair categorised these business identity development procedures on lines 176-185. He explained and summarised the two processes, levels of engagement and legitimised participation. This provided insight into another CoP, that is, the presence of skilled persons, and emphasised the significance of learning vis-a-vis accomplishing legitimacy, impliedly by actually participating in situated practice. The chair's side talk explains a skilled novice's initial engagement, where he was given an update, sight-see around the entire company, the main shop, and its branches, and introduced to all the members. While for the unskilled, specifically, the *Almajiri*, who will be wandering initially, then joined up with a senior member to observe the activities in a section for some period given on-the-job training to learn everything essential for the performance of his part in the business. To the learner in this company, this casual training signifies that it provided him with an accustomed learning

practice to draw upon. Also, in the last part of the extract, the chair describes participation to provide members with either the status of peripheral, marginal, or core members. Consistent with Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999), the progressive disposition of the KKK CoP implies that distinct participation in it will be different. Some individuals will be core and some marginal members. And the centre of this difference lies in the way the shared repertoires have been well developed by an individual. On gaining the experience, in time, the novice will have learnt and progressed from peripheral to full membership and assimilation into the KKK CoP.

The exemplified learning processes in the KKK can be related to the A. A. apprenticeship course, Yucatec midwives, Vai tailors, and the butcher's apprenticeship case studies. Lave and Wenger (1991) described these apprenticeships as more or less effective procedures of learning-in-practices and the sense of attainment of the CoP's full participation. They relate more to the cases of Yucatec midwives and Vai tailors as more effective apprenticeships because their learners, similar to those in the KKK (for instance, the experiences of the skilled novices in ELS Nigeria Ltd mentioned above), were offered the opening to develop their membership progressively within each community's practices. Still, in comparison, the butchers' apprenticeship was less effective for the reason that an apprentice was permitted to acquire one undertaking at a space and stage. This is also like the unskilled novices in ELS Company mentioned above. A learner was not endorsed to pass to the next undertaking if the earlier learner has not gone. In other words, some learners were inadmissible from accessing the whole practice required to grant them the CoP's full participation. This practice in the butchers' traineeships, when referenced to the KKK, is clarified by a core participant (P1) in an interview extract (see Section 4.3.3). It has been observed that in the KKK, learning has been consistent with what Lave and Wenger's (1991) positioned that learning is typically situated going-on

and that participation in this going-on is a process of involvement in proper practice under the guidance of the experienced members of a particular CoP, namely, apprenticeship. Their learners at the beginning were set for some degree of participation in a real undertaking and a restricted responsibility to facilitate their learning without unwarranted stress. From this moment, these learners are considered designated on an inward-bound trajectory, prepared for the KKK CoP's full participation. This notion is provided in the following discourse excerpt between a skilled participant and the researcher.

Excerpt 4.32

- 186 **I:** You are a scholar. Can you tell me how you found yourself in business?
- 187 **P2:** I began when I was a schoolboy. Every Thursday, I do go to the Sabon
- 188 Gari market to sell tailoring tools in my uncle's shop because the day was
- 189 an Islamic education-free day. I did this all alone to the end of my
- 190 secondary education. I started going there as an errand boy in the shop.
- 191 Before I secured admission into a tertiary institution, I was promoted and
- 192 began travelling to Lagos to buy tailoring tools.
- 193 **I:** From the Sabon Gari market, how did you find yourself in the Kwari
- 194 market, a different community with different practices through a similar
- 195 domain?
- 196 **P2:** After I graduated from the university and served my one year (NYSC). I
- 197 opened this shop in Kantin Kwari. I have spent seven years, but more than
- 198 10 years in the Sabon Gari market. (Turn 14-17, January 3, 2019)

This interview took place in the participant's shop on the first floor of one of the large buildings in the KKK. He was one of the voluntary participants who happened to share some of their business secrets with the researcher, where he talked about his learning trajectory. Though at present he is a well-placed manager and business owner in the KKK,

he relates in what manner his uncle stimulated the process from the periphery as a learner- a symbolic custom that several members go through. From lines 189-192, he began recounting his experience at the early age of eight to ten years old but was well-appreciated in the community because his uncle is one of the higher hierarchy group members. Although according to his second sentence on line 187, he did not start learning business in the KKK at that early stage, he relates his experiences between the two business communities. He has attained both education types (Islamic and modern) and, along these lines an extensive period of learning business from lines 196-198. From his composure and vivid explanation in the extract above, he seems to be very responsible in his general activities and business responsibilities. During the researcher's stay in the KKK, her reflections were that he appeared reserved about the community's politics; and the researcher noticed he regularly confined himself to guiding the new learners. Moreover, in one of the subsequent interviews, he responded to another inquiry in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 4.33

- 199 **I-** (Jokingly). Simply say when you got liberated. How does a new learner
200 learn business here in Kwari? Is it the same experience with Sabon Gari?
- 201 **P2-** Hmmm! Hajiya! Overall, business is not taught; you simply acquire
202 experience by participation and through daily interactions. In business
203 dealings, the first thing we attest to in a person is his honesty since it is an
204 issue with different people. Even if the shop is not yours, everyone that
205 sees you around knows that you are building your own identity. But, from
206 the moment you maintain honesty, you uphold the integrity of your boss.
207 And from the moment you proved otherwise, that shows that you do not
208 belong to the business community. Everyone will be apprehensive to
209 interact with you, and your boss will not agree to your participation in the

210 community and interaction with people. At times, if you do not have the
211 capital to develop your business with, your honesty can take the place. As
212 you persevere and continue to observe the daily routine business dealings,
213 someday someone will invite and include you even if your boss is not
214 aware. (Turn 18-19, P2, January 7, 2019)

Concisely, this participant briefly highlighted situated learning secrets in one of the interviews in response to the researcher's inquiry on lines 199-200 on how the learners in the KKK openly learn the business. From lines 201-214, he explains the real social run-through of individuals engaging in a business domain and describes processes of long participation. He also indicated that a social practice in a business domain is not symbolizing action itself, but somewhat a situation of social and historical practises that provides impact and structure to what its members do. This was in line with Wenger's (2010) emphasis that CoP members, over a period, negotiate and develop "a set of criteria and expectations by which they recognize membership" (p. 180).

In his mid-thirties, Nasir is another skilled learner, a branch manager/shop owner. He obtained both education types (Islamic and Modern); a computer science graduate and a higher degree from the University of Malaya (an alumna). Different from participant 2 above, Nasir has a job as a lecturer at a higher institution and engages in the normal business activities in the KKK. He is part of the MT and Sons Company family business group. In the focus group extract that follows, the chair shared their experiences

Excerpt 4.34

215 **Chair:** During their school days, they normally come to Kwari on Thursday and
216 Friday evenings, then again on Saturday and Sunday in the mornings for
217 those were their free school intervals. They would come and sit quietly,

218 listening and watching at business activities and sometimes sent on little
219 errands within the community. All the community would recognize them
220 as belonging to a particular group, which is the MT and Sons. So, even
221 though at that early stage, they were not acquainted with what to do. The
222 company's goodwill is what carries them along easily.

223 **H:** Baba, at what age do they usually start coming to Kwari?

224 **Chair:** No specific age; it depends on the abilities of the child. Some start as early
225 as seven years and some late, up to ten years.

226 **H:** (Laughter). At what age did my professional colleague start?

227 **Chair:** Hmmm! Hajia! Your manager is one of my smart children, so he began
228 early. I always caution them to be careful with the setting and people
229 because it is the bull's eye for hooligans. Then bit by bit, as they progress
230 in the practices, I introduced them to everyone as my children.

231 **H:** Now that most of them are grown up, are they liberated in the business?

232 **Chair:** Mmmm! Yees! To a certain extent. Though they are now perfect in the
233 textile business. Yes! But we all operate under one umbrella. Each one has
234 his separate shop and manages it with his group under him.

235 **H:** Do they report to the chairperson?

236 **Chair:** Only in cases where one does not have his running capital. He had to
237 collect goods from the main branch routinely until he has made the capital
238 to manage his own business. (Turns 9-17, FG4, January 19, 2019)

The chair and father to Nasir shared how he transacts his business and how each of his children and siblings learnt the business from the peripheral stage to their core status. Lines 215-221 referred to the chair's description of the Company structure (see Section 4.3.1) and explained their learning trajectory from the time when the children were young

and learners in the community and how they were assisted in easing their transition to the KKK core membership. Their networks were quite near, and each of them went to the other for guidance on all types of business and personal concerns. It has been a very communal tradition among Hausa people to create strong ties with the community's elder members and for those elder members to take undeveloped learners under their wings. In numerous cases, these interactions make it possible for elder members to becoming guides for undeveloped learners. Aside from their family ties, they too have these kinds of domain relationships. Unlike in the first example, Nasir, his father explained, had been coming to the KKK with his family at the peripheral stage. Different from other learners who have no affiliation in the community and whose learning process is unguided and takes a much longer period. At a young age and new to the KKK, Nasir was sheltered by his family members, who showed him behaviours in this business domain, and this tie gave him self-confidence towards learning and developing his identity. At each stage, his relationship with the community members became more reasonably stable. Apart from his commitments to his job, as a core member of the community, he was regular at his business activities spaces, and his focal concern in coming to the business area was to interact with other members and customers. Nasir also willingly offered the researcher a permanent space in his shop to observe different people and activities because the shop is located at the heart of the KKK. The researcher noticed his dedication to his shop; from time to time, he would gather together all the shop members and those around the shop area to resolve concerns relating to their particular area. He was equally concerned with the well-being of other members and always keen on watching the activities of young learners with the intention that they did not become misled to some degree.

Distinct from the above examples, the following typified an unskilled marginalised participant, relating his learning trajectory and the KKK membership generation gap in our interview in an open room for group talks below.

Excerpt 4.35

- 239 **P6:** Truly, since when Kwari was a patch of few houses with very few shops
240 like here where we are seated. We will sit below, perceiving the aroma of
241 their cooking, i.e., fried eggs and bread. We were sent here, and thereafter
242 we returned from school.
- 243 **I:** What about now, are the family units still there?
- 244 **P6:** No, now, there is no domestic apartment here. They are turned into offices,
245 stores, and shops. But I thank God, I feel happy that you begin with these
246 questions because progress comes about through information flow. It is
247 not attained on theory; it demands physical awareness, as in the beginning,
248 everything was run on the traditional method, not as it obtains elsewhere
249 in the world. (Turns 8-10, February 21, 2019)

The participant in the above extract recapped when the KKK used to serve for both residential and commercial purposes earlier explained (see Section 1.3.3). Lines 244-249 explain his early engagement on the periphery and his long learning trajectory. His account shows that there have been reformation, refinements, and generation shifts in the KKK membership. In presenting the KKK historical realities, he emphasised the tradition as always different from some business organisations where it is a prerequisite for all learners to undergo a formal practice. Wenger (1998) illustrated this in the claim's processors practice at the insurance company and Brannan (2007) at a call centre customer service representatives (CSR) practice program. In the continuation of our interview, he further stated that in the KKK, the learners do not have any formal practice

program. As a replacement, some of the chairs described an alignment strategy. A process involving all the shop members, in which each sub-group leader spent time to explain and show the learners their separate business responsibilities. Nevertheless, this learners' process of practice in the KKK was quite akin to that of Lave and Wenger's (1991) Alcoholics Anonymous (A.A.) apprentice member case study, regarding members who go to a couple of consultations every week and devote time with other community members to learn the practices and develop identity. At these consultations, the novice learns the behaviours of seasoned members, of the way to say stories of accomplishment of becoming restrained and persistent in that situation so as to be acknowledged in the community of the A. A. community. As stated by Lave and Wenger (1991), "telling an A. A. story is not something one learns through explicit teaching. Newcomers were not told how to tell their stories, yet most people who remain in A. A. learn to do this" (p. 82). Similarly, in some parts of the KKK, the learner goes through a process of practice comparable to the on-the-job training. In ascertaining such a process, I refer to Junaidu and Adamu, the learners who joined their company as Marketing Manager and Accountant in that order a few days after I started my research project (FG3, February 11, 2017). Part of Junaidu's main responsibility in the NABTEX Nigeria Ltd Company was to market all the textiles (both physical and on transit) before and after the arrival of each consignment, while Adamu handles all the financial activities of the company. Although it was there area of specialization in their institution, they already had some years of participating in the field in a different place; for each one to become a full participant in the CoP of the KKK, they found it necessary to learn the community's practices. In preference to the whole group's consultation, the two fellows I noticed decided to keep using similar ways as John in the A. A., who joined up with all the members of staff, one at a time, not on the same days to discuss one-to-one. All through the sessions of the discussion, John became familiar with each seasoned member's

diverse job responsibilities plus the particular events that they were in control of. This arrangement was purposefully to support John's movement from an inward bound trajectory to be a full participant in the A.A. CoP. Similar to the novice, John as a member of A.A. that was not shown clearly the way to say the A. A. story, nor was he 'trained' the way the events should be marketed. He had to pick up the ways to do so in line with the expectations of the seasoned members and the community. Hence, to be a full participant, John needed to prove that he was acquainted with the exact job requests and controlled the exact familiarity to realize full membership. As soon as John realised those potentials, he was fully blended as the CoP's core member. All of John's experiences were very similar to Junaidu, Adamu, and many other skilled newcomers to the KKK. They joined the appropriate groups, became familiar with everyone's tasks, became acquainted with different activities, and finally picked up the most suitable ways of the community to facilitate gaining acceptance as full participants.

In the fieldwork, the researcher observed similarities in the participants' language patterns in their transactions. An individual needs to learn the basics because different individuals come to the KKK daily to transact business, so different rapport and strategies are used. In this circumstance, the researcher decided to look into the learning trajectory of the marginal group that makes up the majority population in the KKK, the *Almajirai* (plural). They are the unkempt young people (ages 5-20) always moving about the KKK and who appeared not to have been engaged with any designated shop. Some reputable community members explained the constancy that these young people come to seek leftover food and run errands. However, most of them slowly get interested and pick up the business ways from every person they interact with and then get initiated. This remained the cause of their prolonged stay at the marginal stage of their learning in the KKK. All their practices have to be learnt through persistent interaction with the community members.

Nevertheless, simply interacting without participation cannot facilitate learning. The findings further confirm the *Almajirai*'s liberty to use any common language drawn from their total language repertoire in conformity with the symmetry and asymmetry of communication behaviour in Hausa culture. The Kano Hausa language variety is considered the standard variety earlier described in Section 1.3.4; thus, the KKK members' language pattern in their transaction is very similar. Though there has not been any protocol in their legitimised language use, interacting in many circumstances, for instance, a group of new customers needs an appropriate language in the transaction part. The *Almajirai* comes to the KKK with their local varieties of Hausa language, which does not offer them a context wherein their language act can appear to be fitting. As such, they cannot perform in many contexts without acquiring the general language practices in the community and the particular shop's practices they are linked with. Thus, the Kano Hausa variety becomes a language repertoire resource for the learners, which they both must learn from other seasoned members and 'on their own. The learner *Almajirai* only needs to learn the basics because different individuals come into the KKK daily to transact business, so different language or variety, rapport, and strategies were used. Below is a chat with an *Almajiri* from my FN.

Excerpt 4.36

250 **H:** How did you become conversant with the Kano Hausa variety here?

251 **Al. 1:** As I see it, different from how I speak Hausa; now, I am getting familiar
252 with how they talk here. This is how many of us learnt.

253 **H:** When new boys come here from your area, do you find time to give them
254 a grounding in the language variety used, or do they learn individually?

255 **Al. 1:** Those enthusiastic always sit with us, relate with us, and in doing that,
256 they develop themselves. They listen when people talk, and by listening

257 carefully, they imitate, and through that, they learn. When we first came,
258 we learnt to like that too. (FN16, January 29, 2017)

The above interaction from extract 4.36 substantiates the young learner *Almajiri* learning through the LPP in the KKK. Implying that though there has been no legitimised language use and participants have a right to use their common linguistic repertoire, an individual needs language skills to fit in. As observed from the findings, one of the parts of these young adult learners' access to the community is fortified by their language use in the proper contexts. Therefore, 'special registers' were used when performing in their roles as *YaranKanti* literarily (shop boys). In this CoP, the learner *Amajiri* referred to as *Yaro* (Boy), becomes the apprentice to the experienced *Almajirai*. The insight was that there were links between the level of familiarity with the Kano Hausa variety and the learning practices and business identity development of the learner *Almajirai* in the KKK. Another veteran *Almajiri*'s account is presented below:

Excerpt 4.37

259 **Al. 2:** Initially, when I came in, I used to be nervous because I felt I did not know
260 how to talk. The other *Almajirai* we met then used to talk in Kano Hausa
261 variety within the KKK, but outside they would talk to us in our local
262 variety. If we, the novices at that time, whine, then the humble ones would
263 say they knew all that and that they passed through similar stages;
264 otherwise, the rest would only make fun of us. I was fortunate to have a
265 guardian among the old hands who offered to guide me within a short time.
266 So, I stayed close to him for quite a while until I started getting conversant
267 with the language variety. As from then, whenever and anywhere he talks
268 to me, he uses the Kano Hausa variety and encourages me to imitate and
269 practice. I realised not talking in the conventional variety limits your

270 development process and makes you a perpetual marginalized
271 *DanKauye* (village fellow) in everyone's eyes. (FN39, July 3, 2017)

This senior *Almariji* re-counted on lines 259-262 why he had to learn the Kano Hausa variety and explained why using it is an important *Almajiri* alignment in the KKK. On lines 262-267, he further described his language learning trajectory and how he was assisted through the shared practices in the community. Since it has been perceived that no one in the KKK considers the significance of learning the appropriate language variety, the learner *Almajirai* does not actively receive any grounding. Lines 267-271 specified their attempt to learn individually, for the need of fitting business identity and to learn in general, which is not only confined to the Kano Hausa variety in the KKK. In other groups, this language needs to include other languages like Nigerian Pidgin and English varieties besides numerous other things that the community members share, respectively. These include the core members instructing the learners on the tricks of the business, which involves methods and language to entice, persuade and satisfy the customer, plus practices of negotiating, price haggling, and the like. It also involves avoiding certain behaviours to the customers in displeasing business conditions. Thus, familiarity with the Kano Hausa variety is an advantage in such business conditions.

The additional finding demonstrates that the KKK legitimacy concept is associated with membership symmetry and the particular individual's trajectory (Wenger, 1998), i.e., from a peripheral, then marginal and to full participant. In peripheral participation, a few *Almajirai* were on a peripheral trajectory as freshers who already had links within the community, and their participation was controlled by the KKK. They can be placed on an inward-bound trajectory with the likelihood of becoming full participants. Compatibly, in the marginal participation, most *Almajirai* were on an outbound trajectory, for they had

no link with any community member and their marginalised participation is perceived as an obstruction to becoming a full participant. While for full participation, an *Almajiri* is on the inside trajectory and keeps up his link by participation such that if a learner *Almajiri* desires to agree as a member, learning is inescapable. This was to gain support from the CoP members more willingly than to generate adverse responses. Thus, to achieve full cooperation, peripheral and marginal *Almajiai* must learn to transact in mutually fit behaviours that conform to specific CoP and the KKK learning practices.

Also, other groups situated practices are worth noting. While the CoP engaged individuals through their ordinary lives, learning is an aspect of their shifting participation in shifting practices (Lave 1996), thus stressing the implication of learning in achieving legitimacy acquired by partaking in situated practice. Eckert (2006) states that members participate in the practices linked to their position in the CoP and its position in the larger social direction aligning with what follows.

Excerpt 4.38

272 As we proceed, the name-calling ‘Hajiya’ was all over the place with the
273 marketing slogans we heard the previous day ... we noticed the table traders and
274 other hawkers on both sides of the street, this time around, we met a rough
275 congested street. We abruptly heard from our back the loud voice *Gafara hanya!*
276 *Gafara hanya!* (Move from the road! Move from the road!). From loaders
277 carrying bundles of textile goods on their heads or in barrows, horns from mini
278 pick-up vans alerting us to make space for them. (FN2, September 22, 2016)

Extract 4.38 above showed that learning entailed CoP participation. Therefore, participation in the KKK refers to an additional inclusivity procedure of being dynamic participants in the social community’s practices and creating identities in these

communities (Wenger 1999). Besides, the diversity in the KKK explained (see Section 4.3.1) and reported on lines 272-276, particularly in terms of participation, indicates that practices in this study are comparable to the CoP model because it is an all-embracing community. Thus, contrasted with Lave and Wenger's (1991) examples, through observing diverse apprenticeships from the US Navy quartermasters, Yucatec midwives, Meat-cutters, Vai and Gola tailors, and non-drinking alcoholics in Alcoholics Anonymous. This characteristic, when referenced to the KKK, is clarified in the following FN extract.

Excerpt 4.39

279 Some of these people were loitering around; some were all various hawkers, some
280 temporary table traders, some floor-traders, others petty traders, and some
281 passers-by. (FN1, September 21, 2016)

Initially, individuals stated in the above excerpt joined the KKK CoPs and learned as marginal members by engaging in different situated activities on lines 279-281 and depicted in Figures 4.13 and 4.14 below.



