The Quebec Grade 11 Contemporary World Course and the *Immediate* Textbook: A Critical Discourse Analysis of How Neoliberalism and its Discontents are Presented In High School

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Abstract

This thesis examines how neoliberal policies are presented to Quebec high school students in the mandatory grade 11 Social Studies course called Contemporary World. The main data are the course's provincial curriculum, the textbook *Immediate*, and an interview with *Immediate*'s main authors. By using Critical Discourse Analysis, the content of *Immediate* is examined to reveal how neoliberal discourses and practices are situated in the text, along with the resistance of anti-neoliberal social movements. Harvey's (2005) understanding of neoliberalism as the project of class restoration and dispossession, as well as various perspectives from Global Citizenship Education (GCE) literature and practice, provide the study's theoretical framework. The most significant finding is that international institutions and their often neoliberal discourse is highly privileged in *Immediate*, while grassroots oppositional social movements are either misrepresented or missing. In this way, the textbook and the course emphasize mostly the positive results of neoliberal reforms. Moreover, class struggles and the role of labour in combating neoliberal reforms are absent. Neoliberal practices in the Global South receive more criticism, although the complicit role of NGOs is not explored. As for grassroots environmentalist movements, their presence is overshadowed by the sustainable development discourse that privileges institutions and international agreements. Finally, the textbook and the course model a citizen with analytical skills and global knowledge who lacks a critical GCE due to these missing elements: the critique of Canada's institutions, social agency, feeling, and a more self-reflective understanding of the 'other' living in the Global South.

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As for the militant perspective of this thesis, blame the Occupy Montreal movement for inspiring me to be more vocal and active in my opposition against neoliberalism.

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All illustrations (except for Figure 2) are from *Immediate: Contemporary World*, by Brodeur-Girard, Vanasse, Carrier, Corriveau-Tendland, and Pelchat (2010). This use complies with the fair dealing principle of the Canadian *Copyright Act* (Government of Canada, 2014, 29) which allows for copyright material to be used for research and education purposes. The *Copyright Act* (29.1) also allows scholars to critique or review material without any copyright infringement so long as they cite the source and the author of the material.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I describe my personal relation to this study in terms of my teaching experience and participation in anti-neoliberal social movements. I then outline the research problem in terms of the textbook and course that I will analyze, the unique textbook industry in Quebec, and my study's focus on neoliberalism and its opposing social movements. After describing the research objectives, questions, and limitations, I end the chapter with a summary of the thesis' organization.

My Positionality in Relation to this Research

Teaching experience. I used the textbook *Immediate* for two years as I taught the course Contemporary World in Quebec City and then in Montreal. I started my career in 2009, the first year that the course was implemented. Fresh out of teacher's college, I had learned that it is best practice to tailor lesson plans to the interests and the skill sets of the students, so I made an effort to stray from the textbook as much as possible. I used it as a guide to keep on track with my course planning, often referring to its passages in class before moving on to interactive group work activities. I also assigned homework readings from the textbook every once and a while. In terms of the Learning Evaluation Situations (LES) in the accompanying teacher's guide, I rarely used them, in large part because the students found them long and tedious. I was motivated to find my own articles and create LES myself, or borrow from online resources. As a new teacher, I didn't have the time or the interest to thoroughly read the textbook to find its biases and omissions. Instead, I instinctively brought in the anti-neoliberal discourses that I was more familiar with:

critiquing multinationals, the IMF and the World Bank, the oil industry, human rights abuses, etc. Although I was familiar with these concepts, the research involved in creating activities enhanced my understanding and radicalized my position as a citizen who was outraged by the various social injustices of this world. By the start of my third year teaching, I was tired of teaching a history course; I wanted to change the course of history.