Figure 4.13 : The KKK Table-Floor-Petty-traders and Hawkers

Source: Pictures were taken by the researcher

These groups in Figure 4.13 initially engaged with different CoPs and, in the long run, learnt as specific group members. Bit by bit, the table traders in pictures 1 and 2 and floor traders in pictures 3 above example, with time, acquired their shops or shop spaces and then moved to attain full participation. These, too, indicated that in the KKK, learning is a dynamic shared participation process, and the nature of each location impacts their routine life practices shown in Figure 4.14 below.

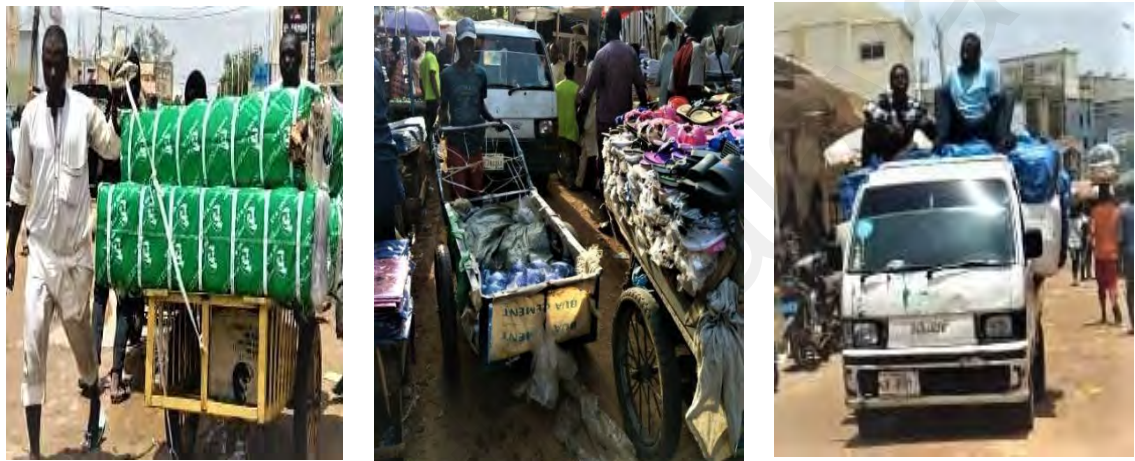


Figure 4.14 : Truck-Pushers, Wheelbarrow-Pushers, Minivans and Loaders

Source: Pictures were taken by the researcher

Figure 4.13 and 4.14 above represents the Kano indigenous Group D (i.e., all others). They reflect the membership in the different CoPs mentioned in the excerpts above in their different practices. According to Eckert (2006), these categories are recognised in their situations in their specific CoPs and their locations in the larger CoP. Extract 4.39 above and Figures 4.13 and 4.14 portrayals in the KKK provide further evidence that participation signifies more than just the local actions of engaging in some goings-on with some persons. There are historical issues of changes in the KKK practices. Also, the micro aspects of the interview data make certain the community's diverse groups.

that the ‘implications’ are diverse for both persons and the communities. The extract below represents a core participant’s expression.

Excerpt 4.41

288 **P3:** Yes, we were silent on this issue before, later; we, together with other
289 young adults that serve as guarantors to the expatriates, deemed it
290 necessary to form an association named the KKAGWA. We had full
291 support from the entire community, police commissioner, director SSS,
292 and Emir of Kano. I am currently the chairperson for the association’s
293 ‘Board of Trustees’ because I stayed long enough with them for, about 17
294 years. We had people’s backing, the fact that we are among those that
295 received modern education to some significant level, the move stands, and
296 otherwise it would have been in vain. (Turn 10, February 7, 2018)

The participant describes how a group of established young adult core participants in the KKK were capable of creating another core CoP in addition to their existing core membership in the community on lines 288-292. They are engaged in a joint enterprising and participating in multiple identity acts within their legitimate spaces. This group members had a convenient rapport with the expatriates’ group. However, the above discourse points to the notion that it is impractical to assume equal participation from every community member in accordance with Wenger et al. (2002), and just as the learning implication will as well be at variance. It also shows that regardless of their shared goal, every person in the community has divergent viewpoints on the events, divergent interests, and divergent understandings of their practices.

Lastly, the typified individual interview excerpts above highlight that it will be more appreciated to investigate individuals separately in the KKK practice and how the

individual plays their roles and what it implies. Nevertheless, all constant daily routine business interactions depicted above are regarded as learning practices.

4.3.3 Sociocultural Learning Opportunities and Trajectories

Learning in a community is not symbolizing action itself, but a situation of social and historical practises that provide impact and structure to what its members do. Therefore, with the learning processes offered by CoPs, the findings displayed that individuals in the KKK also develop identities in the following ways.

4.3.3.1 The KKK Learning by Watching and Listening

Unlike the formal business organisations where their learners go for training, the KKK learners observed anything in and around their open-designed shops. They constructed positive and negative identities (Butcoltz 2010) and familiarity with the established community's shared repertoire. They watched how each person around them revealed their business ways and observed and listened to strategies and techniques in carrying out transactions. P1 described these activities in the interview extract below.

Excerpt 4.42

297 **P1:** From when I used to come as a schoolchild, sit down watching how things
298 were done, and listen to the turn-taking in transactions, then I will be sent
299 on different errands across the community and beyond. Slowly, I reached
300 the stage of selling out goods to customers for my boss and remained
301 dutiful to him. (Turn 25, January 3, 2019)

This explanation reflects that they constructed their identity through their daily practices. Consistent with 'acts of identity', through watching and listening, he reports on lines 297-

301 how he acquired the community's behaviours when interacting with the season members, also in P2, Turn 18, January 3, 2019. Both participants described their experiences as they watched the goings-on and listened to the business talks in the shops. They learnt the community jargon through the specific names of textiles and styles of the transaction, in a way developing an in-group identity. At different points observed, members revealed practices and ways ahead of undertaking their tasks. This functioned to develop the business traditions, distinct and professional identity. This provided them with a link to participate in the shops and legitimised their presence in the community. Learners, at first, took up space in the shops to watch and listen as they were seldom sidelined, though they were not familiar with the goings-on and unable to participate. This can be interpreted via Piaget's (1983) 'assimilation' and 'accommodation' terms to explain the link between the new facts and fresh activities these learners learnt as they watched and listened along with the already existing models in their minds, represented below.

Excerpt 4.43

302 The researcher and some apprentices arrived early, started watching before the
303 shop members' arrival to begin the daily routine. The sales manager arrived,
304 exchanged greetings and began swapping old textiles on the shelves with new
305 ones. His action signals the arrival of a new shipment. Located in a corner, we all
306 watched and listened to how he instructed others. (FN18, February 5, 2017)

Excerpt 4.43 refers to some young school drop-out learners' first-week experience in the shop; they had no active duty remaining in a space they could watch and listen to the active members expansively. When they were excused from openly participating in some activities, they seemed to understand it was normal for learners. Although they appeared uncertain that they were learning, the observer's role did not go well with them. However,

these activities made it tolerable for all learners to be nearly always busy even without participating. In MT and Sons Ltd, Abdul being an active learner observer, exploited his learning potential during these processes and had the liberty to actively and tactically decide on the points to watch and listen to (FN25, April 1, 2017). Thus, it established regular watching and listening results in the KKK learners focused on learning strategically and actively in their legitimate spaces.

4.3.3.2 The KKK Learning by Modelling and Talking

The result of the KKK learners watching and listening replicated through several activities to participate actively and perform competently. They were likely to imitate the actions and rhetorical styles that some youths demonstrated in the excerpt as follows.

Excerpt 4.44

- 307 **Members:** Hajiya! Hajiya! Hajiya!.
- 308 **Members:** Hajiya! Come and have a look.
- 309 **Members:** Hajiya! What type are you looking for?
- 310 **Members:** Hajiya! Our shop has the latest design.
- 311 **Members:** Hajiya! I will give you good quality and affordable price.

(FN1, September 21, 2016)

This piece from lines 307-311 was documented on the researcher's first day of exploring the KKK; some youths imitate their models by behaving in the like manner, and they chanted these phrasological slogans, which I later realized were recurring common aggressive marketing behaviour within the community. *Hajiya* is a common title for adult females in Hausa culture. Along that line, they developed their group and collective identities. The motivation leading towards this choice was reflected in listening and accepting the phenomenon of most hearers (i.e., customers or visitors) who refused to

accept that they could understand this language as they rejected these youths' behaviours and did not wish to be identified with them. This specific language feature was close to Milroy's (1980) study findings that motivation often appears to affect a single linguistic feature stressing vernacular with more standard norms of loyalty, which could be supported by the use of particular variants needed to describe the usage of the larger community. In our constant interview, participant 1 and 2 again reported their involvement in the interview data (Turn 20, January 15, 2019) and (Turn 9, January 29, 2019). Both participants described their period of observing activities and undertaking several tasks before they were allowed to start emulating their models. They were left alone to decide the positive fitting behaviour to imitate from the activities they watched and listened to. Ahmad, a learner at AREWA TEXT Ltd, asked his superior permission to attempt practising his projected identity in a business negotiation with a customer. The researcher observed the KKK learners could easily be identified by how they often exchange greetings and small talk, which do not go beyond asking about different textile materials and their prices. Below was Ahmad's first practice of business transactions.

Excerpt 4.45

- 312 **Hajiya:** Hello everyone.
- 313 **Ahmad:** Hello, which one do you want, Hajiya? (Left to negotiate with
314 Hajiya. Others withdrew and became the audience).
- 315 **Hajiya:** I am looking for a fine '*Attampha*' for a wedding ceremony.
- 316 **Ahmad:** Come inside and check the one that appeals to you most.
- 317 **Hajiya:** OK. Show me the cheap ones. (Ahmad showed her some
318 samples).
- 319 **Ahmad:** You can choose from these, or check those hanging ones.
- 320 **Hajiya:** (Pointing at one). I am okay with this one here.
- 321 **Ahmad:** Okay Hajiya. How many do you want?

- 322 **Hajiya:** 250 pieces.
- 323 **Ahmad:** Let us check the quantity. (A young shop attendant went to check).
- 324 **Hajiya:** Okay. But you will reduce the price?
- 325 **Ahmad:** Let him check, that is no big deal. (The boy returned positively).
- 326 **Hajiya:** How much will you sell?
- 327 **Ahmad:** I will give you each at N3, 500 Nigerian Naira.
- 328 **Hajiya:** No. The price should be reduced.
- 329 **Ahmad:** Hajiya, the price reduction has been made.
- 330 **Hajiya:** No. You gave me the retail price while I am buying in bulk.
- 331 **Ahmad:** Okay, Hajiya, deduct N5 from each one.
- 332 **Hajiya:** No, I can only pay N3, 400 for each.
- 333 **Ahmad:** Hajiya, I am trying to establish rapport with you so that we keep
- 334 this buyer-seller relationship. The price you offered is at loss.
- 335 **Hajiya:** I am alert. I want to do the same, if not, I would have gone away.
- 336 **Ahmad:** In that case, Hajiya, pay N3, 450 Naira, N50 is removed.
- 337 **Hajiya:** Honestly, that is what I can pay. If you are okay.
- 338 **Ahmad:** Ok, let me ask my *Ogah*. (Ahmad sought consent from his boss).
- 339 **Ahmad:** He said, you can pay.
- 340 **Hajiya:** Okay.
- 341 **Ahmad:** Thank you, Hajiya. This is our card for future needs.
- 342 **Hajiya:** Collected the card. (Thank you, too). (FN26, April 5, 2017)

This transaction displayed Ahmad's first show of business identity-in-practice. Ahmad was left without help to practice the negotiation and persuasion, anticipating to construct his professional identity by imitating what he had watched and listened to, as opposed to, through verbal instruction. Ahmad had sought permission from his superior; there was no

verbal coaching from the latter. His superior, alerted to the negotiation, legalized his actions and confirmed the textile price before Ahmad could sell.

4.3.3.3 The KKK Learning by Scaffolding and Coaching

Making mistakes is a natural part of learning encounters. Unlike any learning trajectory, in the KKK, findings showed mistakes pointed out by members were usually accepted without much worry. Most responses of seasoned members to learners' mistakes did not produce any adverse backlash; instead, they corrected the inaccuracy, as several mistakes were openings for coaching on what was required. Despite partial orders to be completed, which caused considerable delay in servicing the customer, mistakes were rarely dwelled upon, they were mostly resolved by completing the missing gap. Also, the learners were facing challenges as participation with rapidity and efficacy (vital features of business dealings stressed by members) were problematic. Thus, a supportive instructional interaction through cooperative and collaborative learning, simplifying problems, and cognitive apprenticeship with maintaining attention was used in the KKK.

Referring to the focus group (FG3) of February 10, 2017, and the individual interview (P9) of January 29, 2019. The participants described their shift in stages and how Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural model of learning assisted their apprenticeships through social interaction and distinct behaviour internalization. Although Vygotsky's (1978) reference was in the classroom, it was relevant to the KKK. This is validated by the KKK open-shop system, wherein proper rapport was built between the learners and the seasoned members. As such, learners were provided continuous coaching, which became a method of perfecting their practice and reaching a business identity. As such, coaching in the KKK was an endless event, always gaining from the experienced members and established practice to show how vital activities must be set for undertaking the business

task. It was usually provided in standings but involved slight use of the non-realistic language form. Thus, learners in the KKK recognised coaching by watching and listening instead of giving verbal instruction on the goings-on as described in FN29, April 25, 2017.

4.3.3.4 The KKK Learning by Originating and Fading

The findings from the outsider perspective recognised that some practices in the KKK included their originality and freedom to express and negotiate the originality in business transactions within their situated time and space (Lave & Wenger, 1991). When you put the learning activities above altogether, the apprentice revealed his original ways resembling these acquired experiences, intuition, and sociocultural responsiveness. Also, in a business context where usually certain self-determined originality was neither refused, contested, nor challenged by the community, each participant showed a divergent understanding of the practices. Hence, originality was perceived in the community as not about creating but implicating a voluntarily self-determined and self-directed action based on acquired experiences to run the overall business. Though, as for originality and self-determination in business practices in the KKK CoPs, business processes were reified as the best options for the trial. However, there were peculiar cases where individuals' originalities were being challenged and refused. Mostly, the minute they displayed their originalities, i.e., their 'enacted identities' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011) as keen learners who portrayed determination for effective business, their shops were negatively accepted, and their skilful efforts condemned (anonymous source). With these challenges, the learners established that their originalities were truncated and later presented different manners of applying originalities to their practices. Some decided to take whatever their shops said and no longer fully participated in extra activities. Others continued to use their different strategies by way of legitimate resources to construct their identities. Progressively, the learners became more skilful at the activities and interactions; the masters 'fade out', then

recurrent changes occurred in the KKK CoPs membership. P7 briefly explained in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 4.46

343 **P1-** I began as a novice under others. Slowly, those I met have advanced or
344 left now I am a boss commanding others. (Turn 16, January 3, 2019)

Participant 1, on lines 343-344, explains how old members progressed, faded, and or left while new members joined (Roberts, 2006). However, the KKK originators (see Section 1.3.3) intermarried with the Hausas and produced mixed-race families who later inherited their businesses. Generation shifts were apparent; the erstwhile *Almajiris* – (the shop boys)- who assimilated became legatees and patrons of the businesses learnt from their faded away masters (anonymous sources). This experience calls for a redefinition of the *Almajiri* system in the KKK, similar to Safiyanu and Bugaje’s (2020) observations in their *Almajiri* system study. For instance, it appeared later that the absence of modern business strategies from many patrons resulted in the diversity and proliferation of the Chinese and Indians into the KKK.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, CoPs in the KKK shared an identified business interest. Peripheral members show a certain level of commitment by learning from the seasoned members before acquiring the collectively shared competence (identity) that differentiates them from fresh learners. Through their communication channels, they belong to the community by engagement, alignment, and imagination. The aforementioned extracted examples given by different categories of people in different scenarios within the community, describe their diverse learning-in-practices from a learner to the seasoned

membership through situated learning and legitimate peripheral participation (LPP). In addition, the learners were recurrently socially interacting with experienced members developing their awareness and sharing their experiences through both special events and daily routines. Consequently, the people, along with the practice, develop mutually. Again, to fit in the KKK culture, the new members followed behaviours in developing the resources essential for participating in collective meaning-making (Gee, 2005; Kohler, 2015). Thus, to use their sociocultural learning opportunities and trajectories to the maximum in developing their identity, they were learning by watching and listening, modelling and talking, scaffolding and coaching, as well as by originating and fading. Hence, most the KKK learners moved their marginal location to peripheral and some to core membership, though some could not. Thus far, the participants' learning-in-practice outcome communicates their identities and presents their identity-in-practice examined in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER 5 : COMMUNICATING IDENTITY: IDENTITY IN PRACTICE

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 describes the ways participants communicate identities in the KKK. It presents the KKK identities-in-practice, different acts of identity, and responds to research question 2: In what ways do the participants communicate their developed identities in the Kano Kantin Kwari business community?

5.2 The KKK Identities-in-Practice

This section offers practicable instances of identities-in-practice, which signifies the later stage of 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996, p. 155). For example, the KKK apprentices started revealing themselves regarding their practices as business fellows. The findings presented that, alongside the learners were 'learning-in-practice', they need to distinguish themselves so that they participate with the experienced community members. The learners in the KKK started communicating their identity as business fellows by creating behaviours necessary to recognize, engage, negotiate, describe, and enact within the local community. This is achieved through the development of an identity and in executed identity (Kanno & Stuart, 2011) within and outside the contexts. Moreover, the practices and the subjects are engaged mutually and set up with each other (Lave, 1996). The researcher shall try showing this by applying related aspects of the frameworks to interpret some sample practices in the KKK that validate the interdisciplinarity inherent in the LE approach. The researcher presents an instance of an unskilled boy from her field notes (FN) where a young learner is given a piece of textile to sell after the close of business, relating his first executed identity-in-practice in the talk excerpt 5.1 below.

Excerpt 5.1

1 **Boy:** Hey! I made some money yesterday. (FN65, January 27, 2019)

In line 1, the apprentice boy made a strong motivating remark informing his friend that he had performed his first business deal, i.e., his first independent display of a business identity-in-practice. In this simple interaction, the boy is projecting his inner world (Le Page & Tabourret-Keller, 1985) while inviting his friend to share through the language they both can understand. The friend responded in the following manner.

Excerpt 5.2

2 **Friend:** How did you make the money? (FN65, January 27, 2019)

The friend's response displayed the Hausa version of Norreby's (2018) ethnicised identity (a common Hausa culture) in identifying with the boy. Instead of rejoicing with him, he responded with another question. Though the use of one language shows convergence (Giles, 1980), the meaning of the negotiation is diffused. Still, out of his motivation to identify with the group (acts of identity constraint), the boy continued explaining to his friend as below.

Excerpt 5.3

3 **Boy:** My *Maigida* (boss) gave me a piece of *Attampha* to practice selling at
4 home that I should start practising the real business. I did the *ciniki* with
5 my sister and made some money. (FN 65, January 27, 2019)

From the extract above, the learner boy's explanation indicated that he had begun to receive a positive motivation (another act of identity constraint) from his *Maigida* (boss). In line 3, he mentioned the encouragement from his boss and how he enacted his business identity-in-practice in a negotiation process in his family domain and got the business

completed. The most involved point of this illustration is how the boy relates his boss's determination to check whether he was on the appropriate learning trajectory to start executing his business identity-in-practice. Moreover, since the researcher was closely observing this interesting case, the following day at the shop, one of the shop attendants asked the boy about his experience when he went to market the textile. This issue would, without doubt, warrant confidentiality since they were in public. Nonetheless, the boy, at a peripheral level, told him he had sold the textile and made some profit. This reinforced motivation allowed him to share his first business identity experience with his friend. However, the address term '*Maigida*' refers to his boss; the use of the word '*Attampha*' (line 3) to refer to the specific type of textile given to him and the word *ciniki* (transaction) on line 5 made him familiar with some of the group's jargon and thus, a display of the group's identity.

The second instance from the findings demonstrates scenes of the KKK seasoned members identity-in-practice within a family domain alongside a business domain in a single setting in a shop. The researcher observed that the gentlemen outside the shop unnoticed followed them into the shop. He was only noticed following his cough, after which everyone in the shop suddenly became more attentive. This behaviour provided a clue to figure out his position as the *Baba* (father), named by the children. In the following FN extract, he started talking, referring to one of the sons.

Excerpt 5.4

6 **Gentleman:** *Kai!* ...Hey...(Incomplete sentence) (FN49, January 7, 2019)

This Hausa pronoun *Kai* in line 6 did not specify who the gentleman was referring to but indicated an authority before turning to me.

Excerpt 5.5

7 **Gentleman:** Hajiya, what is it you want?

8 **Researcher:** Nothing. We are waiting for Baffa. (FN49, January 7, 2019)

In the FN, I wrote: “Without a word he made an appreciative laugh showing an approval of our stay in the shop. No sooner than the father left the scene, Baffa arrived, apologised before the usual greeting” (FN49, January 7, 2019), and spoke.

Excerpt 5.6

9 **Baffa:** Mama, I am sorry, *Megidanmu* (father) sent me on some errands.

10 **Researcher:** No problem. Are you done?

11 **Baffa:** Yes, once I give him the feedback. (FN49, January 7, 2019)

This extract represents the acts of the identity of a family as well as a business domain within the KKK. The scenarios in extracts 5.1-5.3 took place simultaneously under one setting. The gentleman in extracts 5.4-5.5 communicated multiple acts of identity: for instance, a business expert, asking the customers for their needs, and an overseer identity, always alert to the immediate environment of the shop. His calm presence alone displayed a personal identity of a group leader, the cough and the unfinished sentence signified an in-group identity display of the higher hierarchy. The researcher explained in her FN that Baffa’s approach to his father (i.e., the gentleman) as an asymmetrical relationship by the acts of bowing down to greet him before delivering the message and the father’s response with his head bow even without uttering a word, completes the act (FN49, January 7, 2019). The physical distance between us permitted the researcher to perceive and listen to everything transpiring between them.

Equally, the researcher observed how another experienced the KKK member used language and real social behaviour to describe diverse business identities in practice. In

new strategy, thus communicating multiple identities. The findings further substantiated how members used varieties of language strategies and other practices. For instance, making inquiries and giving instructions as representative instances of the way individuals get businesses completed in the KKK. Verbal inquiries and instructions were either through an asymmetrical manner to the higher hierarchy or in a spontaneous way to the social group. Whenever inquiries were face to face, typically, small talk ensued at the start or in the middle of the talk. Specifically, small talk expresses and reinforces group solidarity (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). As a shared practice, members generally act as per the inquiries made, instantiating the CoP feature, i.e., “certain styles recognised as displaying membership” (Wenger, 1998, p. 126). All instructions given by the superiors were set up as directives. AGN Ltd sales manager, when cautioning the learners on the new shipment said, “These are new arrivals, if you do not know the price, just ask, or shut up, think of being well-mannered you know, you must certainly look trained” (FN32, May 13, 2017). These orders were often given out loud when a new shipment arrived, either early before the start of the daily business, afternoon or evening, and thus, holding on to these orders is another sign of identity-in-practice.

All the instances cited above confirmed the reality of identity-in-practice in the KKK. Business activities are not feasible without the proper use of a language and other practices. The participants engage in different transactions and meet for a particular purpose, specially engaging in, i.e., negotiation and information sharing depicted above.

5.2.1 The KKK Flexibility to Negotiate Identity

Chapter 4 generally discussed that the community, specifically the shops, carry out the daily routine schedules by participating in their practices and through communication channels. However, not any of these areas were accessible for negotiation, and thus the

learners were in a situation wherein they had no option but to only ‘accept’ whatever their shops said. This section illustrates cases where the participants had the flexibility to negotiate their identities as mere acceptors in their physical spaces. Their self-perception as learners of the KKK had been influenced by the atmosphere and some social categories. Their status in the community was always of the lower group, so they could not grasp any bias as learners. The right to decision-making lies with the elevated hierarchy. Hence, they learnt to be flexible in their practice. Jamilu, a skilled learner at HALI Nigeria Ltd., narrated his experiences below.

Excerpt 5.10

31 **Jamilu:** In anything I do, I have learned flexibility because the superiors
32 tend to increase acts that are not part of my schedule. Usually, this
33 has to do with the goings-on. It is not something that has no history,
34 just somewhat to get accustomed to. I am cautious to move away
35 from the space, although my superior said I could. But I feel
36 restricted since the roles are so constricted. I assume I could
37 incorporate different actions. I also have the feeling like I have not
38 developed considerably the facts that I learned across the
39 community. (FN61, November 15, 2018)

According to Jamilu on lines 31-39 above, it became necessary to be flexible because of the unpredictable nature of the businesses and the elevated hierarchy group, as the learners would be added different errands without their awareness and without negotiating with them. When in the real business practice, the learners were unable to relate their previous knowledge since they walked into other peoples’ instructions and procedures and needed to work with focus. This learning, over time, became their ‘narrated identity’ (Kanno& Sturt, 2011, p. 240) in the KKK, and that is an informally

formed identity. They decided to become flexible in the shops where they may not embrace bias as they were positioned in a situation that fitted other shop members. The shops projected them to perform a certain part (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991) that did not equal their distinct hope, and by the shops imposing roles on them in that state, their narrated identity was formed as that of ‘acceptors’.

The findings again revealed that a majority of learners in the KKK were forward-looking of the great importance they placed on learning, where they observed themselves as learners in the business who were in the learning process, and they attempted to be ‘flexible’ instead of identifying encounters as complications. Besides this, such behaviour also applied to language encounters that had instigated concerns in their learning and compelled them to perceive themselves as not recognised by the KKK members (i.e., the *DanKauye* reference). Thus, flexibility became part of the understanding these learners achieved in their lives in the KKK.

In addition, it was difficult for the shop members to meet and discuss the challenging parts of their lives in the community because their situation as undeveloped learners appeared to prevent them from doing so. As such, in their lives in this community, flexibility was their response to its well-grounded cultured atmosphere and its members. Still, these learners were considered immature people who ought to be under strict observation when displaying their identities in practice. Each shop demand that learners should not complete a business transaction without the approval of their superior, as is shown in Section 4.3.3.2. From my participant observation, usually, the superior while supervising sits at one of the extreme corners of the shop, while the learners sit at the centre of the shop talking to customers. However, in some shops, the superior sits relaxed and goes through some documents while the learners interact with the customers but who

still cannot take an independent decision on anything about the shop. Below were some leaks of their identity negotiation practices from our discussions.

Excerpt 5.11

40 **Learner:** Of course, like... every time a customer comes, my superior wants
41 me to... to seek his consent before closing the deal, mainly on the
42 prices of the textiles and... things like that which are not fixed
43 (smile). So, I do it always because it takes time for a learner to get
44 used to these business strategies. (FN40, July 11, 2017)

From lines 40-44 above, this learner emphasised seeking clearance from his supervisor on any transaction with a customer. Because the shop did not permit him to transact at his discretion was an extra indication of his positioning as an immature member at the business level, this intensely influenced the development of this learner's business self-identity. The researcher observed this applied to the entire community in general. In fact, the community's perception of learners as immature was stated by a supervisor at African Global Nigeria Ltd. He observed some learners learning-in-practice as not reliable at business. Nonetheless, he made it clear that whilst under observation, the learner decided his place and identity in the community - in the long run, the community will be discontented with that learner, and vice versa (FN63, January 21, 2019). The discontent with some learners' performance was noteworthy; in some cases, the motives were identified but in other cases, not identified. Indeed, a study such as Brandt's (2008) shows how reaction interpretations can be advantageous to learners but can also be a source of rigidity (mainly, the guide's comments were based on reflecting on the performance of the learners, while others were based on their attitudes). Yet, these comments caused the development of the learner's 'narrated identity' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011) as the ineffective learner. This was sufficient to position the KKK learners either up or down and positively

or negatively impacted their rapport, like in Butcholtz's (1998) nerds' study. She identified categories from within her study group by classifying and assigning values of positive and negative linguistic indexes for the community members.

In Dasu and Brothers Nigeria Ltd, Ali was newly employed and an expert with the computer thus, he gained popularity within the company in a short time. Musa was the company secretary and the overseer of the company's activities. On perceiving Ali's fast popularity, the secretary cautioned him to act gently. He said to Ali openly, "act gently, act gently, people around here are not used to your ways" (FN37, June 19, 2017). In our talk with Ali, I asked him why the secretary was demanding him to act gently. Ali specified that, in the previous week, there was a company meeting, where he was chosen to make a presentation of some textile samples from the computer (FN37, June 19, 2017). Based on this experience, the secretary placed Ali in the situation of an undeveloped learner. The secretary's imposition of representation on Ali as a novice learner and distinct among the company had a great influence on Ali. Then after that, some significant occurrences took place, and he decided to keep on as an 'acceptor' who simply accepted anything the company and the secretary said. Some of these incidents were about the proportion of the learners. Ali could recall since the commencement of his work; the secretary was not pleased with him. Ali frequently asked the secretary for any information, and when he asked Ali to talk to the manager directly, Ali followed. Although he followed and accepted the advice from the secretary, he was still answerable. The secretary observed the circumstances as being Ali's doing. In our talk, Ali described his rapport with the secretary in the following instance.

Excerpt 5.12

45 **H:** How's your secretary?

46 **Ali:** Hmm... the secretary... he's okay. These days I do talk to him in
47 moderation. Only, uh... only when he inquires, I talked to him... and at
48 the point, he approaches the office, I always say 'salaam'... umm. I do not
49 need to talk to him lavishly, since ... he... does not look like it. (Laughed)
50 as he does not... he is always busy, I guess.

51 **H:** The secretary?

52 **Ali:** Yes, the secretary. And then he, he asked me, "Oh, why did you not
53 express what was on?" And I said, "I communicated to you, and I did as
54 you said to me, which was going to the manager". And he said, "Oh, not
55 at all, you did not". And I just responded, "Ok, I didn't", so I didn't have
56 to be into a disagreement with him.

57 **H:** Huh? Still, but you did not make the blunder.

58 **Ali:** I have grown in Hausa culture, where you just cannot continue to argue
59 with your senior or superior and must accept. (Laugh) Yes. So... currently,
60 I have only learned that for my work, I simply must agree to take
61 whatsoever they communicate to me and only say yes... I did not,
62 regardless (Laugh). (FN32, May 13, 2017)

Before the above-stated incident, the connotation was unfamiliar, and its occurrence appeared to weaken the condition. Though on lines 46-50, Ali followed the secretary's idea that was to talk to the manager, the secretary assumed Ali had refused to do so, and Ali decided to admit that their guess was correct, saying, 'Ok, I did not' (FN42, August 7, 2017), while it was untrue. The purpose looks like Ali did not wish to impair the rapport, and he knew what would come about if he defied what the secretary said, while

it was not the fact. Though these happenings jeopardised the rapport between Ali and the secretary, Ali determined to take whatever the company and their secretary said.

Excerpt 5.13

63 **H:** I was relatively overwhelmed with the declaration here, ‘I did not’.

64 **Ali:** (Laughed).

65 **H:** Then ‘whatsoever they communicate to me and only say yes’.

66 **Ali:** Yes. Because from that time, when I have problems with my work, I do
67 not complain. I will only say, “Do you recognize if there is any problem
68 in so and so?” And if he says “wait”, I wait. I do not attempt to say
69 something. Because if I talk, he easily gets irritated with me, and I do not
70 need to cause some more complications. (FN42, August 7, 2017)

From Ali’s standpoint on lines 66-70, he desired to avoid inquiring about the secretary. As a focus, Ali could embrace subjectivity. His uncomfortable rapport with the company led him to create his narrated identity as an ‘acceptor’. In determining to follow anything the secretary said devoid of questioning, Ali was capable of flexibly adjusting the instants of any encounter with both the secretary and manager to escape more clashes. In another talk, Ali’s situation as an ‘acceptor’ is discussed below.

Excerpt 5.14

71 **H:** You know, with your knowledge, I was dismayed by your statement the
72 other day, expressing that you are at present accepting whatever your
73 company asks of you.

74 **Ali:** Uh... If I attempt to challenge them, I understood it doesn’t end well. So
75 now I don’t even worry I will not whine to anybody. Since if I whine, he
76 gets angry, and now, my rapport is in a way good. I don’t need to do away
77 with that.

- 78 **H:** Yes ... now I can get the idea.
- 79 **Ali:** Yes ... so, even supposing it is like for some time. (Laugh) I simply do
- 80 not attempt, no matter what ... (FN46, October 29, 2017)

This bit of talk in lines 74-77 gave the impression that Ali seemed concerned about disintegrating his link with the company. From the earlier experience, he saw that any kind of confrontation would end negatively. Notwithstanding, the secretary had shunned Ali's skilful presentation among the members of the company. On the other hand, Ali was determined to take and follow whatever the company wanted him to do and perceived his acceptance as part of his learning trajectory and denial of communicating his real professional identity. Therefore, Ali's identity was also imposed by the company in his company. Identity is thus, positioned and co-constructed in these circumstances. This context could not be negotiated by Ali. He appeared to decide to protect himself by continuing to locate as an acceptor, and concurrently, it gave him the impression that this was inescapable. Not only did he accept anything the company said to him, but Ali decided to take additional responsibility not related to his skill.

Excerpt 5.15

- 81 **Ali:** Hence, afterwards, I simply said, 'Okay, then. I will from now on simply
- 82 come to you.' And ever since then, I go to him and tell him. But each time
- 83 I go to tell him, he seems agitated. (FN46, October 29, 2017)

In the above extract, Ali explained his resolution towards the secretary's attitude. Instead of remaining at variance, Ali was certain that whatever he was to see if a very similar thing occurred again, it would be acknowledged by the secretary. To recap, Ali and other learners took on narrated identities as being flexible through different instances in practice, plus their resolution to take whatsoever was enforced on them by their shops or

companies. Together, they were presenting their enacted identities that were only to follow whatsoever their shops or companies sought after them to do, instead of independently performing.

Closely connected to this aspect was the obstruction of Ali's skilful origination in his company which is shown above. Likewise, following which the learners remain adaptable by following whatever the experienced community members said to them, they were exposing a 'narrated identity' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011) as per 'acceptors. In their various shops, they had also used several strategies learnt from their previous experience of interaction and perhaps transaction, and they had by now compared with their exemplary background. In this manner, they were displaying their identities-in-practice as well as progressing to another stage nearer to becoming identified and accepted as business fellows. At that point, the shops detected this and understood it in diverse ways. Every individual had a distinctive reaction to their shop's observations and made evident the different 'enacted identities' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011, p. 240) of the learners' negotiation in their location. In consent with the nature of displaying their identities-in-practice, participants in the KKK performed other acts of identity to communicate their identities.

5.2.2 The Researcher's Day in the KKK

In addition to the above analysis, describing 'the researcher's day in the KKK' revealed additional distinct identity acts. The researcher needed to consider more their customary practices and limited pattern of communicating identities that the members believe and appropriately exposed in several contexts. These contexts may be roughly separated into the context of facing the public, 'frontstage' (unrestricted face context), and of the offices and stores where all the preparation and the distribution is made, the 'back region' (restricted context, Goffman, 1971). Without a doubt, many examples could be referred

to, in respect to the community's back region that could defeat the customers' unswerving understandings of their activities. Although many activities in the community might be indefensible, other shortcuts seem to be indispensable. The participants' regular performance was to various audiences and not limited to their customers, who distinguish their performance by their ability to do their assigned responsibility, i.e., persuade and sell. Among their additional audiences are the business partners, co-business associates, supervisors who are customarily observing their activities in the community, and managers as total overseers. Comparable to Atkinson's (1999) reference to the doctors who are always 'on stage' once on duty, so are the community's participants each time they are in the community, and with the proliferation of technology, it has become an all encompassing activity in their lives. Their presentations which were always open to exploration by every person around, had imports on the given instructions, and their activities, while displaying their identity-in-practice. For the learners, (i.e., in the KKK) their back region is separated further into frontstage and backstage. Their frontstage performance in this context of the back region is a continued presentation to their business partners, co-business associates, and their supervisor's audience. Accordingly, "by invoking a backstage style, individuals can transform any region into a backstage" (Goffman, 1959, p. 130). Thus, the backstage does not need to be a physical setting. To clarify, learners used to be backstage in front of the researcher, who they thought was their right-hand or not capable of affecting their performance in any way.

The researcher's role as a participant-observer had complicated a few thought-provoking dilemmas, although none were decisively noteworthy. Yet, contrary to that with the other co-business associates and business partners, their bearings towards the researcher was more important because they allowed the researcher to perceive the analytical difference stuck between their frontstage and backstage. It positioned the researcher in a locus of

96 **PO:** And you need a dozen brightening cotton prints. I began to select.
97 **Young man:** Can I afford it? (Looking down as he viewed the colourful).
98 **PO:** Don't worry, we cannot fail to see what to do depending on the
99 depth of your pocket. You can advisedly buy the medium from
100 England and low from Ghana. I know what good stuff to sell to
101 you. Be careful about your money. Left to them, women of today
102 will prefer to milk you dry. (Paused, and continued]. For
103 underwear, shoes, blouses, and the Abaya (robe), you need at least
104 three pieces each. For make-up, there is this boy from whom you
105 can buy at fair rates. You will pack everything in trendy boxes with
106 rollers. Instead of the usual five sets, you can buy three of the
107 boxes. So let my assistant tally all that I said and see how much it
108 will cost you. Don't worry; it is something we are used to doing
109 almost daily. (FN18, February 5, 2017)

This was a transaction performance facing several audiences and typically displaying the shop frontstage. However, the negotiating process involved less direct on line 89, direct on line 92, polite approaches, expressions of dissatisfaction on lines 95, and a persuasive talk from lines 98-109. After the deal was closed, the customer bought almost everything the researcher and participant advised him to buy. The researcher went upstairs to the manager's office for a break. The top management was involved in their backstage arena. The manager instantly invited the researcher to join the meeting, as revealed in the extract that follows.

Excerpt 5.18

- 110 **Manager:** Hajiya, do you have an idea of the likeable feminine colours?
111 Please could you suggest some, right now we want to send the
112 colour combinations to China.
- 113 **PO:** (Mockingly) Oh! We strike a deal. How much will you offer? My
114 fine arts department students can handle this professionally.
- 115 **Manager:** Ok. Hajiya, we can discuss.
- 116 **PO:** (Pointing at my colourful dress) Now, let me assist with some.
- 117 **Manager:** Hajiya, what and what colours did you mention?
- 118 **PO:** Yellow, purple, or blue can go with all shades of green and
119 continued.
- 120 **Manager:** Hajiya, having assisted a lot, what about the professionals' issue?
- 121 **PO:** Now, I am busy with this work. We have each other's phone
122 numbers when the need arises. You can give me a call.
- 123 **Manager:** Ok. Hajiya, thank you so much. Are you done with the shop?
- 124 **PO:** Yes. But I will come frequently. I am in the best place to thank you
125 all very much for your cooperation, confidence, and trust.
- 126 **Manager:** Ok. Hajiya, till you hear from us.
- 127 **PO:** Anytime. So long. (FN18, February 5, 2017).

In this backstage, business-marketing strategies, and issues regarding their containers on transit, choosing patterns, and colours for the next order. In preparation for the yearly festivities ahead were discussed. The manager's request above on lines 110-112 substantiated the researcher's insider position as a participant-observer and provided strong evidence the findings that specific practices when embraced, communicated business identity and understood role relationships. For instance, this meeting verified the

findings in Chapter 4 that many of the KKK shared repertoires remained jointly negotiated and meaning reified; others remain decided by those in the upper hierarchy.

Regarding the learners, it is worth observing the researcher's presence in the frontstage of their back region, which had an effect on their participation within the community. In line with Fine (2003), their back regions are places they participate in pranks, teasing, and fun with each other, which contribute to the fulfilment of working and preserve everyone's spirits or to calm down the tension. Still, the learners appeared to have boundaries to an extent and when they could participate in such activities without giving their performance away in the presence of other business associates. Initially, there was minimal participation; the game's rules were learnt stage by stage. For instance, the person that gets mocked and who mocks whom and the way to take part, for example, rampant profanities are practices within the community, even as a backstage talk, the learners abstained from using them up until afterwards, when some time has been spent in their designated spaces. Considerably, the most accessible and open genre to the learners was griping. Once the common target (the government usually, but seldom the specific community members) and position (undesirable) have been recognised, they perform like their other fellows. Goffman's (1959) influence on this thesis has possibly been more extensive than the above description; however, the researcher focused on the apparent aspects that can assist the reader in perceiving from which source certain concepts and the analysis evolved.

5.3 The KKK Acts of Identity

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) use the acts of identity framework to study the way ethnicity was defined in Belize through language, physical appearance, and nationality, and claim that people use different devices linguistically to associate or distance

themselves with specific groups. In this study, 'acts of identity' has placed the participants' multiple identity practices in the KKK scenario where a member comes to be important based upon his selection of the group he wished to identify with and the symbolic resources used for accomplishing the identification within the group's borders. Hence, acts of identity are described according to specific instances of communicating identity proportionate to the findings in Chapter 4 that show how Wenger's (1998) CoP criteria equally embraced the language and non-linguistic practices that form the heart of the KKK CoPs. Also, otherwise executed in different forms of how they often address problems, share experiences, tools, and stories by engaging in information exchange directly aside from seeking reciprocity in understanding with their co-partners, customers, and others, demonstrated in (FN9, November 9, 2016; FN12, November 23, 2016, & FG5, February 3, 2019). However, through language projecting and focussing, creating an inventive language, imitation, and or meaning negotiation by each person agreeing on, the KKK members create many in-group tokens. They communicate identities through their language, social acts, and artefacts.