Anti-neoliberal grassroots social movement experience. On October 15th 2011, I joined the Occupy movement that set up a 24-hour camp site in the heart of Montreal's financial district. At its height, the occupation had 300 tents set up with thousands of participants passing through every day. Inspired by the people I had met there and the energy of a grassroots social movement with global implications, I decided to quit my teaching position and give my full effort to this burgeoning movement against neoliberalism and for participatory democracy. After almost 6 weeks of facilitating street general assemblies and mobilizing for the cause, we were evicted by the municipal government. Over the following few months our movement dwindled into a loose network of friends and allies that would then participate in several different movements such as the *Printemps d'érable* student movement, Idle No More, and countless grassroots movements for social justice. In particular, I put a great deal of time as a co-founder, facilitator and singer-songwriter of *La chorale du peuple*[1]: to this day, we rewrite and perform popular songs for different protests, activist events and anti-neoliberal causes. It is our mission to not only preach to the choir, but to engage in popular education about the abstract but ubiquitous influence of neoliberalism.

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[1] Go to www.choraledupeuple.org to hear and see this activist choir.

How to teach about neoliberalism. In 2012 I decided to broaden my activism, popular education and music with critical theory applied towards education. My goal has always been to understand how to teach people about this hegemonic and omnipresent doctrine called neoliberalism: this worldview has one of the greatest influences over our lives yet so few know much about it, at least in a theoretical sense. In Canada and in the Global North, most of us have friends or family who have lost their jobs due to relocation or subcontracting abroad. If we lived a couple of decades or more, we have noticed that certain public institutions and services have been privatized, cut back, or eliminated altogether. We have all consumed products that come from afar under poor work conditions and little environmental regulations. We may have noticed that the rich keep getting richer while the rest of us have stagnant or lowering wages. We probably realized that most jobs today are precarious with few benefits and no union protection. We may be noticing that our governments keep signing free trade agreements and multilateral treaties with different countries, though we may not understand the long term consequences. These are my limited collective experiences to which I have access as a privileged mixed-race male living in the Global North. This shared history inspired me, and frustrated me, to the point that I wanted to explore the field of Educational Studies to figure out how to relate these familiar examples to the more complex, abstract, global phenomenon that is neoliberalism: the restoration of class power through economic globalization, dispossession, worker exploitation and environmental devastation (Harvey, 2005). But before I could do this, I needed to learn how neoliberalism is taught in schools. Under the counsel of my professors, I had to narrow down my object of study. I decided to focus on the textbook that I had used for two years as teacher.

Research Problem

The textbook *Immediate* and the Contemporary World course. Since 2010, grade eleven high school students in Quebec explore complex global issues in the mandatory course called Contemporary World (Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport [MELS], 2010). This course articulates many aspects of Global Citizenship Education (GCE). As a social sciences teacher from 2009-2011, I guided classes from the first cohort of students taking this course using *Immediate*, a textbook by Brodeur-Girard, Vanasse, Carrier, Corriveau-Tendland, and Pelchat (2010); Quebec high schools have purchased 23,609 copies of this book in French and 8,207 in English (C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 12, 2014). This publication, approved by Quebec's Ministry of Education, offers an overview of our modern globalized world. It will potentially influence a whole generation's understanding of world issues. The conditions under which this textbook was produced shows how this resource is especially tailored to Quebec's students and the province's dominant political perspectives.

Quebec's textbook industry. Quebec possesses a unique school textbook industry in North America that allows researchers to examine the province's mainstream values and perspectives. Whereas textbooks in the United States are largely geared towards the Texas and California markets (Zimmerman, 2004), and Canadian textbooks are geared towards all the provinces of English Canada, Quebec is unique in that many textbooks are designed explicitly to meet the criteria of the Quebec Ministry of Education's curriculum, due in part to the French language and to the particular cultural identity of the Quebec nation. This creates an opportunity for the researcher, since textbooks are a rich source for analysis of the official values and perspective of the

dominant class. In the words of textbook researcher John Issit, they demonstrate "the production of a hegemony of ideas that delimits the realm of the possible" (2004, p. 687). Furthermore, Issit argues that even though textbooks are "legitimized in the business of education by the assumption of political neutrality", once subjected to close scrutiny, "their status as ideologically neutral is rarely sustainable and their apolitical veneer easily stripped off" (p. 688). For the purpose of this study, I will focus on the seemingly apolitical presentation of neoliberalism in the textbook Immediate.

Neoliberalism and its discontents. Many authors argue that the most dominant ideology that reigns over politics and economics on a global scale since the 1970s is neoliberalism (Fairclough, 2006; Klein, 2007; Chomsky, 2011). According to Harvey (2005), the doctrine includes such traits as commodification, privatization, the weakening of organized labour power, and the dominance of multinational corporations and international finance. Intergovernmental institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO have particularly promoted and implemented policies that reflect these traits in developing countries. While neoliberalism is recognized as the dominant discourse, social justice movements have emerged as a counter discourse. Labour movements (Brosio, 2004), alter-globalization movements (Canet, 2010) and several NGOs such as the *Association pour la taxation des transactions financières et pour l'action citoyenne* (ATTAC) (Khalfa & Massiah, 2010) and Via Campesina (Desmarais, 2010) have resisted neoliberal policies all around the world. Thus, my research objective will focus on how these discourses constitute the subjectivities of the students-as-citizens in and through the textbooks, particularly Immediate.

Research Objective

The main objective of this research is to critically examine both the French and English versions of *Immediate* to discover how the most dominant economic and political discourse of our globalized world, neoliberalism, is presented in the textbook's seemingly objective overview. A rigorous analysis of this resource is needed to fully assess the approach used by the authors to present both neoliberal policies and social justice movements throughout the textbook. By emphasizing the resistance of social movements to neoliberal reforms, this study will manifest what Giroux (2004) calls an "oppositional practice" of political and cultural resistance, "central to any viable notion of critical citizenship, [and an] inclusive democracy" (2004, p. 500). Through this practice, inside and outside the classroom, students and their teachers can develop the critical thinking skills required to realize that, in the words of McLaren (2009), "knowledge is always an ideological construction linked to particular interests and social relations" (2009, p. 72). This mode of resistance influences and informs my research questions.

Research Questions

1. Does the course Contemporary World and its textbook *Immediate* promote, explicitly or implicitly, the neoliberal discourse of international finance institutions, transnational trade organizations, and multinational corporations?
2. How does the course and its textbook represent the resistance by the grassroots social justice movements, marginalized groups, and civil society who are opposed to the free-market doctrine?

3. In *Immediate,* what relationship does the author and the text establish with the high school student to convey the ongoing worldwide struggle between social justice groups and neoliberal forces?

4. How is neoliberal discourse used to promote or silence neoliberal practices and its oppositional social movements?

Research Limitations

Due to the limited scope of this research, there are several limitations. First, the use of Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodology (see Chapter 4) will be restrictively applied to the textbook *Immediate* and the curriculum of Contemporary World. This will not incorporate interviews with teachers or students in order to evaluate the *agency* of these readers and their interpretations of the text as Éthier, Lefrançois and Demers (2013) have done. Future research should involve several qualitative interviews with students and teachers to assess how they experience the discourse of this textbook and the overall curriculum. Second, I will not compare the textbook to other Contemporary World textbooks, thus there is no way to compare the discourse choices made by the authors here except with the GCE literature and the Ministry of Education curriculum. Moreover, other Quebec secondary school Social Science textbooks, especially in History, will not be compared to see what types of continuity or change occur between the discourses of these texts. Thus, future research would require a cross-comparison between several textbooks of the same course, as well as other Social Science textbooks produced and used in Quebec. Third, this thorough textbook analysis focuses on one single aspect: neoliberalism and its oppositional social movements. The focus is quite narrow, and while analyzing the text I will need to limit analyzing discursive patterns that are beyond

the purview of this research. Future research should incorporate other aspects relating to critical studies in order to examine these other equally important issues. Finally, the theoretical use of neoliberalism presents limitations in that it presents complex problems under a master narrative; this may present reductionist explanations that lack nuance at times. Other theoretical frameworks that may be less ambitious in its claims, and possibly less political, could also be explored in future research.

The Organization of the Thesis

After presenting my personal story in relation to this research and the main guiding elements of the study here in this introductory chapter, I will give a brief context of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 then explains Harvey's (2005) interpretations of neoliberalism that will be relevant to this textbook analysis, along with some context to situate the role of oppositional social movements against neoliberalism. Chapter 4 outlines the methodological approaches of Gee (2005, 2011, 2013, 2014) and Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2006, 2012) that I will use along with other textbook analysis methods. The data for this study and its analysis will also be presented. Chapter 5 examines the presentation of the neoliberal discourse in *Immediate* as well as its key figures: IFIs and multinationals. Chapter 6 explores the portrayal of five different social movements and discourses in the textbook, each possessing various degrees of opposition against neoliberalism: labour movements, NGOs resisting neoliberal practices, the alter-globalization movements, NGOs offering humanitarian aid, and the discourse of sustainable development. Chapter 7 looks at the type of global citizen that is modeled in *Immediate* and the curriculum of Contemporary World. Finally, in chapter 8 I sum up several significant trends in the findings of my study by answering the main research

questions. I will also briefly share some reflections based on my teaching experience with this course and its textbook.