5.3.1 The KKK Language and Social Acts

This section includes language and languaging acts in the KKK, greeting rituals, making introductions, and closing; give-and-take of small talk and collective jokes; in-house jargon: names of shops, textiles, and group labelling; and language variety.

5.3.1.1 The KKK Language and Languaging Acts

The findings reveal how language is considered to consist of any code used by the participants through their diversities of language, and languaging acts central in communicating the participants' identity in the KKK super diverse context. The community members socially act through language(s) towards accomplishing shared and

interactional goals. They contextually practice languaging through such concepts as code-switching, code-mixing and crossing which remain translanguaging (Rampton, 1995), in this study mostly for identification purposes and to get business completed. Specifically, translanguaging is practised by the KKK bilinguals by accessing diverse language features on several styles of independent languages, in line with Garcia (2009) purposely to exploit communicative possibility. According to the findings, it can be concluded that translanguaging has long been rooted in the KKK as the multi-lingual nature in the community allows it to disregard the boundaries of the named languages such as Hausa, English, Arabic, and French, and together use the resources available from all of these and other languages as well. Kano indigenous participants are those who seemed to use the Hausa language to distance themselves and define their ethnicity, like in Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) Belize study. They also use the Hausa language and other languages to other language speakers to relate with them, e.g., as in the extract below.

Excerpt 5.19

- 128 **P2-** *Hajiya, kina research ne?*
- 129 **I-** *Eeh. Ina research ne, ina sampling ko za'a dan bamu haske akan*
- 130 *maudu'in da muke magana?* (Turns 1&2, February 9, 2017)

In this situation, both speakers use Hausa and the words 'research' and 'sampling' (lines 128-130) in English for easy understanding and identification. In the multilingual community of the KKK, they have diverse first and second languages. Somehow most of them share an understanding of the words, phrases, and, to some extent, even sentences of one another's language. They always perform in and out of the main language of the community to communicate across and understand when to apply the right words to talk to distinctive people, typified in a small talk with KKK security personnel in the following extract.

Excerpt 5.20

- 131 **Security man:** Hajiya, you are welcome.
- 132 **Researcher:** Thank you, Baba, *ina kwana*.
- 133 **Security man:** Hajiya, there is security now, *fa*.
- 134 **Researcher:** The market is safe now, *ko*?
- 135 **Security man:** *Eeh*, it is. (FN18, February 5, 2017)

The expressions, *ina kwana*, (line 132), *fa* (line 133), *ko* (line 134), and *Eeh* (line 135) are words from Hausa in a piece of conversation carried out in English for reassurance, emphasis, and languaging practice. Both speakers (researcher and security) identified with each other as belonging to the same group. Added examples of languaging practices within the Kano indigenous group from my FN extractions are presented below.

Excerpt 5.21

- 136 **Spk. A:** *Ka saman mini farashin?*
- 137 **Trans:** Have you found out the price for me?
- 138 **Spk. B:** (To Speaker A, Paused) What price again?
- 139 **Spk. B:** (To Speaker C) Good! *Sori. Don Allah Mallam*, very
- 140 serious. *Attamfar, tunda attamfar ana kawo ta*, again remind me.
- 141 **Trans:** Good! Sorry. For God's sake Mallam, very serious. *Attamfar*,
- 142 since it is being brought so often, again reminds me.
- 143 **Spk. B:** (To Speaker C) You don't seem to understand what I'm saying.
- 144 **Spk. C:** No, no, it's immaterial, you! What's your role?
- 145 **Spk. B:** *Wannan ai zaka iya* arranging. *Amma abun da bana so shine*
- 146 *wannan harkar business din*.

of practice is business, which is both physical and metaphorical. The setting is social and informal (a shop), a business place; therefore, the language practice is appropriate. Speakers B and C uses both Hausa and English by using two codes together to discuss an issue; they have agreed to identify with each other. Under the translanguaging concept, the two languages are used at once to create meaning in discussing a single issue from their available linguistic repertoires. This suggests that the KKK participants are bilingual in their language practices. Lines 139-140 specified that the subject of discussion is a trade, i.e., buying *Attampha* (textile).

Clearer cases of the use of their accessible linguistic repertoire can be seen on lines 139, 140, 145, 148, 152, 153, 156, 165, and 166. All these instances show how speakers B and C are involved in translanguaging and, at the same time, assuming different identities by focusing on their language practices (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). And it shows how speakers B and C identify with themselves (e.g., as bilinguals) and on lines 143, 144, and 155 and portray their frontstage but back region (Goffman, 1959) in speaker B's response to A. On lines 136 and 163, respectively, speaker A diverges (Giles, 1980) from his interlocutors through his social behaviour (i.e., silence) in the interaction and by speaking only one language, Hausa. A further example that shows how the acts of identity model allow a speaker to assume different identities in his use of language and behavioural acts is speaker C's change from the issue of discussion to speaking to a passer-by in the succeeding extract.

Excerpt 5.22

- 169 **Sp. C:** Hello! *How you de*, Uche?
170 **Uche:** *Well done*. Good. (FN18, February 9, 2017)

This interaction suggests a sudden change from the frontstage to the back region (Goffman, 1959), reflected in speaker C's use of Nigerian Pidgin and identity from a seller-buyer to that of a seller-seller, partner-partner in business. Speaker C assumes different personalities; therefore, he stands in multiple identities in his interaction with his different interlocutors. Perhaps, his role relationships might include a learner, seller, buyer, business partner, and business expert in the KKK.

The researcher ever displays her wish to identify with the KKK security by using the same language i.e., Hausa. Below is one of the examples.

Excerpt 5.23

- 171 **R:** *Barka dai Malam.*
- 172 **Trans:** Hello Malam.
- 173 **Security:** *Ah! Malama! Kin canja ne zuwa wannan abun? Wato, 'Yar Jarida?*
- 174 **Trans:** Ah! Malama! have changed to this thing? That is, journalism?

(FN40, July 11, 2017)

Here, the researcher's greeting (line 171) and the security's reply (line 172), both in Hausa, show identification between the two individuals. This is what Le Page referred to as focusing and what Giles (1980) and Giles and Nikolas (1991) referred to as accommodation by convergence. If the security had replied in English or another language, then he would be said to have diffused himself from his interlocutor. This does not always follow because other factors may be responsible for the acceptance of change in the security's language behaviour. The above analytical models help the researcher project how individuals in the KKK choose and use their language resources and context to communicate identities. This is shown through their reactions in some social situational encounters, their choices of interaction models, and the context besides the use of codes.

For further illustrations, the researcher looked at the findings in the native foreigner's space in the KKK, where they interact with people from within and outside Nigeria. Like their Kano counterparts, their use of language within the community was mainly Nigerian Pidgin, though also a little of their kind of Hausa language variety when the need arises. Besides this, one can hardly hear them interact in any language other than their mother tongue (MT), mostly Igbo, Yoruba, or Nigeria Pidgin, around their premises (FN35, June 5, 2017). During one of the researcher's visits, an Igbo participant ordered to his boy that he had better use the Hausa language to me, but the boy kept talking to me in the Nigerian Pidgin (FN54, January 3, 2018). At that point, the researcher became alert that the adult participant had projected me (mainly my physical look) as somebody to whom they believed in using the Hausa language. This observation is similar to Eckert's (1989) jocks and burnout study, where they can be identified with their outfits. These details also feature most of the community members' potential projection of me, their selection, and use of language because of my physical appearance and nationality. After this observation, the researcher talked with a few Kano indigenous community members at a passage concerning their language projection of me; two persons then reported their experiences to me. The first person narrated an episode when he met his non-Hausa friend on his way to his shop with one of his shop attendants. While after projecting his identity, the Alhaji interacted with his non-Hausa friend in Nigerian Pidgin to identify with him, and his shop attendant listened to their discussion but when this shop attendant attempted to talk to the non-Hausa gentleman, he used Hausa, although the non-Hausa friend's understanding of the Hausa language was negligible. Later, the shop attendant justified his diffused behaviour by referring to other related experiences by saying that he normally observed people deciding on the use of Hausa to (ethnically) Igbo young boys around the community (FN61, February 3, 2019). Though in the researcher's pre-set active

methodology, she had resolved that the KKK members were free to communicate to her in any language available to them, and this approach was thrown down the gauntlet by some experiences. Nevertheless, during the researcher's visits, she was able to pick a few interactions between the native foreigners and their customers. They have learnt the routine marketing language influenced by their accent, revealed in the next talk extract.

Excerpt 5.24

- 175 **Together:** *Ajiya. Me kina so?*
- 176 **Trans:** *Ajiya. What do you want?*
- 177 **Together:** *Ajiya. Muna de wannan yadi* (brought out samples for customers).
- 178 **Trans:** *Ajiya. We have this material.*
- 179 *Wani colour kina so?*
- 180 **Trans:** What colour do you want?
- 181 *Muna de feri, muna de ja, muna de ruwan kasa.*
- 182 **Trans:** We have white, we have red, and we have brown.
- 183 *Yadi nawa kina so?*
- 184 **Trans:** How many yards do you want? (FN50, January 21, 2019)

The above example showed similar Hausa marketing phrases found in the Kano indigenous group, only with a different accent on lines 175, 177, 179, and 181. The native foreigners were motivated to learn and use the Hausa language to identify with the KKK community, though purposely to have their businesses completed. I also observed some customers from the Chad Republic that came in with their translator. They employed two techniques; one is the translation as an artefact, and the other is the calculator. Most of the talking was done with the calculator to negotiate prices. This was a minimal talk scene. Besides watching and listening to the whole episode, I realised that the translator was serving two purposes: that of a translator to the visiting customers and that of an agent to

the KKK members. Furthermore, the following extract from focus group 5 substantiates the above explanations and example, along with describing the language practices in the native foreigners' group in the KKK.

Excerpt 5.25

- 185 **NF2-** Generally, *Ausa*.
- 186 **I-** Let me listen to how you market your goods to customers?
- 187 **NF2-** Mhmm! *'Zo ka duba, mi kina so, mi kana so. Ina di wannan abun, Kaman*
- 188 *wane, guda nawa kana so? Muna dishi, Kaman guda goma ko asirin.*
- 189 *Kaman duk guda na wanda kike so akwai'*. They ask me whether here or
- 190 na store. I tell them say, *'akwaishi a shago, ko a kanti'*.
- 191 **I-** (Laughter). What about the bargain? (FG5, Turn 7-10, January 5, 2019)

Although the native foreigner participant shows the motivation to identify with the KKK groups from the above extract, it appears difficult for him to fit with precise linguistic characteristics (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). Because their physical location was open, the focus group took place in a shop where the door was open to all. It was one of the festive periods *Maulidi* (*Molidi*, the native foreigners' accent). Alhaji (an old customer) came to buy yards for his school pupils in the following negotiation.

Excerpt 5.26

- 192 **Alhaji (Customer):** Yellow. *Ina son wannan yadin da yawa, dayawa zan siya.*
- 193 **NF3 to Alhaji:** *Alhaji hakane, Kaman yad nawa?*
- 194 **Alhaji to yellow:** Yellow. *Kaman yadi sittin, mutum ashirin.*
- 195 **NF3 to Alhaji:** *Toh, Alhaji na cire Naira goma.* (FG5, January 5, 2019)

The researcher's focus here was on the participants' language acts. These speakers both could modify their behaviour. As earlier observed in the KKK indigenous group, the male

business negotiation practices were direct, short, and brief. This practice proves the same. Although the language involved was Hausa, Alhaji (the customer) used the Kano Hausa variety on lines 192 and 194, while Yellow (NF3) was using an adulterated purposeful Hausa language variety on lines 193 and 195, full of syntactical and phonological errors. This study is more concerned with meaning-making rather than grammatical structures. In other words, the two speakers were able to understand and identify with each other by getting the business completed. In addition, with the native foreigners' language barrier, the researcher observed how they invite different customers to patronize their goods in the following extract.

Excerpt 5.27

- 196 **I-** Ok now. Let me listen to how you invite or call those customers to come
197 and buy your goods?
- 198 **NFI-** You know now, *inside market now is very hard to invite somebody. If you*
199 *sample your goods if somebody wants to buy.*
- 200 **I-** (Cuts short) Just like what you said to those people that passed by your
201 displayed goods now.
- 202 **NFI-** *Barka di rana, ina kwana, 'yaya gida, yaya geri, ehen. Muna de chiffon*
203 *ruwan madara, muna de moris ruwan madara* and others. You go speak
204 like small, small ones.
- 205 **I-** Mmmm!
- 206 **NFI-** Ehen, these small, small ones, *persen* will attend to you. Or you say *muna*
207 *di wannan. Mi kina so or mi kana so.*
- 208 **I-** After a customer shows interest, how do you negotiate?
- 209 **NFI-** *Enn! If you see my goods, you wan buy*, I will give them normal price.
- 210 **I-** Mmm, how do you say the price? In what language?

- 211 NFI- Enn! I dey speak Ausa, for money matter. I know *dat* one in *Ausa* Ehen!
- 212 *Dubu biyu, dubu uku, dubu daya*, if na di one for *deri biyar-biyar* (five-
- 213 five hundred), *yad biyu dubu daya*. *If na* money, I know that one.
- 214 I- Ehen.
- 215 NFI- And *jaka biyu* and others. Even if now, *I no de ear Ausa*, in terms of
- 216 money. I know that one.
- 217 I- (Laughter) which one is *jaka biyu*? (FG5, Turn 7-10, January 5, 2019)

The three extracts above displayed different languaging practices, limited to not only standard Hausa and adulterated Hausa but also Nigerian Pidgin on lines 198-199. Mix and switch Nigerian Pidgin and Hausa on lines 202-204, plus English 211-213 and 215-216. English and Nigerian Pidgin on lines 206 and 207-209, respectively. They showed how the native foreigners in the KKK managed to learn and use the little Hausa language for the purpose of their business transactions with Kano Hausa speakers, as specified in excerpt 5.26 above. However, with other Hausa speakers with a different dialect, they found it difficult to comprehend and employed a translator. Also, this is the case with languages other than Hausa. In this case, their motivation to learn and use Hausa was positive and mainly for business purposes; thus, they learnt the basics that will allow them to negotiate business and, to some extent, identify with the community like Butcholtz's (1998) nerds girls and Eckert's (1989) jocks and burnouts.

5.3.1.2 The KKK Greeting Rituals, Making Introductions and Closing

As earlier stated in Chapter 1, consistent with Holmes (1998), greetings among the KKK members and other visitors is a norm. Usually, these days the Islamic greeting comes first illustrated in Section 4.2.2.3. When interacting with an elder, it is followed by the Hausa

customary greeting (FN11, November 20, 2016). This is shown in all asymmetrical talks in my FN typified below.

Excerpt 5.28

218 **All:** *Hajiya. Barka da safiya.*

219 **Trans:** Hajiya. Good morning.

220 **R:** *Barka kadai.*

221 **Trans:** Hello. (FN11, November 20, 2016)

This is a typical Hausa traditional mode of greeting practised before their contact with the Arabs. An individual can choose to use either the Hausa traditional greeting or the Islamic greeting typified in Chapter 1. On entering the KKK each day, the common routine of chanting phraseological language practice begins. It is the Islamic-greeting+marketing or traditional-greeting+marketing or both in unison. The traditional-greeting+marketing shown below.

Excerpt 5.29

222 **As a group:** *Hajiya, sannu da zuwa.*

223 **Trans:** Hajiya, welcome.

224 *Hajiya, barka da zuwa.*

225 **Trans:** Hajiya, welcome.

226 *Hajiya, barkakadai.*

227 **Trans:** Hajiya, welcome.

228 *Hajiya, akwai.*

229 **Trans:** Hajiya, there is.

230 *Hajiya, zo ki duba.*

231 **Trans:** Hajiya, come and have a look. (FNs 49, January 7, 2019)

The examples in the above extract 5.28 and 5.29 showed varying greeting rituals in the Hausa language (all implying welcome) that members present to customers and visitors. These chorus greetings are assumed to be the first identity maker, not only for the KKK members but also for other Kano business communities. On lines 222, 224, 226, 228, and 230 above, the KKK members exchange greetings between themselves asymmetrically. Other forms of Hausa greeting are also displayed as follows.

Excerpt 5.30

- 232 **Manager:** *Hajiya, ina kwana?*
- 233 **Trans:** How did you spend the night?
- 234 **Researcher:** *Lafiya.*
- 235 **Trans:** Fine.
- 236 **Manager:** *Yaya iyalin?*
- 237 **Trans:** How are the members of the family?
- 238 **Researcher:** *Duk kowa lafiya.*
- 239 **Trans:** We are all fine and in good health. (FN28, April 19, 2017)

The whole extract 5.30 shows the normal Hausa morning greeting ritual exemplified between the researcher and her easy-going shop owner/manager. Aside from consistent face-to-face greeting rituals as illustrated above, additional forms of greetings with introductions related to the KKK are shown in the following phone chat.

Excerpt 5.31

- 240 **Researcher:** *Assalamu Alaikum.*
- 241 **Trans:** Peace be unto you.
- 242 **Chair:** *Wa;alaikumu Salamu.*
- 243 **Trans:** Peace be unto you too.
- 244 **Researcher:** *Barka da Safiya.*

Excerpt 5.32

- 259 **Many:** (Hand gesture). *Hajiya, ku shigo nan.*
- 260 **Trans:** Hajiya, come in here.
- 261 **Many:** (Showing some samples). *Muna da shi.*
- 262 **Trans:** We have it.
- 263 **Many:** (Hand gesture). *Zo. Ku dubawa 'dannan.*
- 264 **Trans:** Come. Check out these.
- 265 **Many:** *Kai! Kai! Kawosu nan.*
- 266 **Trans:** (Hey! Hey! Bring them here). (FN2, September 22, 2016)

From the excerpt above, apart from greetings, hand gestures in the KKK express different social acts of identity dependent on the context an individual finds him or herself. It had also shown that non-linguistic acts on lines 260, 262, and 264 also form part of the language repertoire in the KKK, i.e., gestures, actions ... consistent with Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999), artefacts, and other ways of doing things.

Other forms of handshake gestures are paralinguistic devices used by the KKK participants to express a social behaviour such as being like-minded, showing surprise among peers, and the like. The 'deprecatory cough', is the 'unfinished sentence' to show warning or disapproval by elders (FN2, September 22, 2016). While the appreciative giggle for approval, head scratch, and drooping shoulders for disagreement by the younger ones.

In addition, as noticed above, Hausa culture has a courteous greeting norm system, which is expected of any person at the beginning of each interaction. However, there are always exceptional behaviours divergent from the norm; for instance, in one of the shops

recorded in my FN, an average aged woman chose a textile material of her interest and asked for the price without any greeting performed as presented below.

Excerpt 5.33

- 267 **Woman:** How much will you sell this to me?
- 268 **Shop attendant:** Seven hundred.
- 269 **Woman:** Not 500?
- 270 **Shop attendant:** No Hajiya, you add to that. I did not buy it at that amount.
- 271 **Woman:** OK. 600.
- 272 **Shop attendant:** I have sold. (FN49, January 7, 2019)

As can be understood from extract 5.33 above, different from the Hausa tradition and other female customers that visit the community, several of whom the researcher observed during her fieldwork. This woman's uncultured behaviour was unusual. Her dressing was supposed to reflect a decent female in her twenties or early thirties. The larger society does not encourage this behaviour and appearance but is accepted among peers. There is a sense of common responsibility among the KKK members, and the outfit is a vital part. This implies the need for a participant to have the capacity to deal with different people, behaviours, and languages and learn to assume multiple acts before accomplishing the KKK core business identity. However, this shop attendant's attitude towards the woman confirms his business identity-in-practice. In language, we are offered by the society we enter, and we offer others a very overt symbolization of ourselves and our various domains of that space, as well as through the social marking that each occasion of use carries (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985).

Furthermore, the researcher observed strange acts by different shop attendants who formed an entourage and gave a bow to offer a welcome greeting to their head, as they

would to a member of the traditional royal king; *Barka da zuwa* (You are welcome), before walking into his office. Then, they followed him to his office one after the other to make the proper greeting of the Hausa culture. In the FN, the researcher wrote.

Excerpt 5.34

273 I noticed as a sign of loyalty and respect; some key members lead the personage
274 to his office. I assumed he must have felt elated, honoured, and satisfied to have
275 his attendants in tow to his office. I also observed that they all made
276 the *Salaam* (Islamic greeting) before entering as they left their shoes and sandals
277 at the doorstep and avoided the chairs and sat on the tiled floor before the man to
278 offer greetings and engage in light talk. (FN38, June 25, 2017).

The researcher in this scenario perceived the subordinates' talents as if they were formally trained in the acting game (Goffman, 1959). The payers of honour were spellbound by the manager's conduct, that of a man who combined both the two types of power, the royal and the rich. Below are a few of his responses to the greetings.