Chapter 2: What is Global Citizenship Education (GCE)?

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I define Global Citizenship Education (GCE) based on a literature review, focusing on three different contributing fields: environmental education, development education, and citizenship education. I then explore two opposing discourses in GCE: neoliberal and critical democracy. Then, the role of neocolonialism in neoliberal discourse GCE is examined, as well as the often missing perspective of gender, class and race. In terms of formal curriculum practices, the application of GCE in school policy is explored in the UK, Quebec and Canada, as well as certain learning activities that are associated with GCE. The chapter ends with this study's particular academic contributions to the discipline.

GCE: an Environmental, Development and Civic Definition

Political theorists and education scholars cannot agree on what a global citizen is, or if it even exists (Pashby, 2011; Byers, 2005; Wood, 2008). Regardless of its theoretical ambiguities and disputes, GCE is promoted in school systems around the world. Evans, Ingram, MacDonald, and Weber (2009) synthesize seven broad learning practices that they found in dozens of academic articles that focus on GCE as well as several Canadian ministries of education policy documents. I will refer to these themes again in chapter 7 to see how they are addressed, or not, in the textbook and the curriculum of Contemporary World.

- deepen one's understanding of **global themes, structures, and systems** (e.g., interdependence, peace and conflict, sustainable development; geo-

political systems);

• explore and reflect upon one's **identity and membership through a lens of worldmindedness** (e.g., indigenous; local; national; cultural; religious);

• examine **diverse beliefs, values, and worldviews** within and across varied contexts that guide civic thinking and action (e.g. cultural; religious; secular; political);

• learn about **rights and responsibilities** within the context of civil society and varying governance systems from the local to the global (e.g., human rights; rights of the child; indigenous rights; corporate social responsibility);

• deepen understandings of **privilege, power, equity and social justice** within governing structures (e.g., personal to global inequities; power relations and power sharing);

• investigate **controversial global issues and ways for managing and deliberating conflict** (e.g., ecological; health; terrorism/security; human rights);

• develop **critical civic literacy capacities** (e.g., critical inquiry, decision-making, media literacy, futures thinking, conflict management); and

• learn about and engage in **informed and purposeful civic action** (e.g., community involvement and service, involvement with non-governmental organizations and organizations supporting youth agency, development of civic engagement capacities). (2011, p. 21)

With these diverse aims, GCE is a meeting ground for various disciplines and perspectives. According to Mannion, Biesta, Priestley, and Ross (2011), there are three

main disciplines that inform GCE**:** environmental education, development education, and citizenship education. Let's briefly look at how each discipline contributes to GCE.

Environmental Education. Scholars have recently witnessed the rise of a technocratic style of policy education through the discourse of sustainability (Huckle, 2008; Gruenewald, 2003; Gough, 2002; Mannion et al., 2011). Hopkins (2012) notes that the persistence of social movements pressuring governments and international organizations such as the UN served as an important precursor to sustainability education being accepted by many countries around the world. The results of this grassroots pressure are reflected in one of Quebec's "Broad Areas of Learning" which revolves around environmental awareness: this cross-curricular aspect is thus touched upon all throughout primary and secondary school. Unfortunately, such institutional trends do not incorporate the more radical contributions of eco-socialism (Hill & Boxley, 2007) and Eco-Justice (Bowers, 2002) that denounce and deconstruct the neoliberal practices that devastate environments, especially those of marginalized communities. In response to the hegemonic discourse in the diplomatic sustainability discourse that influences Environmental Education, the Via Campesina international movement considers this discourse to be an attempt to green wash capitalism without stopping its environmentally unsustainable practices, especially neglecting awareness about the dispossession of peasant land by multinational corporations and states (Desmarais, 2010). Sustainability discourse assumes that green technology and diplomatic agreements will tame the excesses of capitalism and consumerism. In this way, environmental curricula and the teachers who implement them do not often critique or question an economic system that depends on perpetual exploitative growth (Kahn, 2010). Thus, environmentalist

movements with more radical stances on neoliberalism, meat consumption, animal cruelty, GMOs, environmental racism, and property destruction are often shunned from mainstream Environmental Education programs (Kahn, 2010). What's more, they reflect hegemonic views that equate direct action with terrorism (Vanderheiden, 2005), as we will see in this study. Without including the voices of radical environmental movements in Environmental Education, there can be little criticism of neoliberalism's environmental destruction. Similarly, Development Education often avoids critiquing neoliberalism.

Development Education. Development Education has greatly contributed to GCE. This is in large part due to NGOs and international aid organizations such as Oxfam and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), respectively. Despite their shortcomings in terms of their role in what is often seen as sugar coating or justifying neoimperial policies (Choudry, 2010), NGOs and development agencies took part in grassroots movements to place Development Education in the news and in the classroom beginning in the 1970s. As outlined by Evans *et al.* (2009), "various charities, academics, teacher-practitioners [...] and various educational movements (e.g., peace education, development education, environmental education) together contributed to a myriad of new theories, methods and conceptual models to teach global issues and related transnational themes" (2009, p. 26). However, the development proposed by large organizations such as CIDA mostly served the interests of the funding country (Engler, 2010). In a similar fashion, Citizenship Education usually serves the interests of the country's dominant class interests.

Citizenship Education. Citizenship Education (CE) is an important agent for national cohesion. Students are assimilated into the identities and perspectives that serve

the interests of the government's dominant groups; without this indoctrination, Waks (2006) and others argue that the state would have few loyal and submissive subjects. In the U.K., CE and History education were introduced in the late 19th century mass schooling institutions for nationalist purposes. According to Cole (2004), "the school curriculum [is] crucial in preparing male members of an imperial 'race' for both combat (imperial warriors) and citizenship (imperial citizens)" (p. 526). For most of the 20th century, CE in Anglo-Saxon countries focused on the dull mystified mechanisms of governments and one's responsibilities to their country and fellow citizens. Over the past 40 years, a critical democratic discourse has been pursued mostly by NGOs, scholars, and education practitioners, which seeks to provide "opportunities for students to think critically about the implications of power vested in these [governmental] structures and procedures" (Evans et al., 2009, p. 26). Pashby goes further by contending that the UK, American and Canadian CE programs of the past and present lack an essential self-critique of North-Western hegemony (Pashby, 2011, p. 438). Of course, such concerns are not priorities for most education bureaucracies. Today, the popular understanding of school is that it must act as a factory that efficiently transforms children into employees/workers (Giroux, 2004). Before, CE in particular did not formally address the economic growth of the nation, but today many GCE courses are implemented by policy makers in order to prepare students with the competencies that will enable them to compete in the global economy (Mannion et al., 2011, p. 450). These two opposing yet co-existing discourses in GCE can be broken down into the following two categories.

Two Opposing Cosmopolitan Discourses: Neoliberal/Critical Democracies

Camicia & Franklin (2011) posit two opposing views of GCE: a neoliberal cosmopolitan discourse and a critical democratic cosmopolitan discourse. The former emphasises "a global community that is best related by market rationality", while the latter is "a heightened discourse of global responsibility and a call for explicit responses to contemporary globalisation" (p. 314). Similarly, de Oliveira Andreotti (2006) contrasts "soft" from critical global citizenship. Both discourses acknowledge and explain how citizenship today is foregrounded by our transnational, intergovernmental and environmentally connected world. However, these two perspectives perform totally different functions. Whereas the critical democratic cosmopolitan discourse calls for cultivating students with worldmindedness, environmental consciousness, empathy and perspective (Evans et al., 2009), Hill (2004) argues that the neoliberal cosmopolitan discourse in education promotes imperialistic, militaristic, exploitative, environmentally destructive and neoliberal global capital. Schools are not exceptional: they merely follow the trend set by the dominant international institutions that facilitate the US-led multinational hegemony. In light of this phenomenon, Hill (2004) argues that History and Social Studies high school courses give researchers the policy documents, curricula, resources and teaching practices that explicitly reveal where governments and their education systems position themselves in relation to neoliberalism. Before describing the neoliberal discourse through its neocolonial aspects, let me briefly introduce the critical democratic discourse in GCE.