Excerpt 5.35

279	Manager:	<i>Lafiya.</i>	Fine.
280		<i>Yawwa.</i>	Thanks.
281		<i>Nagode.</i>	Thank you.
282		<i>Barka kadai.</i>	You are welcome. (FN38, June 25, 2017)

To communicate his group's identity in the extract above, the manager responds to most greetings with a gesture, either a nod or a hand wave. Those he verbally responded to were with one-word, two-word sentences, and each member ended with the following closing 'verbal rituals' written in the FN and interviews.

Excerpt 5.36

- 283 **Shop Attendant:** *Alhaji, mun gode.* Thank you
- 284 **Alhaji:** *Nima nagode.* Thank you too
- 285 **Shop Attendant:** *A sauka lafiya.* Return safely. (FN30, April 5, 2017)

At the end of each encounter, the closing verbal ritual on lines 284-285 took place 'indicating a 'leave taking' (Spradley, 1979, 2016), symbolizing the end of each interaction. The findings show that all the above instances are part of the community's shared repertoire that separates the KKK members from other visitors to the community. However, the nature of their greetings, introduction, and closing rituals communicate their respective identities.

5.3.1.3 The KKK Give-and-Take of Small Talk and Collective Jokes

The give-and-take of small talk and in what manner directives (Vine, 2001) are given are part of the KKK shared repertoires and identity acts that communicate participants' identities. As the researcher stepped into the secretary's office, all greeting protocols were observed from both sides. The researcher was directed to proceed to the chair's office to wait on a sofa at the corner for him to finish attending to the people present. When he was done, he turned to me and started talking as in the following FN excerpt.

Excerpt 5.37

- 286 **Chairperson:** How are you getting on with your work?
- 287 **Researcher:** To be candid, it was not as anticipated.
- 288 **Chairperson:** Nice. So, how has it been?
- 289 **Researcher:** Hectic hmmm! One never had a moment to oneself.
- 290 **Chairperson:** It was tough; the members were too kept for your liking.

334 **Speaker 2:** As females assumed amazingly. (Laughs).

(FN24, March 15, 2017)

The girl-hawker moved towards her caller. Her packs of groundnut were finely arranged on the tray in minor polythene bags.

Excerpt 5.39

335 **Speaker 3:** How much is each packet?

336 **Girl:** (Ten Naira). Holding the tray forward.

337 **Speaker 3:** Is it not five Naira?

338 **Girl:** It is not. (Firmly)

339 **Speaker 5:** Everything has gone up. (FN24, March 15, 2017)

Above was the usual core group (A) give-and-take of small talk and jokes while relaxing under a tree shade in the KKK. The discourse consisted of a general topic that appeared to interest all the speakers from their turn-taking behaviour, and they all had the motivation to talk about something that affects their community. They all had the same choice of language, appearance (elegantly dressed in expensive colourful brocades and voiles), and nationality. According to the shop owner, who permitted me to hang around his shop while doing my work, he informed the researcher that they usually meet there from 3.00 - 5.00 pm daily. Speaker 5 had stayed silent until the moment the researcher left, not because he disassociated with the group but because he appeared too gentle with a full beard. Speaker 3 removed five fine packets of roasted groundnuts and handed them to each of his friends, for they are delicacies for all classes of people in Hausa land. The researcher left the shop because she had stayed longer than necessary to not create suspicion. On her way to meet a key participant, the researcher suddenly bumped into her

relation who had joined the KKK after his secondary education (O'Levels). They had not met for long; the researcher used this opportunity to have an added general talk session about her research. In the FN, it was written.

Excerpt 5.40

340 **Relation:** (Surprised!) What brought you to our market this early morning?

341 **Researcher:** I came to work.

342 **Relation:** I wonder what kind of work brought you here as a schoolteacher.

343 **Researcher:** I am conducting research; I guess you are aware that I have gone
344 back to school. (FN24, March 15, 2017)

Because of the congestion of people, we had to make space for them to pass. Therefore, the invite to his shop was accepted by the researcher. It was a long walk to the shop where their talk progressed.

Excerpt 5.41

345 **Relation:** Yes. They said you have gone to which country?

346 **Researcher:** Malaysia.

347 **Relation:** Then, why did you not look for me when you initially came here.
348 Or is it that you have gotten what you want.

349 **Researcher:** I am still on it. When the need arises to contact you, I'll do so.

350 **Relation:** You do not seem to get tired of learning.

351 **Researcher:** You know, stagnant knowledge, bit by bit becomes irrelevant over
352 time. Let me ask you a question. (Jokingly) How big is the ocean?

353 **Relation:** (Laughing) Bigger than I can ever say.

354 **Researcher:** Yet it receives surplus raindrops every time, increasing its size,
355 breadth, and width. I went back to school for enhancement and to
356 fix myself for the tasks ahead.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) view that to be able to project one-self and focus on a linguistic group, a speaker must have a common cultural and linguistic background with his interlocutor(s) to enhance effective communication.

5.3.1.4 The KKK In-House Jargon: Names of Shops, Textiles, and Group Labelling

According to Wenger (1998), involvement in the distinct in-house language or jargon creates a feeling of fitting in the community via dynamic participation. The KKK CoP had its specific 'language' or functional jargon particular to the domain-local business jargon in line with an agreed shared repertoire. It is often an acronym or a phrase commonly used, which produced little or no idea to non-members. To shield the KKK identity, these are a few examples of the CoP's jargon that is '*Kadaura*' (the tree shade), '*Filin Paking*' (hawkers meeting point) used by the members of the lower group while talking about the eating place and *IBB, Ibrahim Taiwo, Plaza* (street names). The above examples are like the word "bun" to relate to the Female First Football team net, Corder and Meyerhoff (2007) considered it a special in-group symbol that recognizes that community's membership. Other common jargon shared between individuals from the KKK were '*Yan Tebu*, '*Yan Barrow*, '*Yan qasa*, '*Yan Kungiya*', etc. Understanding this use of language by a new person takes time, and a sense of fit in is created by this shared language expression which is an aspect of the CoP dimensions. The following instance from the FN will illustrate what the discussion above means.

Excerpt 5.42

370 My initial contact with the phrases '*Ofishin 'Yan Kungiya'* and '*GidanLitiKlkul*'
371 was on my first and second day of the formal beginning of my fieldwork in the
372 KKK. As outsiders, we asked a table trader the direction to the *Ofishin*
373 '*YanKasuwa* (literally, the marketer's office). Looking stunned the first fellow;
374 (*Ofishin 'Yan Kasuwa, ko Ofishin 'Yan Kungiya*)? (FN1, September 21, 2016)

On the second day, the second fellow, also another table trader offered us a more specific explanation and direction; in the FN, I wrote.

Excerpt 5.43

375 He asked, *Shin offishin Liti Kulkul kuke nema?* Are you looking for LitiKulkul's
376 office?) He further clarified, *don shine offishin 'Yan Kungiya* (Because it is the
377 office referred to as the union office). (FN2, September 22, 2016)

From that day, whenever the mention was made to the Kantin Kwari Traders Association office, the researchers immediately identified where they were referring to. The reason we failed to understand the shared language at the beginning is that it is simply a local jargon developed in that CoP. Similarly, the pictures in Chapter 4 (see Figure 4.1) above, tell without explanation the diversity in the KKK kinds of textiles and shows part of the jargon applied in the business domain shared repertoire. Some names of these textiles were specified in the following FN extract.

Excerpt 5.44

378 The medium trousseau includes a dozen Holland wax prints, and three Swiss voile
379 and lace, German or Australian brocade, English Wax, Ghana Wax, Cote de Voir
380 Wax, and Nigerian Wax varieties, (FN46, November 3, 2017)

However, familiarizing with the types, names, and prices of these textiles was likewise an in-group recognition essential to the skilful performance of an individual's business identity acts. Moreover, each sub-group or CoP has been given a distinct name in the KKK. The FN and interview extracts that follow represent some CoPs in the KKK.

Excerpt 5.45

381 As we were moving along, we suddenly heard from our back the noise *Gafara*
382 *hanya! Gafara hanya!* [Move away! move away!] from loaders carrying bundles

383 of textile goods either on their heads or in barrows and a horn of a mini pickup
384 van alerting us to move to make space for them. (FN2, September 22, 2016)

In addition, in the interview extract with participant P3.

Excerpt 5.46

385 **P3** *Akwai Kungiyoyi dayawa masu karfi kamar hudu ko biyar a nan. Kamar*
386 *kinga misali akwai ‘Yan dako, ‘Yan tebura, masu Kurkura, da sauransu.*

387 **Trans:** There are like four or five groups here that are very strong. For example,
388 there are carriers of goods, the stalk owners, pick-up owners, and so on.

(Turn 20, P3, February 7, 2018)

These names are commonly based on the group’s tasks within the community, which gives them a separate identity that is far distant from the other groups. Aside from textiles, groups, and subgroups, individuals also were given separate names in the community, for instance, Yellow and Pastor, to refer to some people in the native indigenous domain. However, there are differences in both the practice and meaning in the use of the above expressions depending on the immediate and wider community where they are located.

5.3.1.5 The KKK Language Variety.

Additionally, the findings once again report that members’ familiarity and use of the Kano variety of Hausa (henceforth *Kannanci*) is one more feature of membership in the KKK, for it gives its members an ‘authentic’ way to claim an identity making it an identity indicator. The members who are more familiar with the *Kannanci* are appreciated more in the community. Akin to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) opinion on the importance of familiarization with the group's culture, to maintain membership in the KKK, learning and understanding the community’s culture is essential, and so, the use

of *Kannanci* became vital. However, one would observe that once young, educated adults go into this community, education, class, and socio-economic position are the best ‘used’ influences to marginalize people. The researcher’s fieldwork experience in the community well informed her that the members were not only marginalized on account of their ‘awkwardness’ but equally on account of these influences which most of them that were encountered appear to be surrounded by and which the community is somewhat aware of. However, they are made to learn the *Kannanci* headed for providing acceptability and identity to this ‘awkwardness’. In this manner, the *Kannanci* (community’s culture) acts as the outward representative, which gives voice not only to the political declaration that the community members need to make by the use of language but as well describes the shared identity and the CoPs that the members created and participated in. Concerning Kulick and Cameron’s (2003) statement, “The linguistic reflex of this (identity politics) is an impulse to claim for the community ‘a language of our own- a distinct way of speaking and or writing which serves as an authentic expression of group identity (p. 95)”. The findings earlier indicate that in the KKK, the distinctive identity of members is clearly defined ‘around the textile business activities and the ways they deal with them; hence, these business activities make them eligible to claim the community’s identity.

In the researcher’s observation, she found out that other Hausa varieties (i.e.?) are used in all the sub-domains where other CoPs are involved, specifically where confidentiality is mandatory. They are used in the lower hierarchy areas, in the company of their types of strangers, and in the locations where many migrants toil within the community. These locations were difficult to penetrate by outsiders; however, all my attempts to get authentic examples of their language practices were ruined by their pretence of recognizing a visitor in their midst. This use of other Hausa varieties in some contexts,

like in their toiling area (and not in their private areas), sets them at a distance from the other community members. It seems that, to these lower hierarchy members, their Hausa varieties are other languages, and they might or might not require a context to make a felicitous use of these varieties. Yet, for these lower hierarchy members, the use of their Hausa varieties itself offers a context that creates the felicitous or infelicitous use dependent on the audience member(s). Accordingly, “Linguistic forms are based not only on speaker identity but also on the speaker’s assumption concerning the identity of the listener and the listener’s position in the history of discourse” (Barrett, 2002, p. 37). Thus, statements are not merely appraised by the user’s capability of saying them but also by the user’s appraisal of the audience member(s)-whether they consider that someone might be a customer or an associate which will influence their choice of code. As such, subject to a speaker’s appraisal of the audience member(s), the speaker resolve to use the Kano Hausa variety or his or her local variety, and the behaviour that is learnt and norms of the community come into play at this point. Therefore, during the observation and along the learning trajectories, the researcher established that at both micro and macro levels, Milroy’s (1980) social networks are relevant to this study. This can be seen in the ‘in-group’ language of ‘*YanKanti*’, the shop members and the language of ‘*YanKasuwa*’, the community, in general, typified in their close-knit social groups. They ensure preserving certain language features, especially the ‘low standard variety: a mixture of vernacular (their coinage plus some Nigerian languages, e.g., Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba), Nigerian Pidgin, and survival English. In this case, these varieties are not so much ‘low-status varieties’ as such but rather varieties used to express ethnic affinities, solidarity, and social group identity in the CoP.

➤ *The KKK Meaning Negotiation*

Researchers undoubtedly provide views that do not carefully align with the understanding of some participants' social domain or by their language practice empirically. However, in support of Tusting and Maybin (2007), their place as researchers can facilitate reports which possibly are contextually disparate from those of their study participants. This view is presented in this extract below.

Excerpt 5.47

- 389 **R:** What language do you often use for your business interaction?
- 390 **P12:** Hmm! Hajiya! What else, other than Hausa and less Pidgin English.
- 391 **R:** What is your view about ways of interaction, and do you consider them
- 392 helpful or unhelpful for the KKK learners to communicate their identity?
- 393 **P12:** I do not understand what you mean?
- 394 **R:** OK, let me put it this way. Which of the ways of interaction do you use
- 395 for business transactions? Again, do you think these ways easily help the
- 396 KKK learners in communicating their identity or not?
- 397 **P12:** I am still not at home with what you are saying.
- 398 **R:** I mean, the ways you interact and act together, do they give the participants
- 399 chances to start business transactions with ease? Now, it seems face-to-
- 400 face is not often used in businesses. Though it is the usual practice here,
- 401 not only in this community.
- 402 **P12:** Well, let me talk about this community. Many people, when they come for
- 403 the first time, they start learning and interacting face-to-face, which they
- 404 found handy and practised in the community. Some try to make changes
- 405 in their shops, but the nature of society does not support them in this
- 406 context. They try to create and transform their shops to minimize
- 407 overcrowding and face-to-face interaction; it is not working fast. You

408 know, our people over here did not realise the ease and convenience of
409 using other ways. Still, many educated youths never seem to like the
410 present ways, so they use the new ways. For instance, my boys in this shop
411 use any way depending on the customer they are dealing with. You see,
412 most people using face-to-face are not aware of its less impact nowadays.
413 OK. Our practice may be old-fashioned, but that is the best so far here that
414 fits the residents of the larger society and the visitors that troops in and out
415 daily, anyway. (Turns 1-8, February 3, 2019)

The extract above presents a real language meaning negotiation. The first probe on line 389 by the researcher to the participant (a branch manager) inquires about the language used by the participants in the community. On line 390, the participant stressed the Hausa language as against others used plus Nigerian Pidgin. Then, the researcher seeks the participants' views about their ways of interaction and how they assist learners in communicating their identities on lines 391-392. However, the participant does not seem to understand the question asked by the researcher on line 393, or even when put in other words on lines 394-396. This can be linked to either the language variety or the likely influence of inexperience in different ways of interaction. Only after the researcher on lines 398-401, gave the participant a point of view different from his understanding of how they transact. On lines 402-415, he offered an answer as to their interaction practices and positions on whether these practices assist learners in communicating their identities.

The second analysis is based on the analytic concepts. Already, the participant had described how the larger society was influencing the current interaction practices across the KKK and attributes distinct standards to the Hausa language. Yet he mentioned using their available linguistic resources when needed and pointed meaning to other practices

where they have little or no meaning. While really, the face-to-face mode has more meaning to residents and visitors. He has placed language and interaction practices in the business domain in varied places on cultural identity and diversity.

5.3.2 The KKK Artefacts and Other Metaphors

The artefacts denote “everything from the physical layout, the dress code, how people address each other, the smell and feel of the place, its emotional intensity, noise, and other phenomena, to the more permanent archival displays such as company records, products, statement of philosophy and annual reports” (Schein, 2010, p. 111). The more the researcher was immersed into the KKK, the more new sub-domains appeared, with characters acting out different roles, which was represented in this section, each with its uniqueness (see Appendix X).

5.3.2.1 The KKK Physical Layout and Location

The physical layout is dispersed between the upper hierarchy members and the lower-level community members. For the upper hierarchy, being based in their offices rather than the open shop meant that they had little opening to relate with the other members though they seldom linger around the shop. It was impossible as the physical distance from their offices made mutual engagement exciting. However, for the shop keepers, for instance, although they were based in the shops, they shared it with all other members, so they did, in any case, have company. Wenger (1998, p. 130) states that the minute individuals are able to withstand mutual engagement, “they will end up creating a locality of their own, even if their backgrounds have little in common”. In the meantime, although the upper hierarchy sometimes spent time in the open shops, they yet found it hard to attain mutual engagement with the subordinate members. Ongoing immersion into the KKK makes me discover new practices explained below.

The youths in the above discourse extract reveal that they recharge mobile phone users' batteries for those who could not wait for city lights to be restored on lines 418-419. The researcher in the following discourse extract, inquired about the significance of the inventive phone charger to the KKK business practices. Only insiders and visitors who understand the geographic network of the community can identify this physical location. However, the street has tall trees in front of the shops that provide shades for people described in the FN that follows.

Excerpt 5.49

433 These places were as temporary as the businesses. They erected temporary kiosks
434 where no more than two people could sit and filled the walls with light sockets to
435 charge the phones. (FN21, February 25, 2017)

The number of generating sets and the phone charging business indicates Nigeria does not have a constant supply of light. Also, Nigerian youths are creative, displaying the potential to develop when given the opportunity. They failed to account for the number of phones being charged a day in Excerpt 5.48, line 424 and emphasized on line 426 because the KKK does not traditionally keep records. Even those kept were discarded after a year.

The wandering manicurist was another sub-group the researcher discovered, who went about clicking a big pair of scissors to attract customers. These youths appeared to be the physical energy providers in the KKK; besides this, their activities showed that they seemed to be residing there.

- *The KKK Food*: is another aspect observed by the researcher in the KKK that communicates each group's identity. Eckert (1989) demonstrated in non-linguistic

practices how the jocks and burnouts' identities are conceived through their actions. For example, when we consider smoking as a behaviour, burnouts do smoke; on the other hand, jocks do not. Similarly, in the KKK, the group an individual belongs to determines the kind of food he eats, the food varieties, the food sellers, and his behaviour towards those elements. The following FN extract describes the kinds of food for the upper and middle-status community members.

Excerpt 5.50

436 The common saying by Hausa people; 'the leftover is the sign of contentment and
437 in homes of the affluent with the *Manshanu* [fried butter-ghee] as a regular
438 breakfast. As a tradition, most of the *Attajirai* and middle-class domain prefer
439 eating all the fresh delicacies around the area. Some would opt for their favourite
440 delicacy, *Fura da Nono* (milk and millet balls) from its centre at the KKK in a
441 joint business, between the Fulani milk maiden and the Hausa girl millet balls
442 seller to be accompanied with the close-by roasted skewers of liver or beef served
443 with pepper mixed chilli spices. On the *tsire tukuba* mound, the researcher noticed
444 the painting of a cow to show that the skewers were of beef only (added identity
445 maker). Whereas others patronize nearby local restaurants for their lunch. These
446 practices were usually in the afternoons; breakfast and dinner were taken at home.
447 Meanwhile, the pre-teen beggars squatted and hung on within a calling space for
448 the buyers to finish. (FN28, 19 April 2017; FN33, May 21, 2017)

The explanation in the above extract shows that the fresh foods and palatable *tsire*-kebab were for the *Attajirai* domain in the KKK. The researcher noticed under a tree opposite a butcher with a long stretch of numerous people pursuing a variety of vocations and selling food, making the whole place a jumble. Any food sold under this tree was ready-to-serve.

Excerpt 5.51

449 They included the dried grounded corn/millet or rice *Tuwo* (balls) with a variety
450 of soups; rice and stew; rice and beans are eaten with ground pepper and fried
451 groundnut oil. The beans family includes *Kosai* fried *Alala* and *Tubani* steamed,
452 and *Danwake* boiled, prepared with beans paste, and eaten with pepper and fried
453 oil. Also, the different greens, such as *Zogale*, *Rama*, *Yadiya*, and *Lamsir*, are all
454 mixed with groundnut powder and salt. Boiled cassava and salted groundnuts or
455 the two pounded together and sold as *Mandako* is another variety. Besides this,
456 there were snacks in various kinds of nuts and the liver: roast and skewered sold by
457 men, and *Ragadada* (boiled) sold by older women; or *Soye* (fried mincemeat),
458 sold by girls in small calabashes heaped on a tray balanced on their head, as well
459 as fruits. Other people patronized the pap and plain bean cakes, while others
460 ordered *Waina* [rice dumplings] with vegetable soup, *Panke* [deep fried flour
461 balls], and *Funkaso* [wheat flour rolls]. On a corner were the tea, bread with
462 butter, or fried egg, sellers the breakfast for people that can afford it.