Critical democracy GCE. Critical democratic GCE scholars and teachers attempt to teach about the Majority World (Grech, 2009) or the Global South with a critical

stance.[2] To accomplish this, de Oliveira Andreotti (2011) calls for just that in what she calls “hyper-self-reflexivity” (p. 395). Similarly, to avoid neocolonial interpretations, Santos (2007) uses the term “abyssal thinking”: modern Western global political thought has imagined and created two sides of an abyssal line that divides the presumably civilized world with the other world where poverty, famine, war, and all forms of economic injustice simply happen without any responsibility taken by those who are safe and sound on the industrialized, air-conditioned side of the abyssal line. This duality must be deconstructed in GCE. Pashby (2011) points out that the “citizen-self” is targeted in the state-run Western schools, and so even though students take on the task to “know” and “include” the “Others”, these subjects of study are “excluded” from the whole process “and thus marginalized” (p. 437). De Oliveira Andreotti (2011) argues that GCE learners should strike a balance between a rational ethnocentrism that is misunderstood as universal on one hand, and absolute relativism on the other. In this way, teachers can offer a variety of perspectives that acknowledge difference and plurality, while also critiquing their own beliefs and the ideology presented by the dominant institutions that govern global citizens.

Teachers as well must constantly undergo this process with the students, so that the classroom is composed of a teacher-learner working with learner-teachers who mutually inform each other throughout the transformations of their global understanding (Freire, 1970). Carr (2013) places a critical political literacy within the context of a “thick democracy” that is fostered by a “critically-engaged educational experience” (p. 197). Part of this process should be informed by what Freire calls “conscientization” which

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[2] I will refrain to use the terms 'third world' and 'developing world' due to their implied hegemonic discourse that privileges the wealthier Minority World or the Global North.

makes us aware of our relationships with others in terms of power and oppression. Questioning hegemonic power structures, privilege, racism, blind patriotism and social injustices are key features of oppositional thinking and free thought which are essential to creating "a democratically literate, engaged, and inclusive society" (p. 198). Carr outlines how a thick democracy is characterized by "critical engagement, political literacy, and meaningful teaching and learning, and largely surpasses the thinner notion of elections that is normatively connected to the essence of democracy" (p. 199). These values are key to avoiding neocolonial attitudes in Social Studies courses.

Neocolonialism mixed with neoliberalism in GCE. Unwittingly, GCE teachers risk promoting neocolonialism, a term first used by the Ghanaian politician Kwame Nkrumah (1965): it has been used over the past fifty years to describe how many countries and former colonies are controlled economically and culturally through North Western governments, multinational corporations, and intergovernmental institutions like the IMF and the World Bank. De Oliveira Andreotti (2011) urges GCE practitioners to be careful in how they refer to the "Other" or else they may propagate "epistemic imperialism" where the Eurocentric perspective of the world's people, earth, and various economic activities are represented as universal. This may homogenize, pave over and silence the diverse worldviews of local cultures, thus giving the impression that developing countries cannot survive without European/North American aid, expertise or military intervention. This type of discourse encourages a neoliberal worldview that considers poverty to be the result of failing to allow the laws of the market dictate government policies. It also masks the violent economic imperialism of Western organizations that impoverished countries are subjected to. Mannion *et al*. (2011, p. 452)

note that this type of Western perspective of GCE leaves little room for most nations and peoples to possess self-determination, autonomy and alternative visions. This presents a potential danger: the self-righteousness and neocolonial assumptions of students and teachers may reinforce privilege and mute any critique of neoliberal hegemony. This tradition dates back to the origins of CE.

Old colonial habits. It is important to remember that at the turn of the 20th century, British school teachers thought they were broadening the horizons of their students by using "World Peoples" textbooks that described Indians and Afghans as totally unfit to rule themselves (Cole, 2004). These texts articulated the "African" as "An overgrown child, vain, self-indulgent, and fond of idleness. Life is so easy to him in his native home that he has never developed the qualities of industry, self-denial and forethought" (Cited in Cole, 2004, p. 528). Thankfully, this racist discourse is largely absent today. However, Cole argues that GCE still glorifies cultural and financial neoimperialism where trade is financially, politically and militarily forced to serve the interests of US-led hegemony capital (p. 532). Moreover, the majority world is often seen in terms of their poverty or their economic relations to Anglo-Saxon countries (Broom, 2010). To avoid these neoliberal outcomes, GCE practitioners need an approach to answer de Oliveira Andreotti's (2011) question: "How do we support learners in the difficult stages of this undoing when they face the uncertainty, fear, anger and possible paralysis that comes in the early stages of the renegotiation of (and of disenchantment with) epistemic privilege?" (p. 385). Teachers in industrialized countries like Canada and the UK should keep these questions in mind.

Global Citizenship Education in Canada and the UK

GCE in the UK. In the mid 1980s, over half of the education authorities in England and Wales had high school teachers working with the World Studies 8-13 project, often using resources from aid agencies and development education centres, but the tide turned when a neoconservative movement purged GCE from the curriculum, and for the following decade the focus in high school social sciences shifted to an Anglo-centric perspective (Holden, 2000). Despite this setback, NGOs, the Department for International Development, and education departments pushed to bring back the "global dimension" to schools. As a result, today GCE has a cross-curricular presence, with the two following key concepts appearing in UK policy documents: an understanding of social justice and the diversity of values and worldviews (Mannion et al., 2011, p. 444). Nevertheless, Broom (2010) still argues that the UK's social sciences curricula remain "British-Eurocentric". Their history program, according to the UK Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, has students learn about "political, legal and human rights and freedoms in a range of contexts from local to global" as well as a general view of world history (cited in Broom, 2010, p. 2). Despite this worldly perspective, there is no specific mandatory GCE course. The opposite is true in the province of Quebec.

GCE in Quebec. According to the literature that examines high school curricula for the Canadian provinces (Ontario, British Columbia, Nova Scotia, Quebec), the UK, and the USA, Quebec is the only educational authority that makes a GCE high school course mandatory. Contemporary World looks at the following issues in a non-chronological order: environment, population, power, wealth and conflict (MELS, 2010). This is a tremendous breakthrough for GCE, and thus this new course should be the focus

of GCE scholars. Even before this course was implemented, the history curriculum and other courses in Quebec placed a great deal of emphasis on the international dimension. For example, in History courses, students are required to compare Quebec to countries around the world. Moreover, students are meant to learn about international and local feminist, environmentalist, unionist and alter-globalization movements as part of a mandatory history unit called: "Official power and countervailing powers" which does not merely show the apparatus of representative democracy, but the social movements that take to the streets in order to influence the reigning government (MELS, 2010). The new Contemporary World course has been mandatory since 2010. However, little research has been done to examine how the curriculum is implemented and the type of discourse it promotes. This is one of the reasons why I chose this topic: it has important implications for GCE in Canada.

GCE in Canada. As for the rest of Canada, many provinces offer World Issues courses but they are not mandatory, and often they are not even available to students who wish to take them. Broom (2010) criticizes some of these courses for their stereotyping of the Global South and their simplistic notion of globalization as a world community, while praising Quebec's overall curriculum for its more international outlook. In particular, Broom denounces the trend in Ontario towards a type of neoliberal cosmopolitanism that presents a shift "in favor of the global marketplace and places a new emphasis on standards, testing, and narrowly defined practical skills, emphasizing basic literacy and numeracy and work related skills over such themes as intercultural understanding, peace, social justice and equity" (p. 5). In contrast, these last themes, which are clearly part of a critical democratic cosmopolitan discourse, manifest themselves in Quebec's

Contemporary World curriculum. However, while GCE content is addressed such as global themes, structures, systems, and purposeful civic action, the suggested authentic learning activities do not necessarily correspond to the recommendations in GCE literature (MELS, 2010).