(FN32, May 13, 2017; FN40, July 11, 2017)

The *Talakawa* (ordinary people domain) portrayed in the above extract 5.51 identifies their food and food choices and behaviour, which they hawked about different from the upper and middle class. However, in my chat with one of the group members, he confessed they could only afford the previous days' leftover delicacies of the upper and middle status, FN20, February 19, 2017. But such snacks as sugarcane, groundnut, and the like are consumed by all domains. Food is an identity marker in the KKK. The researcher observed that the native foreigners' food was also differently made from the traditional ingredients prepared by people in their eateries. Most of them used their shops for residential and business purposes (FN35, June 5, 2017); their food behaviours were like the Syrians and Lebanese, the earlier settlers of the community.

For the lowest hierarchy Group D, it is wanted that they must arrive at the KKK in the early hours to clean the shops and the environs and must remain until 6 pm or even far ahead. Their behaviour, too, was described in my FN as thus:

Excerpt 5.53

470 I arrived at the KKK early to see the gatekeeper to discuss some issues. In the
471 office, I witnessed an instance of a lower level of pretence when, a few minutes
472 after 10 am, the office cleaner arrived in a clean, matching outfit. He failed for his
473 having, under normal circumstances, to turn up earlier than anyone else. I could
474 easily detect it on his face to hide his disappointment that I, a visitor, had as usual,
475 beaten him towards his attitude to work. We exchanged greetings, and he reached
476 for the door and opened it. I waited outside while he dusted the old furniture before
477 inviting me in to wait for his master. (FN37, June 19, 2017)

Accordingly, as presented in extract 5.53 above, while the different groups were engaged in the community, their actual time for their business demands remained different from the community's circumstances. How the learners adapted to these different demands had social meaning, according to Wenger (2008). In harmony with Kramsch and Whiteside (2008), the KKK members learn in practice, and the meaning of the practice comes from their daily routines.

- *The KKK Gender*: This study looks at how differences are created through our membership in CoPs. However, gender is not a thing we 'have' or 'are', but rather that we do (West & Zimmerman 1987, p. 126). Gender plays an important role in this study about the differences in the ways males and females interact for business purposes. Males engage in small talk within the shortest time possible, whereas females from previous encounters engage in long persuasive conversations for a much longer period.

Excerpt 5.54

- 478 **Men:** We want white and blue Gezner brocade if you have.
- 479 **Elder-to-men:** We have, but which category? We have three categories,
480 which one do you prefer?
- 481 **Men:** Give us the best one.
- 482 **Elder-to-men:** (Brought different designs for them to choose from). These
483 are the designs; you can choose.
- 484 **Men:** (Picked their choices). How much do they cost?
- 485 **Elder-to-men:** We give them at N50,000 Naira each.
- 486 **Men:** Ok. (Paid, collected, and left). (FN27, April 13, 2017)

The above negotiation indicates that most men only visit the community to pick out exactly what they need. And the nature of their bargain is minimal talk; they do not get involved in prolonged price haggling with their customers. In contrast, the women's experience was different, as exemplified in the business negotiation from my FN below.

Excerpt 5.55

- 487 **Woman:** How much is this lot?
- 488 **Shop keeper:** Should I name a figure so that you can bargain for it?
- 489 **Woman:** Name a figure.
- 490 **Shop keeper:** You can pay N5,000 for each.
- 491 **Woman:** I will buy it for N1,500.
- 492 **Shop keeper:** Hajiya. You have not even paid the carriage money.

Regarding the KKK physical layout and location, there are several other interesting unspecified elements, including the Igbo mobile tailor as another interesting CoP in the KKK that kept him distinct from the Hausa man. After understanding its social and physical geography, he made an initiative to satisfy the needs of many members of the lower group. He learned the Hausa language to be accepted in the community and easily communicate with his customers (FN33, May 21, 2017). His behaviour was regardless of the native foreigner's choice of their remote area. The researcher assumes perhaps because of low rent and the old tenement building that appears to be built since in the 1970s, indicating that the passage of time has weakened the houses. Also, in the KKK location, the researcher came across another CoP represented in *Meshela* (town crier) who goes about the community to make announcements when the need arises; he looks specialised in these arts of talk (FN11, January 16, 2017).

5.3.2.2 The KKK Dress, Smell, Feel, and Emotional Intensity

Eckert (1989), in her study, presented the dress code of the jocks and burnouts: a jock dresses in a crew-neck sweater and short, pegged jeans while a burnout wears a jacket and bell-bottoms to communicate their identities. Similarly, in addition to the dress pattern; the smell, feel and emotional intensity of the KKK members tell all even without asking the group or sub-grouping an individual belongs. The *Attajirai* (upper group) outfit is different from the *Talakawa* (lower group) (FN11, January 16, 2017). The *Attajirai* group is presented below.

Excerpt 5.56

505 Other than the perfumery, the stage performance includes the extravagant dress in
506 observance of the ethics of the *Attajirai* group, which was to look significant. He
507 wore the big *Babbar Riga* gown atop an Arabian-style vest and jumper and a
508 matching pair of trousers of the same brocade overwhelmed with embroidery. The

509 gown was cross-stitched from the shoulders to beyond the knees, back and front,
510 such that even though it was worn by having its flaps gathered and folded on the
511 shoulders, the colourful embroidery always remained obvious. The vest was
512 black, meant to contrast with the other outfit colour. The arrangement of the
513 manager's clothes was starting from the head, by the *Zanna* cap, sewn-in
514 colourful threads, then came the vest, a neat arrangement of a side pocket half of
515 which, as in the black vest, was a small piece of red cloth. He wore cool new black
516 polished shoes. (FN38, June 25, 2017)

The above extract 5.56 shows a manager and business owner displaying the identity features of the *Attajirai* group. Also, these group members sometimes communicate their identities by simply dressing in a *Kaftan* (long gown) sewn of expensive brocade, the trousers, and the traditional handmade *Zanna* (colourful cap) to match their clothes and shoe on line 513. However, they always preferred the Hausa attire and did not hold up-to-the-minute fashion (FN28, April 19, 2017). Similarly, the researcher observed various inner circles of men, some circles under the trees, some in front of the shops, wearing either long *Kaftan* or the grand Boubou (Surcoat), the costume of adolescent and adult men in Hausa-land (this is the usual costume for every day and all occasions, except that on some occasions when they go for new ones and or extravagant ones). Still, there were men dressed in shirts and trousers (the loaders). They feel comfortable doing their job in them (used as a uniform). Also, within the Kano indigenous group, the researcher observed most of the girls' hawkers wearing thin polyester and cotton veils (only their faces were in view) to their toes (the veil stopped at their knees). Their faces were rubbed with powder; their eyes were sharply decorated with cosmetic eye make-up. The researcher watched how they catch hold of people's attention, asking them to buy their Kola-nuts and groundnut (FN13, January 21, 2017).

Likewise, the researcher would like to refer to the itinerant tailor earlier mentioned as an example of the native foreigners' dress code. He came from southern Nigeria, carrying his hand-operated sewing machine well-adjusted on his shoulder. He moves about in the KKK mending local people's washed-out clothes, as described in the FN below.

Excerpt 5.57

517 He wore a short-sleeve used shirt, a used short nicker, a used facing cap, a pair of
518 used loose socks, and old worn-out shoes. Thus, their mode of dressing varied
519 from the ordinary Kwari Hausa man. They also use shirts and trousers or
520 sometimes suits depending on the weather, all from the used foreign clothes
521 imported into Nigeria from developed countries. (FN33, May 21, 2017)

The findings described the smell, feel, and emotional intensity of the KKK members as symbolic acts of identity; the upper group is presented in the FN that follows.

Excerpt 5.58

522 The first symbol to register his presence was his powerful fragrance. Because of
523 the speed, the wind fanned it round; the perfume preceded the man to announce
524 his arrival at the shop. As soon as the other staff captured the odoriferous sign air
525 of the manager, they stationed themselves at the inner entrance, waiting for him
526 to appear at the door with his secretary, dutifully following a step or two behind.
527 (FN38, June 25, 2017).

The manager referred to in the above extract represents the Group A and B members of the KKK. Likewise, the researcher observed because of the hard labour they engaged in, the lower group members were always coarse in their outfits, and of their rural experiences, they were unpolished in their jokes. Most of them were in their advanced

stage of puberty, and when they passed by one, they smelled their sweat. For the nature of the odd jobs, they always do. They are more relaxed in a sleeveless shirt from where the smell was perceived that puts people off. The researcher could detect age-wise; they were just way off many shop attendants and senior errand boys who caught up with the smelly group in a flash. Interestingly, when the researcher recalled how Hausa local people dust their armpits with ashes to remove the hair, she wondered why they, the *Samari*, could not do the same.

5.3.2.3 The KKK Address Terms

The concept of locality of practice is what the researcher considers the vital element to distinguish one's participation in a CoP. Wenger (1998) points out that "learning and the negotiation of meaning are ongoing within the various localities of engagement, and this process continually creates locally shared histories" (Wenger, 1998, p. 125). From Butcholtz's (1998) nerds' and Eckert's (1989) jocks' and burnouts' studies, there is a clear sense that names create individual and or group identities in a CoP. Hence, people, objects, events, experiences, and feelings have a particular label or name solely because a community of people has arbitrarily decided to name them. Names play vital roles in every society; they symbolize a man's social position to the people around him, and his status is readily recognised. Addressing in Hausa society is influenced by the Cultural Revolution in Hausa land. Address forms are socially driven phenomena in line with Chiaka (1982) and Murphy (1988); in this context, the KKK address forms mirror the complex social relations of their individuals. Furthermore, Brown and Yule (1989, p. 54) argue that "in a different social context, a different name will be used". In the Kano context, the culture places distinct importance on titles and address forms; the practice of a given name only rarely transpires in asymmetrical interactions. Thus, in line with the larger cultural society, it was also a traditional practice in the KKK that the lower

hierarchy members addressed their superiors properly in communicating with them. Given that Kano is my local community, these local practices are conversant to me though this community was not the same. Nonetheless, my observation were also long-established by studies piloted in the Kano Hausa community (e.g., Daba 1987). While studying the Kannada language spoken in Mysore District in India, Manjulakshi (2004) considered nine types of address terms. Afful (2006) in Akan, Ghana, classified eight categories, and Keshavarz (1988), Keshavarz and Mohammed (2010), as well as Aliakbari and Arman (2008), analysed the Persian address terms in ten categories. It is against this backdrop that the researcher classified the KKK address patterns under nine categories: personal names, titles, pronouns, descriptive phrases, endearment names, multiple names, kinship terms, adoptive, zero terms, and semantic extensions.

1. *The KKK Personal Name(s)*: The time a person is given a personal name (PN), people use it to assist the development of that person's identity in a group, consistent with Thornborrow (2004). In the KKK, the members' real personal name(s) are referred to as the name given at birth during name-giving are borrowed from Islamic and Arabic traditions. Thus, addressing a person by name happens with the following possibilities:

Excerpt 5.59

- 528 • first name (FuN), e.g., *Muhammad* (male), *Aisha* (female)
- 529 • middle name (MN), e.g., *Auwal* (male), *Nana* (female)
- 530 • first and middle name (FuN+MN), e.g., *Muhammad Auwal* (male)
- 531 • middle and last name (ML+LN), e.g., *Auwal Ahmad* (male)

(P1, December 20, 2018) or

Excerpt 5.60

- 532 • full formal name (FuN, MN+LN), e.g., *Muhammad Auwal Ahmad* (male)

(P4, February 7, 2018)

- 533 • *Aisha Nana Ibrahim* (Female) (P7, December 21, 2019).

The use of personal name(s) in the KKK can be reciprocal and non-reciprocal as it is determined by age, social and business status, kinship, and attitudes. Usage is often underpinned by naming conversations. Acceptable cases of FuN calling in the KKK are limited to elders, superiors, colleagues, and peers to their siblings, juniors, subordinates, and the like; for instance, a senior member calls his subordinates by his full name. This is one-way traffic; the subordinate cannot call the superior by his first or full name but shifts and sometimes short-term switching occurs in instances of attitudinal changes. For example, usually, there would be an asymmetrical relationship between a superior and his subordinate, but when the degree of formality lessens; they will start addressing each other with the first name, perhaps in secret to start with. The shift here is interpreted as changing the listener's perceived relation to the speaker, close to the Shona in Zimbabwe.

2. *The KKK Title:* The KKK members address their seniors regarding their applicable titles' which can be either through a GT only, GT+FuN, GT+full official name FuN as in:

The KKK Religious Title: used generally in addressing those that have been on pilgrimage to the holy land Mecca has been used in the KKK to address any adult visitor or customer that appears traditionally Hausa: GT, i.e.,

Excerpt 5.61

534 *Alhaji* for males

535 *Hajiya* for females (FN1, September 21, 2016) or

Excerpt 5.62

536 GT+FuN, i.e., *Alhaji Musa* (male) (FN5, September 28, 2016) or

Excerpt 5.63

GT+plus full official name, i.e., *Alhaji Musa Isa* (male)

(FN6, November 15, 2016) or

Excerpt 5.64

537	GT as in <i>Mallam</i>	male
538	<i>Malama</i>	female
539	<i>Ustaz</i>	male (FN3, September 24, 2016).

Other religious terms that have no female equivalent due to the influence of Islamic orientation and political system may include terms like *Alaramma*, *Halifa*, *Liman* or *Imam*, *Sheikh*, and the like, similar to the Persian grouping.

The KKK Professional/Occupational Title: Individuals in the KKK are addressed with different professional titles like *Ciyaman* (Charperson), *Manaja* (Manager), *Sakatare* (Secretary male), *Sakatariya* (Secretary female), *Direba* (Driver), etc., all borrowed from the English language. These terms can be used in isolation or with or without FuN, MN, LN, or full formal name (FuN), depending on the individual, the situation, and the familiarity level. An interesting feature in the KKK, like the Persian language, is the reversal of job title from the initial position to the last position. For instance, instead of (T plus FuN) as in:

Excerpt 5.65

540	<i>Direba</i> Ahmadu	Driver Amadu
541	<i>Manaja</i> Musa	Manager Musa
542	<i>Sakatare</i> Isa	Secretary Isa

They are conventionally and suitably addressed as:

Excerpt 5.65

543 Ahmadu *Direba* Adamu Driver (P3, February 7, 2019)

Excerpt 5.66

544 Musa *Manaja* Musa Manager (P10, March 1, 2018)

Excerpt 5.67

545 Isa *Sakatara* Isa Secretary (FN4, September 25, 2016).

The Hausa words used for the occupations mentioned in the extracts above are borrowed from the English language, as suggested in the translation. Different styles are used while naming occupations alike to reveal their degree of respect or make themselves superior, equal, or inferior to the addressee.

The KKK Traditional Title: The KKK has numerous traditional expressions used to convey honour, social superiority, authoritative patronage, and the like (Daba, 1987). Also, such terms may be used in several forms, before, with, or without the name of the addressee. For instance, masters, managers, and superiors, no matter the affiliation, are all called *Maigida* (*Maigidana* singular and *Maigidanmu* plural), meaning Patron or, in some instances, *Alhaji*. However, the non-indigenes and foreigners were generally addressed as *Oga*. They were never addressed by name as a marker of their wealth and social identity (FN30, May 1, 2017). Still, such traditional terms as *Dan Sara*, and the like are used in isolation and can be used with or without FuN, MN, or full formal name.

The KKK Kinship Terms: Kin category in the family business domains were demonstrated in the KKK used as a form of title; they are used with the FuN in particular reference.

The Hausa language shares some similarities with the Shona language of Zimbabwe and the Persian language of Iran. In the KKK, the father may be called *Baba*, *Maigida*, *'Alhaji'*, *Mallam* (P1, December 20, 2018); brothers and other siblings are called *Yaya*, *'Alhaji'* *'Mallam'*, by their first name (FuN) and by the title plus first name (T+FuN). Reverse addressing is also peculiar; thus, a child named after a grandparent's name can be addressed *Baba*, *Abba*, *Dattijo* by their name parents. Ranks of the KKK members were distinct when addressing seniors or social groups, i.e., colleagues to other colleagues by their given names or position in their respective shops.

The researcher came to understand that titles are used in this community purely as a custom of respect and not a 'master-servant association. This formality was similarly evident in the native foreigner group. Their common addressing used for their seniors was 'sir', 'boss', 'uncle' or 'brother'. It's seldom that the last two terms were followed by the addressee's name, i.e., 'Uncle Sam', 'Brother Isaac'. According to Wilson (2010), these expressions develop the cohesion of the rapport between the speaker and the hearer. Also evident were familiarizers, e.g., *Yaro* (Boy), *Dan Mallam*, and so on. The community members used the Hausa cultural way of addressing, and titles were the ideal choice.

The KKK Endearment Terms: Addressing sometimes takes an emotional tone; addressees are called with a friendlier, more passionate, and more amicable tone. The intimacy is marked either by tone or by the contraction of the names. Nicknames, pet names, contracted short forms; alternate forms can fall under this category. In the KKK, instances of these endearment names are too numerous to mention on account of the anonymity nature of the study.

3. *The KKK Nicknames*: The group nicknaming (NN) practices are demonstrated by both Butcholtz's (1998) nerds' and Eckert's (1989) jocks and burnouts to show their in-group identities. They are important processes in several CoPs frequently accrued because of either an individual's "real" name or some significant or special sources to a specific CoP (McConnell-Ginet, 2005, p. 84). In the KKK, the researcher understood that nicknaming can be considered a language repertoire since wordplay of names are a consequence of practices. Besides this, nicknames are habitually formed after their engagement which is sometimes embedded within their history that recognizes a person's membership and shows familiarity, solidarity, and intimacy, e.g., the '*DanKwari*' (singular), and the '*YanKwari*' (plural) names for seasoned members of the KKK in (P4, February 7, 2018).

Nicknaming, a popular characteristic of African languages, is either given to individuals (externally motivated) or suffering resistance and maintained in secret, or individuals are adopting it for themselves (internally motivated) with a positive connotation. Positive nicknames are symbols of endearment, and great achievement, used at all levels and by everyone, those derived from people's professions are often hierarchical. A negative nickname is deriding, insulting, unacceptable and upsetting to the addressees, sometimes known and sometimes unknown. For example, *Aku* (parrot-talkative person) is named after a shop member in AGT Nigeria Ltd. and *Bera* (mouse-habitual thief) in an anonymous shop etc.; both the NNs involve a story. Other nicknames are semantically formed by substituting a name with an alternative name or phrase which is phonologically totally unrelated to the basic names, e.g., the basic form is *Aliyu*, *Ali* with the alternate form *Haidar* as in company anonymous (FN3, September 24, 2016).

The KKK Description Terms and Phrase: Many nicknames in the KKK were highly descriptive and imaginative; they refer to the addressee's distinctive stature. Thus, there are names: referring to the actual day when an individual was born, e.g.:

Excerpt 5.68

546 *'Danladi* (male) born on Sunday

547 *Najume* born on Friday (FN40, July 11, 2017), etc. Or

Indicating an individual's tribe, area, or town, e.g.:

Excerpt 5.69

548 *Banufiya* Female Nupe tribe (P10, March 1, 2018)

Excerpt 5.70

549 *Dan Kano* Male Kano person (P2, January 3, 2019) and

Excerpt 5.71

550 *'Sakkwatawa* Sokoto people

551 *'YanJega* People from Jega town (FN1, September 21, 2016), etc. Or

552 Given to create diminutive forms with or without adding the suffix *'Dan* (son of)

553 or *'Yar* (daughter of) to coined names, e.g., *'DanYaro* (Small boy).

(FN35, June 5, 2017)

4. *The KKK Adoptive:* One Islamic religious impact in Hausa society is adoptive. Most of these names are meaningful Arabic words which were not previously used. Examples are *Jamilu* (the beautiful one) in ELS Nigeria Ltd., *Mubarak* (the blessed one) in MUDA and SONS Nigeria Ltd, and *Taufik* (the lucky one) in African Textiles Nigeria Ltd, for males, and the like. Any of these names can be used as an FuN, FON, and pet name.

5. *The KKK Multiple Names:* A Muslim Hausa child can have one or more names as the first name (FuN). The names are religiously inclined and mostly given to male children as full official names. For example, *Muhammad Jamilu* in ELS Nigeria Ltd company, *Muhammad Mubarak* in MUDA and SONS Nigeria Ltd, and so forth.

6. *The KKK Zero Terms and Semantic Extensions:* Name avoidance still plays an important role in “focused and unfocused interaction” (Iruine & Gal, 2000) in the KKK. Culturally, certain people’s names are not supposed to be mentioned; some names are unknown to the addresser, while some addressers are in doubt. Using attention getters and semantic extension saves interlocutors from this dilemma. The kin terms ‘*Da na* (my son), ‘*Ya’yana*’ (my children) are used by the chairperson of MT & Sons Nigeria Ltd in our focus group (FG3, April 15, 2017) to refer to his specific son and children though they can also be addressed to someone the same age as one’s children. Although, ‘*Dan uwa* (brother) and *Yar’uwa* (sister) are used to address a person whose name the speaker does not know and who is in the same age group as the speaker. My relation and I in the KKK used the terms to refer to close kin (FN30, May 1, 2017). The term *Yāyaña* (my senior brother) has been used by participants to address their seniors in the family in P1 (January 3, 2019) and P4 (February 7, 2018). It can equally be used to someone older than the speaker, while ‘*Kanina* (my junior brother) is used to address someone younger as in MT and Sons Nigeria Ltd. It is also a common practice in the KKK to address people old (elders) enough to be their parents with *Bābā* (father). In essence, words with an already established meaning acquire new senses and extensions.

7. *The KKK Pronouns of Address:* In the KKK, pronouns also communicate the participant’s identity, either social or interpersonal relations. The Hausa language has only one level of 2nd-person-pronoun; *Kai* 2nd-person-masculine-singular, *Ke* 2nd-

person-feminine-singular, and *Ku* 2nd person plural. The distinction between familiar and formal (Brown & Gilman, 1960, [tu/usted Spanish ty/yy: Russian]) does not exist in Hausa. However, Hausa has an impersonal aspect pronoun 'a', which functions very much as a formal and specific form. The KKK use possessive singular or plural pronoun as a linguistic signal of authority or lack of it about the participants. Examples: short forms suffixed possessives

- singular possessive indicating absolute control and authority:

Excerpt 5.72

554 *Na* (My) male, female singular in *Kantina* (my shop), *Kampanina* (My company)
(P2 on January 3, 2019)

- possessive pronoun indicating one's lack of authority in:

Excerpt 5.73

555 *Mu* (Our) male, female plural in *Kasuwarmu* (Our market)
(FN1, September 21, 2016), and (FN22, March 3, 2017)

Reciprocal plural is also enjoyed between in-laws and adults of adjacent generations and other unstated parts of address terms that historically communicate identities through some social categories alone but which, over time, have gained different connotations (e.g., of status, age, or values) and in some cases different denotations in the KKK.

Each category of address term has its special usage for communities and under certain conditions. The abundance and the frequency of applying honorifics and titles in the KKK revealed that courteous and humble interaction is a striking feature of the Hausa address system. An individual should learn where he belongs within them and knows how language is used in society. The above analysis clearly showed that the KKK address terms are gender-sensitive, formal, culturally, socially, and politically loaded.

5.3.2.4 The KKK Other Phenomena: Marginalised Identities

a. *The KKK Currency Notes:* The more the researcher visited the KKK, the further she continued to observe and understand the identity gap among the socio-economic groups portrayed in their daily practices. Many additional observable features distinguish them. Contrary to Amenorvi and Grumah's (2020) study in Ghana 'Money talks', they found the country's cultural heritage in the currency notes. The researcher in the KKK noticed some features like the kind of dirty and old Nigerian currency notes the table traders, floor traders, and the like counted each time they made little sales superficially, highlighting a representation of Nigeria's class set up. These old wrinkled, torn, dirty, and those written all over were handled by the lower and, to some extent, middle class, who would in a little while link with their related distressed citizens hemmed in the subordinate class. Precisely, these had become historically established from the middle of the 1980s, the period when the IMF and the World Bank ordered a 'structural adjustment programme' (SAP) enforced on the entire country, and the economy became malformed by graft and fake stagnation. And in so far as the economy does not recover, the position of the lower class will barely change. Besides the table traders, some people openly sell local clothes and cosmetics to male and female customers alike, which they collected by the dozen from the KKK dealers. Their profit margin is determined by their ability to persuade the customers. Slow bargains often led to a small sales rate. They were patronised mainly by visitors from neighbouring villages and or blue-collar workers managing to survive on pitiable earnings and in Hausa-land heading large extended families. The lower-earning groups suffered the worst for having to buy several of these items, and yet the profit margin was supposed to be acceptable for their efforts of serving as middlemen within suppliers and poverty-afflicted customers. However, in the bigger shops, the researcher hardly witnessed the old Naira notes, but the newest notes were

acts to the bigger shops, which ordered the more hygienic and costly branded water sold in 75ml plastic bottles. These children will be placed on the marginalized identity trajectory. However, the researcher was not alone in her thought; during the observation, a trader was also observing, looked and said.

Excerpt 5.76

580 **Trader:** Our society is passing through an unpleasant time.

(FN39, July 3, 2017)

Even though the researcher noticed his projection towards an invitation to share his viewpoints and was attentive to his views, he did not receive any response. He continued talking, as shown in the extraction that follows.

Excerpt 5.77

581 **Trader:** Our youth are becoming uncontrollable and want to be counselled
582 to turn a different leaf from redundancy to productiveness. If you
583 observed, those usefully employed among them are the money-
584 making tricycles-cyclists. They lack basic human ethics, and they
585 ought to be persuaded to respect their customers' rights. You,
586 government workers, were supposed to call the attention of male
587 parents to call upon their wives to discontinue forcing their
588 daughters to go hawking instead of going to school. You know, in
589 this society, suitors were being milked by their potential in-laws;
590 the suitors also need to be educated to resist. You see, in the public
591 group, it has become necessary for the chairmen to receive
592 reorientation about the money for the expenditures for
593 developmental projects. Our greatest worry here in the KKK was
594 the revenue officers; they must be made aware not to turn the

595 revenue collected to their personal use but to forward payments to
596 government treasuries. (FN39, July 3, 2017)

This trader's language acts in the extract above are the acts of projecting his inner world. The researcher identifies his language as a traditional representation of the domain, aside from sharing his 'attitude towards it' (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). But all along, he presumed the researcher to be an influential person in the government; thus, he had gotten an opportunity to voice all of his misgivings concerning the KKK and the larger society. The researcher stood there pretending to be distracted but was recording him with a phone. He paused when he heard the call for the afternoon prayer. He then picked up his small plastic kettle underneath his table and proceeded to the public toilet by the side of the KKK. Nevertheless, his insights were helpful to me in understanding more about the cultural identity of the KKK.

d. *The KKTA Office:* The KKTA was a regular context and observation space for the researcher, where negotiation of several disputes and situations were observed. Despite its skeletal services and unacceptable from some members, it plays a very significant role in the community, and throughout this study, the researcher could not find its counterpart. For instance, several youths moving around the KKK, appearing deficient in any skill and having nothing useful to do with their time, have reported to this office for counselling. In the light of this, the researcher observed the KKTA office attendants' and cleaners' behaviours; she noticed them humorously acting in different acts. On the researcher's first day, the office attendants began outlining their responsibilities in the FN below.

The two fellow's attitudes in extract 5.79 and 5.80 above successfully reformed their social identity from low office cleaners to what looked like a middle-class businessmen's identity. The trick was the multiple identities act (Le Page & Tabourret Keller, 1985). A common man acting above his social standing gave the impression of being what he was not with what somehow passed as great creativity. With these scenarios, the researcher reflected the idea of humour in the local systems of supervision. The researcher's analysis of this presentation in character and personal talk with them was drawn on Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical perspective and adopted his process of carefully studying individuals' activities. Both officers performed the frontstage and the backstage 'out of character' communication.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented the execution of the developed identities-in-practice. It explains the flexibility to negotiate participants' identities by performing narrated, executed, and enacted identities and related other vital frameworks to the community's practices through re-counting the researcher's day in the KKK. The researcher described how participants communicated their identities using language and non-linguistic practices, metaphors and symbols to project, focus, and diffuse diverse acts of identity for instance, in-house jargon, greeting rituals and closings, the give-and-take of small talk and collective jokes, and different forms of addressing. Additionally, it considered the KKK customers' limited patterns of communicating identities they believe, or rather Kostelnick's conventions (1998). Akin to the nerds' study (Bucholtz, 1998), this chapter also emphasised discovering the specifics of whatever mutually distinct practices or resources the KKK members use to distinguish different communities from themselves by blending data from all the techniques used.

CHAPTER 6 : SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusion, implications, limitations, and recommendations and suggests further research areas. However, my purpose in this study is not to downplay the indigenous business communities in any way. I fully appreciate the imposed complications, marginalisation, and adversities experienced by these community members. I simply hope, as a subtle voice, to draw the attention of the authorities concerned to the practicalities in this viable under-represented community and others of its kind. Certain comments may appear patronising, but this entire work and interpretation is an endeavour to explore the KKK world from the insight of the local CoPs. Indisputably, I aspired not to attempt to only comment on the KKK culture but shed light on a community vital to the Kano business community's continuum and a distinct community from the others.

6.2 Summary of Findings and the Research Questions Appraisal

This study aimed to explore the KKK members' identity development and communication through the CoP and acts of identity frameworks. The findings showed that the KKK members' repeated routines emphasise the flexibility and permanency of meaning through real-life experiences in their contexts. This represents Wenger's (1998) outlook of practice as a social run-through. In other words, fitting into the KKK CoP's culture requires undergoing the community's sociocultural learning through watching and listening, modelling and talking, scaffolding and coaching, and originating and fading. The findings showed that it is a context characteristically deemed a social space wherein powerful relation forces are brought in contact. It is strategically located at the heart of the Kano metropolis, with its landscape separated along with the social patterns of class,

age, gender, ethnicity, power, and other practices of identity. Besides a demographic report of 50% of young adults, some have acquired Islamic education and few above modern secondary education. In this study, the KKK participants were observed and interviewed to relate their identity development opportunities, trajectories, and practices. Also, the study showed the KKK did not consider identity and learning as a phenomenon to be investigated. They wondered how these phenomena developed, successively transformed sets of activities not restricted to learners only with their attention mainly on profit-making.

The study established the KKK as a CoP sharing a domain of an identified textile business interest (Wenger, 2004) comprising three main groups: the Kano indigenes, native foreigners', and foreign expatriates. Several groupings were formed from them, making different constellations of practices with core, peripheral and marginal members as well as other individuals covering both local and global communities. Equally, it validates that the KKK CoPs established practices, activities, and behaviours that shaped the foundation of the community's culture, which is a reconstruction of the past historically established relations and communities along with the chosen and imagined communities presenting arrays of present and future potential identities. The KKK routine practices in pursuit of their common domain interest involved engaging in deliberation, persuasion, negotiation and haggling businesses, whether in large or small quantity, joint enterprising, information sharing, and supporting each other through building relations that empower them. The KKK CoPs meet on a regular basis or irregularly, and they do not routinely work *en masse* regularly. Periodic changes often occur in this CoP's membership, a progression as the old members fade and or leave while new members join in line with Wenger's (1998) and Roberts's (2006) view of development in a CoP.

In addition, the findings further specified that the KKK has an all-encompassing complex set of people living in their different worlds; rigid, closed, and resistant to change. Their practices are steeped in a less direct approach and less strict timekeeping like many cultures in non-western countries. The KKK has no clear policy stating its vision, mission, and role in the growth of the general economy; therefore, participants are confronted with choices to accept or reject and encounter challenges but derive satisfaction because of their strong motivation to identify with the community. Moreover, their social variables related to the practice are mutually implicated in regular informal, prudent interactions, and their style was not preachy but engaging. It is best performed based on sound moral values and social practices referred to as *Mu'amalat* (social interaction).

The findings also established that developing identities in the KKK is a gradual process of engagement, involvement, and mutuality within their cultural practices (see Chapter 4). Communicating these identities happens through different acts of identities also explained in Section 5.4. The KKK has complex networks of role relationships and situational encounters, which determines speakers' choice and use of language, whether in 'personal' or 'transactional' interaction and situationally differentiated in that some speakers are not only bi – but multilingual in their role relationships. The KKK sociocultural and socio-psychological background is significant in projecting their identities. Hausa is the language for business, and the language patterns are attributed to the symmetry and asymmetry of communication behaviour linked to Hausa culture's politeness, respect, and solidarity norms. Nonetheless, members use their common linguistic repertoires as their recommended language patterns are more business-like than culturally distinct, and their communication is mainly based on one-on-one relationships and face-to-face interactions.

Additionally, the findings indicated that distinct to large formal organisations that organise in-house programs for its staff training, the KKK members' daily routine experiences meaningfully support for their identity development, and members that required specific knowledge were sent to outside providers (i.e., India, China). This substantiates LE's global and multilingual learning under etic observation, emic analysis, and reflexivity related to Hornberger's (2006) "working the local globally and the global locally". Nonetheless, Wenger's (1998) support of learning as the instrument of practise, then practice as the account of that learning sequentially, impacts the KKK practice progress. This befits the KKK history where learning-in-practices are situated in evidence of the diachronic dimension of their CoP whereby the learners still utilise the resources left behind by their ancestors as contextually depicted along with other traditional practices.

The KKK members' learning-in-practice, together with experiences across their lifetime, allow them to develop a mind-frame on what needs to be attended to from their developed identities and how to administer the intended objectives. The researcher also realised that their learning procedure is dynamic and has two splits: on one hand, the learners face the encounter of being received by the CoPs. Then again, the experienced participants face the encounter to make a distinction between themselves and others so that they maintain their core identity. Thus, learning is a shared participation process, and the nature of each situation significantly influences the practice on a periphery (inward-bound), marginal (outward-bound), or full participation (inside) trajectory.

Nevertheless, the KKK CoP has not fallen into the trap of weak CoPs or displays power relations that completely inhibit access and participation. This is demonstrated through their dynamic sociocultural learning patterns: watching and listening; modelling and

talking; scaffolding and coaching with originating and fading. Thus, learning is the inescapable result of the proper behaviours and the conventional ways of transactions that the KKK CoPs had previously well-established, purposely to gain members' collaboration more freely than to cause adverse responses. Also, the researcher found the experiences explained in Chapter 4 and the acts performed in Chapter 5 are both macro-level impacts and micro-level practices that determined members' projected identities described below.

6.2.1 The KKK Projected Identities

This study found out that the KKK members' projected identities are focused on becoming a '*DanKwari* (individual identity), '*YanKwari* (group or collective identity), *Hausaness* (cultural or ethnic identity), and several multiple identities, as discussed in this section.

6.2.1.1 The '*DanKwari* Identity (Individual or Personal Identity)

'*DanKwari* (singular) is an address term used to refer to an experienced member of the KKK, and it is an individual identity marker. The prefix '*Dan* (son of) is added to *Kwari* (valley) to form the name '*DanKwari*, an indicator of acceptance and recognition implying that an individual's projected identity in the KKK has been finally formed (i.e., whom an individual thinks he is at his core) influenced by their social status, some hereditary and some acquired. There were different experiences of participants presenting a narrative of themselves in the ethnographic interviews and small talks to the researcher. They learn and present primary identities in their beliefs, values, dress, food, location, and experiences which significantly changed over time. The findings also pointed out diverse situational identities the participants used in their different KKK contexts, i.e., the example of Ali in his company where he performed both the projected, executed, and narrated identities and eventually had to save face (Goffman, 1959) before

being accepted in his company. Each participant used their available shared repertoires in accordance with Wenger's (1998) words, routines, tools, gestures, ways of doing things, symbols, stories, actions or concepts and genres to develop an identity that fits into the CoP they wished to be identified with. In such cases, they used the linguistic maintenance style to maintain identity and reinforce divergence.

6.2.1.2 The 'YanKwari Identity (Group or Collective or Social Identity)

'YanKwari (plural) address form described the seasoned participants of the KKK, their in-group identity marker. The prefix 'Yan (people of) is added to Kwari (valley) to form the name 'YanKwari, an indicator of the collective group membership. The business domain is the support that springs the KKK group identities, making a difference from other groups. Indeed, the ecological features in the KKK study are about people within a professional context. Consistent with Wenger (1998), the community members are mutually engaged and form their in-group tokens as part of their shared repertoires of resources understood between the members, which substantiated how the participants cement their relationships and facilitate the creation of their connections and constructed harmony. The characteristics of the non-existence of introductions provide the beginning of the members' identification with the KKK CoPs. Aside from the collective identity, each sub-group has been motivated to choose and portray different acts that create a feeling of belonging to a constellation of practice (i.e., 'YanAttampha, 'YanYadi, 'YanShadda, 'YanLeshi, 'YanTebur, 'YanDako, etc.). Language and other social categories projected and shaped their identities through the above group labelling, naming, making introductions, etc. They also used symmetrical forms to show equality among peers and asymmetrical forms to signal power in the relationship, while others used a pronoun and vocatives indicating group membership and as a way to signal social distance. Nevertheless, this group identity notion makes the CoP approach handy for this

study. Thus, the KKK can be perceived to be aligned with Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner and Cain's (2001) 'figured world' that is socially produced and sustained by culturally constructed entities, where individuals come to conceptually, procedurally and materially perform and create new understandings of self.

6.2.1.3 Hausaness (Ethnic, Cultural Identity)

An objective of this research was to define in what way language practices and behaviours communicate the identities of the KKK members. The researcher found that an individuals' own culture influences their language choices and plays vital roles in developing their identities, i.e., in line with Miller's (2004) interpretation of always instantiating how individuals do things and constant interactions. The community can surely function perfectly in the Hausa language only since Abubakar (2012) pointed out that all other languages and cultures have willingly embraced its culture and could easily understand and communicate freely. In a simple talk situation, most of their behaviours are heavily laden with the Hausa culture (i.e., shows how ends are achieved by observing Hausa norms of interaction and interpretation). In other words, they share common cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The dominance of the Hausa language is not unusual in the KKK context because sharing a common language in a society gives its people social understanding and makes them feel secure and part of the society. During the study, the researcher had to examine these interrelated factors; beliefs, attitudes, perceptions, and values, which most the KKK members learned through participation, interaction with others, and gradual assimilation. Though many theories still argue over the issues of this interrelatedness (i.e., which springs from another), a holistic understanding of a community was fundamental to any form of identification.

The KKK is understood in this study to constitute a significant support agency for the survival of the Hausa community in Africa and Nigeria, maintaining networks with other Hausa people in diaspora and the Hausa interactions among peers and popular culture. They are within the mainstream ethnic communes to preserve and maintain the traditional language and the cultural identity. Together, they are consistent social constructs formed by the interaction and trajectory of different political, socio-economic, and historical forces. In appreciating the KKK language shifts, the researcher, in keeping with Hornberger (2007), created room for the indigenous, ethnic, foreign, and immigrant languages' ecological and resource view as evolving and living with each other in their environment. However, diversity in the KKK current inhabitants constitutes transformations inside and between diverse ethnic groups from local, national, international, religious, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds other than the main Hausas. As such, its Hausa ethnic group's intra-communal structure transformed dramatically through the historical decades with the rise in population with different categories of migrants who came to live and work liberally. The migrants usually form a descent chain pattern providing shelter, direction, and engagement amongst themselves and mostly grounded on extended family, common dialects, mutual locality of origin, and business. This provided parameters with which Mukhtar (2004) suggested analysing and finding the impact on the economy, the polity, and the environmental spread.

6.2.1.4 Multiple Identities

Thus far, native foreigners, expatriates, few members, and new entries into the KKK use the Nigerian Pidgin, survival English or the translanguaging variety. They contextually practice them in their interactions mostly for identification purposes, similar to Mohamed's (2017) and Hozhabrossadat's (2015) studies. Nevertheless, very much determination and time was dedicated to promoting a bilingual or multilingual identity

and environment in the KKK, i.e., the Hausa speakers had managed a bilingual or multilingual identity demands of the present life without daunting the genuineness of their language, adopted and adapted the practices of style-shifting, dialect levelling, accent reduction, focussing, defocussing, and borrowing terms from other languages. Moreover, the CoP framework's importance is steering away preconceived views of identity by consenting to develop identity-related issues and identity shifts. Therefore, different participants formed especial the KKK vocabulary, significant to their joint business engagements, and their interaction includes linguistic turn-taking routines of phraseological convention interaction patterns. They produced these vocabularies in different language varieties and dialects, indicating multiple language identities exemplified in Chapters 4 and 5. While the community members could contribute actively to proper or casual talks, they could positively contribute to the active businesses. Even the promotional websites, too, for most textile shops are in Hausa and English. Most of the necessary business paperwork is always in informal English and sometimes Hausa depending on who is involved. Besides this, understanding the matches and variances between the KKK and the broader Kano society increased the researcher's awareness of their harmonious link. Kano City was home to other diverse communities and signified in the KKK: linguistically, culturally, socially, economically, and educationally.

6.2.2 Attitudes of Research Participants

The research participants' attitudes were reflected from different points; it includes the indigenous people and the local and international migrants' situated practices that naturally reflect the globalisation impact. Before entering to the KKK, the researcher made a pre-visit inquiry. The responses were dispiriting; the warnings were about their rigid traditional ideology (i.e., their dislike for modern education and its products). Notwithstanding, the researcher already had the understanding that, at times, the nature

of ethnographic work in Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) view is that initially, an ethnographer frequently does not distinguish what will assuredly be involved, not in any detail; let alone, what the likely consequences are to be. In consideration of this, the researcher took a bold step because there is always a first time in anything, ventured into the community like a wanderer, not knowing where to begin, believing in the popular Hausa maxim that says *Matambayi baya 'bata*, (the questioner never gets lost). The researcher perceived reluctance from all responses, and then she declined and did not push so many of my issues, panicking that my effort in developing rapport with them would be jeopardised. After all the encounters explained in Chapter 3, the researcher engaged herself with the key participants through some locators; this offered the chance to present this study to the companies. With past presentiments, it became difficult to preempt the research objectives at once to the key participants but rather vital to display sociocultural practices, reflexivity, and awareness. Moreover, meetings with the elderly self-imposed caretaker, the ad-hoc government committee, and some key participants provided exciting different experiences, specific slight dilemmas, and much self-adjustment and turned out productive with a welcoming rapport on the go under firm warning. The first phase was general in scope and wider coverage, and the second phase was focused and well informed to have a broader picture of the KKK.

Consistent with Arnesen (2003), the impact of 'presenting self' in ethnographic research, the gender, age, and the alertness that it is lax and uncultured for a female to go into such communities like the KKK alone (the bull's eyes for hooligans and hoodlums). With this in mind, on each visit, the researcher sought a company of a male adult around her environment. Yet, to seem right about the experiences in this social situation, the researcher agreed with Roy (2000) to appreciate the occurrences and go with that of the study participants. In addition, the researcher realised that outward familiarity with some

participants and the culture perhaps would not consent to observe their features and transform their understanding which may stand as a benefit or a hindrance.

The findings also presented how positive feedbacks were significant to the researcher's familiarity with the KKK, providing what Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) regarded as a wide perspective and helpful evidence. In one exceptional case, from the time the researcher became a little relaxed in following the ways of the KKK with relation to getting useful facts by being too accustomed to him and his immediate surroundings, it became a drawback in concurrence with Blommaert (2006). Nonetheless, insider understanding is needed in the process of the research because Miller (2003) clarified that significant patterns often remain difficult to discern in the adapted setting than in the unfamiliar. At a point, to avoid taking things for granted and having biased opinions in this acquainted context, the researcher was challenged with the dilemma of 'making the familiar strange'. Even so, in the 20 months of fieldwork studying the same participants' traditions', the interactions were flexible, letting each participant express her or himself in a manner they felt more at ease. Likewise, it was required to develop interaction with participants and volunteers that would remain quiet and learn how they could act in response to actual situations in and out of the KKK. Moreover, engaging in social networking (i.e., chatting) and text messages with some key participants became essential. When good rapport was established, it extended to attending each other's social gatherings; thus, the relationship was stronger and facilitated a profound understanding of their routine experiences. Some of these relationships extended beyond the research period because after returning to Malaysia, the time of writing this thesis and even now, we are still communicating with some of this study participants.

6.2.3 Methods of Data Collection

To study how identity is developed and communicated, participants' natural environment and communication were investigated empirically instead of assumed. There were no clearly established expectations about the KKK practices in the setting. Instead, the researcher ventured in with some guiding inquiries and experience familiarity with the context, with all eyes, ears, and mind open to the participants and context. This is basically in line with Copland and Creese's (2015) view, largely focusing on how people use language and what this can communicate about broader social ideologies, structures, and constraints.

First, a profound ethnographic exploration enabled the investigation of the structures, patterns, situations, and symbols. Ethnographic interviews and focus groups became useful on the ground that suitable quotes from key participants were tagged with important highlights that supported the FN collected. Participant observation was chosen because Kvale (2015) stated that it is further than interviews by providing awareness of the rooted facts in a cultural location and structures. Moreover, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) specified that participant observation explains the conditions and behaviours of participants besides its role in discovering and uncovering the hidden and unknown facts about the KKK. Indeed, the researcher is also consistent with how Stake (1995) considered human encounters as an issue of "chronologies more than of cause and effect" (p. 39). In the same way, the researcher agreed with Tjora's (2006) point that observation and interviews are both interactive in that the former makes available interview probes, whereas the latter provides data for the observations.

Most facts of this study were integrated into the relevant FN, which include considerations about and observation of the context (setting), participant, artefacts, and

many more. The importance of FN in this study was perceived during the data collection and analysis in identifying appropriate information with keywords linked to the theoretical framework and in utilising some of the keywords in interpreting the data in association with the FN. Incorporating these varied sources of the data collected permitted the researcher to diversify her inference with the aid of categorisation. At this point, the researcher's main preoccupation was to produce a report of experiences with evidence but not to generalise. Additional sources were also used, such as artefacts like oral language, and elders played a vital role as an information source about pre-historic migration and progressive settlement patterns of the KKK. This portrays a typical Hausa culture of elders' (oral data banks) generosity and accommodation of guests.

6.2.4 Problems During Data Collection and the Research Techniques

Among the different problems encountered during the data collection includes concerns of ideology, context, parameters, perimeters, and awareness as the most disturbing. Firstly, in the problem of ideology, the researcher and the research assistants faced problems at each introduction stage. Each participant in the KKK goes around with a formed mind frame (ideology) from the kind of education and experiences across their lifetime (i.e., the secretary who refused us an audience with his chairman for his reasons). Some participants faced difficulty understanding the general idea of the research therefore, they were not free to disclose such data. For instance, when the researcher approached some members with the idea of research and how it could reach the targeted demographic. There was clear evidence of the overt display of their previous unfamiliarity and experiences that clouded their understanding and judgement of the situation, which affected the position between the researcher and the participants.

The second main issue was the subtle decline of appointments by heads that took over the formal and informal positions in their various companies, which necessitated the researcher to adjust her observation strategy somewhat. For instance, we arranged with a participant for an in-depth observation and ethnographic interview to be audio recorded at their head office. On the slated day, the researcher went to his office early and waited for long hours; he neither picked up the phone calls nor turned up as planned. He later called to inform the researcher that he had gone for a task. Thus, the planned session was ruined without attaining certain recorded data, but the researcher quickly fine-tuned it by extending to other shops to establish new friendly interactions.

Reconciling the 'exploitation' issue in undertaking this study was one more fieldwork problem. Research participants' inclusion in the research implies that people supply evidence the researcher used and get little in return. In keeping with Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), they pointed out that the exploitation problem was not always eliminated despite attempts to lessen this anxiety. As an outsider, the researcher was forced into parts ascribed by participants and was obliged to negotiate the ascribed identities. I tried to be a perfect study machine by posing as a human being and remaining truly human besides fairly realising different ethical dilemmas. The researcher was bothered about whether the participants were exploited in the process and if they understood it. In that case, what might be done to limit how they felt if they slightly did. From time to time, the researcher got concerned over the rapport's realness and stresses over the influence of this short-term but strong rapport with them, not to feel too close and neglected later. Concerned by these issues, the researcher became their friend in every possible way and used large gestures, cash, effort, and personal time. In so doing, the researcher often posed such questions as, What are their feelings about me and my study? How are they interpreting what I say or going to say? Had I better say or do something?

How can I handle this if it happens or did not happen? What could I say or do to create a better feeling in them? Must I get involved here? Who again needs to be aware?

The researcher experienced another problem as an outsider. At the peripheral level, the researcher observed a common stake for the survival of the KKK and as such decided to threaten everybody equally; at the central level, disparities occur within each (company) in their competitive aspirations and strategies to move ahead of others. The researcher received resentment from many participants when seen in other shops.

An additional problem during the data collection was that the participants interviewed were not too familiar with the research procedures (time and depth), particularly ethnographic interviews. It applied difficulties attributable to the nature of their activities and the time they could spare. Likewise, there was the need to be wary of the hitches of chasing and convincing business owners for interviews, though the researcher was privileged to negotiate possible time duration with some. However, all of it took longer because of the nature of the business activities, which often caused interruptions. Even the prearranged interviews repeatedly remained interrupted or postponed in the middle as the participants had to attend to several issues. Whenever we decided the interview dates and time with the participants in advance, only some focus groups adhered to the rough scheduled time of about 2-3 hours; the individual interviews took several more hours due to such interruptions. Similarly, it was not worthwhile to make exhaustive transcriptions of every single audio recording done at the community due to the complex nature of this study in generating a large volume of extraneous data (say, a visit to the community generates above 2-3 hours of the data recorded). Under such conditions, it was difficult to pre-empt my research objectives at a time/once, and I could not record most of their small talk because of the nature of their open spaces. Besides this, there were a few cases

where despite the explanations, the participants were apprehensive about the audio recording; instead, the researcher wrote down their time-consuming responses. The researcher had to negotiate this as it was justified and needed from the outlook of micro-ethics and to change the participants' comportment.

Furthermore, the members' linguistic ecological features about people within a professional context are additional problems. It was difficult for the researcher to record, write, and sometimes understand the bulk resources pulled from different Hausa varieties and other languages, so in every day's mobility and linguistic resources, the researcher perceived ever-changing participation in what Blommaert (2011) termed the territorialised forms of language use, in substitute to the 'de-territorialised methods or the blend of both. The researcher had to be reflexive to the complexities and dynamism in this context to manage the erratic dilemmas and inconsistencies that ensued for the duration of the fieldwork, basically as a linguistic ethnographer who remained an etic professional and an emic observer.

6.2.5 Regarding Earlier Studies and the Researcher's Contribution

The findings in this study are mainly compatible with Bucholtz (1998); Eckert (1989; 2000; 2010); Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's (1992); Holmes and Meyerhoff' (1999), Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985); Norton (2001); Tabouret-Keller (1997); Sharma (2005), etc. Yet, they seem dissimilar in respective areas, as discussed in Section 2.2.1.1. For example, in the case of Belizean informants (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985), it is no longer easy to identify a pure 'Belizean' due to inter-ethnic marriages between the diverse linguistic groups that came to settle in the former British Honduras colony. The same is true for the KKK who now have developed and acquired multiple national, cultural, interactional, and relational identities due to inter-ethnic marriages; they flip

from one cultural identity to the other depending on their cultural context (i.e., the Syrians and Lebanese). Similarly, Bucholtz (1998) conducted her ethnographic study consistent with the main characteristics of a CoP, where she perceived the girls' school as a CoP and the 'nerd' group as situated participants in single or multiple resident communities while engaging in those communities' practices. She identified the exploited language features used in constructing 'nerds' identity, maintains that the model of CoP permits the researcher to approach deep-seated identities in practice, and exposes the speaker's ability to have multiple identities. All these features in Butcholtz's study were present in the KKK study; it is conceptualised as a single CoP comprising multiple CoPs with its members as situated participants. With CoP, the more one is immersed into the KKK, the more deep-seated multiple identities are revealed. Eckert's (1989, 2000) perception of a community is also along this line in her exploration of how the language and social categories in the community's repertoire were manipulated and exploited differently as group makers of either jocks or burnouts. By the same token, in this KKK research, I see the members participating in one or more CoP through their language use, address terms, food, clothes, and other elements.

Worth nothing is CoP's agreement with the liberal descriptive social procedure through; situated encounters, individual persons, and institutional networks is consistent with Rampton (2009) and found in the designated LE approach. Correspondingly, Holmes and Meyerhoff's (1999) social identity theory component is significant in a CoP approach in addition to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's (1992) attention to the way identities are constructed by individuals' participation in various CoPs. Tabouret-Keller's (1997) historical overview on the connection between an individual's L1 and identity is a central and always recognised yet complex relationship. Sharma's (2005) identity study is central to describing the process of identity negotiating, and that can include a dual conscious or

subconscious Indian and American social investment. Similarly, Eckert's (2010) third wave of variationist studies puts stylistic practice as core to the course of identity negotiating and constructing instead of looking at identity as being reflected by the variables used by people. The categorisations in the studies cited above, in one way or the other, demonstrate the processes of the KKK identity development and communication. In some ways, linguistic and non-linguistic signals affect different techniques in talks and behaviours by accepting differences in categorising practices to represent the users' differences. Yet, the African and Nigerian studies reviewed in Sections 2.4.1 and 2.6.3 revealed divergent findings, either related in terms of frameworks or methods or unrelated to the context and scope of the present study. The most related to the KKK findings is Shodipe's (2012) study in the Lagos Island bilingual speech community in Nigeria, where she found out that language attitudes facilitated individual and social identities.

This study's contribution can be drawn contextually and practically. Most CoP studies have been conducted in formal and semi-formal contexts. The KKK findings confirm CoP and other western concepts can also be applied in an African informal indigenous business context. CoP learning is based on LPP under certain instructions. The KKK participants learn without restrictions and verbal directives. Acts of identity, Bucholtz's (1998) nerds and Eckert's (1989) jocks and burnouts studies presented identity markers (i.e., language, in-group terminologies, address forms, food, dress, etc.). The KKK findings added time, body odour, physical location, role relationships, and currency notes as added identity markers. Similarly, in the two studies, individuals must possess unique linguistic competence to belong to the groups. In contrast, the KKK members manipulate their language practices to assume different personalities within their available language repertoires. When compiling this thesis, its input to the research in the KKK is original to

my knowledge; it will offer possible implications for other similar understated communities and set paces for researchers interested in studying the KKK, identity, and CofPs. Also, creating research and identity awareness for the KKK members, during my highlights to the ad hoc committee, it encouraged including a website and an e-mail address request for the KKK, as part of the changes to the old constitution, there were never any.

6.2.6 Research Implication

This study indicates that Nigerian societies, closed and tightly controlled as they are, seem to have an impulse for social situated development and change. Therefore, we need to know who we are, what we need, and how we need to do it better for improvement. The need to create and improve awareness in the KKK to sustain and increase survival, profitability, and sustainability aside from avoiding a breakdown. The need to realise that the young adults are the backbone of all societies; hence, in line with Lee (2001), regarding and caring for them is the mortar from which ethical training is constructed. The need to help in realising the pragmatic functions of CoPs within the KKK and the larger Hausa cultural settings. The need to learn and embed new language and business skills into their previously assimilated experiences and promote business tourism in Kano and Nigeria. The need to inform all concerned on how to genuinely understand and improve the apprenticeships to create a more focused, profitable, stress-free business environment with better services and practices, to contribute to scholarly knowledge not only in the field of identity and community studies but also in cultural and socio-historic data on the KKK, and to fill the awareness and research gaps that existed in the community and literature. Besides this, the research benefits learning institutions, policy-makers, educators, and economic planners for decision-making, information sharing, and reference.

6.2.7 The Research Limitations and Optimism for Criticisms

This study was not all-embracing due to parameters on the sort of information offered by the participants in the KKK under-researched, under-represented community. The study started when Northern Nigeria, Kano, and the KKK (one of their strategic targets) faced the insurgency attacks of 'Boko Haram' and its repercussions later. Within the same period, the KKK had an in-house political crisis. Moreover, the Kano state government introduced the new 'Land use act' to the community. This did not register well with the community members, for they are staunch adversaries in terms of paying taxes; it was not easy for them to unwrap their mentality and or unlock doors for the latest improvement. This study exposed the researcher to research fatigue, security threats, religious sects, and the conflicting views among the social strata in the community. Also, these prompted an avoidance-avoidance form of interaction from different clusters, creating a communication gap and miscommunication; neither of the groups was likely to compromise. Another constraint was the community's rejection of the government-imposed ad-hoc committee to intercede in their affairs. All of these issues were happening concurrently, so they created a disordered situation in the KKK, and many members became doubtful to relate and establish rapport with outsiders.

Consequently, I originally experienced apprehensions, uncertainty, and many delays in locating the gatekeepers and key participants. This influenced the incomplete delivery of information I got from them in the first phase and the indifferent and contagious behaviour overtly displayed, which also pilots their inability to envisage problems and global challenges as well as prevents new business ideas and practices from fully registering with them. Thus, the data I were able to obtain became inadequate, which led to the redirection of my study. All of the above-identified challenges affected the effort toward the dawdled progress and survival of this research work. Also, increasing

globalisation and internationalisation are on the rise, so practices today can be replaced tomorrow; this study's result(s) and implication(s) portray the present and become a term of reference in the future.

6.2.8 Recommendations

This study's recommendations are well-thought-out for two main purposes, that is: for policy and practices and for future research.

6.2.8.1 Recommendation for Policy and Practices

Without additional research into the area of CoP and identity in the KKK, it will not remain likely:

- to review the overall learning system and curriculum (i.e., re-examine the current western bias learning objectives and systems to reflect the needs of the community and cultural diversity
- to change knowledge-based learning to focus more on skills-based learning and provide opportunities
- to consider translanguaging practices in place of English as a medium of instruction in schools
- to prepare professional development courses that will portray the cultural practices and identity of the community members, particularly the language challenges
- to review practices to encourage members to re-examine their assumptions to address socio-psychological stress of marginalisation and recommend current global practices.
- to promote awareness, the community must encourage systems that will help members understand their identity and communicate it effectively.

Suggestively, the task in improving the KKK situation is awareness and respect rather than evaluation. To conclude, consistent with Cook's (1990) perspective, language learners really ought to be capable of handling language in use, not idealised.

6.2.8.2 Recommendation for Future Research

The KKK CoPs and identity development can be reassessed from different perspectives that might ginger the community to embrace current global trends avidly. This thesis attempts to provide a framework for viewing the topic; however, its' sociolinguistic nature is yet to receive the extensive study it deserves; further research seems to be required thus. Identity can be specifically examined through a talk by studying their interactional patterns like rapport-building, price-haggling, persuasive extended talk, minimal talk, and partaking on collective grounds regardless of the language used. Conditions under which social categories are practised, and factors affecting the use of specific terms at the detriment of others could be explored, respectively. An individual can also take one of the main findings and develop something new that might change the member's ideology.

6.2.9 Conclusion and Reflection

The findings report the KKK as simply a wonderland, a jack of all trades but master of one where people create different petty businesses to satisfy the needs of its members. Its physical location climaxing behaviours depicts it as an unlegislated community with free entrance and free exit. The KKK sociocultural structures follow the changing pattern in Hausa sociocultural system found in their different artefacts. The researcher observed that social categories determine the understanding one needs to become a full participant because individuals' come into the KKK CoPs at different ages, levels, and statuses. Member's role relationships appear in many domains (e.g., family, business, customers,

social group); thus, many belong to more than a single domain and perform multiple identities. Their behaviours showed that their legitimacy concept is associated with their membership symmetry and the individual's trajectory suitable for the community's practice to encourage an open family environment. Although they showed respect to their superiors and admired how the higher-level members lived their lives despite being attracted to the money, the context that the higher hierarchy imposed on members' locations showed they were in a situation of passivity. Members have no choice but to agree with the more coercive atmosphere than co-operation. Interestingly, buyers, sellers, and visitors helped give the place its badge of crowdedness and under-representation. Individuals would not ever fail to find what they were looking for because of the several businesses repeated all over.

The KKK members interact freely in a symbiotic association where the manufacturers have unprofitable goods if people are unwilling to purchase them. However, both parties wish to persuade each other to achieve their goals; hence, they communicate their identities through approved and effective language and social categories, expecting to share each other's world-view. Besides this, the KKK interactions were largely a single turn eliciting action; instead of a verbal-verbal turn, the adjacency becomes a verbal action. Each interaction had assumed obligations, duties, and rights, condensed, crystallised over centuries, and differently executed in how they often addressed problems, shared experiences, tools, and stories.

Many of the networks in the KKK asked the researcher about modern business; their concern for formal education always cropped up and requested organised professional sensitisation sessions. Only a few pointed towards the precise 'need' for professional socialisation. Accordingly, the KKK is more than only a situated learning space; it is also

economically and politically important as it is continuously evolving, owing to such issues as population make-up, global market changes, and social-political activities. The KKK key participants revealed that the Chinese and Indian penetration developed the member's unspecified potentials and identities together with the community's identity and made new textiles available to all. Thus, by realising the shortfalls with the government's ad hoc committee and rejecting it, the community members jointly negotiated their initiatives and became mutually responsible.

However, the KKK and its surrounded activities have a vibrant history from its formation to the present day. This is a cause of pride and fulfilment to both its old and new members. The community's historical practical realities and strategies confirm they do not need any guidance on sustainability. In the West, sustainable use is a style; but for the KKK, it has been a way of life. The practices of the Chinese were like the initial Lebanese and Syrian migrants in the KKK; both provided local Kano indigenous members with the capital base of their business. Considering the above account, when put together, all my experiences in the KKK kept me wondering, regardless of the economic situation in Nigeria, what could have brought about the present way of business in the KKK. Is it the mass production of cheaper and affordable textiles from China and India? Or is it changes in peoples' perception, attitude, and demand for higher quality textiles? Or is it the government policies on importing foreign textiles referred to as contraband?

Another peculiar practice in the KKK is their relationship with the banking industries regarding deposits and loan facilities. Most of the KKK elders neither bank their money in nor collect bank loans to develop their business. Instead, they would rather collect textile goods on credit, sell and give the supplier back the capital. The findings revealed that even though Pennycook (2007) had once positioned the English language as the

national language and an international language, Jowit's (1995) discovery that it had received little acceptance in Northern Nigeria, for the KKK to be precise still remains the case. Therefore, our emphasis on learning it in schools is less significant to our communities. Nevertheless, this study further presents the KKK as a specialised domain that confirms Owolabi's (2006) assertion on the importance of Nigerian native languages, particularly in specialised domains like a 'sine qua non' for national development. In addition to the above research suggestions, there are relevant questions that can help develop fitting identities include: why not develop Nigerian economic, political, and other formal learning in the MT? Why persist in learning the English language first before initiating new technology in such communities? These need reactions.

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