Learning Activities in GCE

In terms of learning activities, GCE promotes authentic learning tasks, but this is often not done in practice. Group work, problem-based learning, critical thinking, independent research projects, interactive learning, art projects and other progressive educational means are used to get youths to familiarize themselves with world issues (Broom, 2010; Evans et al., 2009). Although standardization and rote learning has been on the rise in school systems, there is also a simultaneous movement in the arts and Social Studies that advocate for authentic learning. Flynn (2009) explains that discussion groups, problem-based learning exercises, and action projects that are chosen by students are essential to an engaging Social Studies course (p. 2050). In GCE learning situations, Evans *et al*. (2009) recommend that students should have the opportunity to learn "in varied contexts, whole school activities, and in one's communities, from the local to the global (e.g., community participation; international e-exchanges; virtual communities)" (p. 22). McKenzie's (2006) study of GCE in three high schools focuses on the students using critical thinking in order to understand global issues. The most successful learning, she argues, occurs when students are able to deconstruct discourses, especially from their favourite medium, television, to see what interests and ideologies lie behind them. Cole (2004) goes further and suggests that a critical analysis of neoimperialism from classical, Keynesian, post-modern and Marxist perspectives should be taught in schools. Although

this practice might prove to be challenging for adolescents, Gallavan & Kottler (2009) have compiled several "empowering" graphic organizers that can be used to explore such complex topics in the Social Sciences. Quebec's Contemporary World curriculum leaves room for creative and authentic learning activities, although there is a disproportionate emphasis on research techniques (MELS, 2010). A more feelings-based approach is recommended by high school teacher Jack Zevin (1993), who views empathy activities as the path towards decolonizing ethnocentric thinking and sparking interest in world issues. For ready-to-teach lesson plans that use this affective approach, teachers can access a plethora of online resources provided by NGOs such as Oxfam. Instead of focusing on these group-based learning activities, I have decided to investigate the more traditional and individual learning activity revolving around the textbook *Immediate* and the curriculum of the Quebec course Contemporary World.

My Academic Contributions to GCE

With no academic research published on Quebec's new high school GCE course, I aim to contribute my findings to the international literature on high school global citizenship education (Holden, 2000; Scapp, 1993; Zevin, 1993; Broom, 2010; Camicia & Franklin, 2011; de Oliveira Andreotti, 2006; Wood, 2008). Not only will this research add to the local literature on the recent educational reform in Quebec (Barma, 2011; Dionne & Potvin, 2007; Henchey, 1999), it will show other education scholars and practitioners how this global studies course is unique in that it is mandatory: very few secondary school systems in the world require all students to take a global citizenship course. Through my textbook analysis, I will also test the findings of McGray (2012) who posited that today citizenship education manifests "a normalizing and legitimizing

function of what serves the dominant interests – globalization." (p. 27). This will be done through the analysis of the Contemporary World curriculum and its textbook *Immediate*, with a focus on how neoliberalism and oppositional social movements are presented.

Chapter 3: Setting the Context of Neoliberalism and Its Discontents

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I begin by outlining the social theory and practice of neoliberalism. After briefly outlining some examples of its role in education, I describe the main characteristics of neoliberal policies. The free market doctrine theory is contrasted with the neoliberal practices that serve wealthy states, and the project of class restoration through financialization is demonstrated. Then, the institutions that promote neoliberalism as well as those who benefit from it are briefly introduced. The human rights rhetoric of neoliberalism is problematized in terms of its selective freedoms, false claims surrounding poverty eradication, humanitarian aid industry, and humanitarian justifications for military interventions. The chapter ends with a brief description of social movements that oppose neoliberalism with a particular emphasis on labour movements, alter-globalization movements, and militant NGOs.

The Social Theory and Practice of Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism in education. Neoliberalism has influenced all spheres of society, including education. Education scholars have prolifically documented this phenomenon in terms of the influence of corporations and globalization in public education (Wartella, 1995; Giroux, 2004; Sonu, 2012), tenuous labour relations (Taylor, McGray, Watt-Malcolm, 2007; Sattler, 2012), the push for competitive and quantifiable standardized testing (Graham & Neu, 2004), and the dominance of empirical education research (Hyslop-Margison, Hamalian, & Anderson, 2006; Naseem & Arshad-Ayaz, 2013). Despite critical research on the presence of neoliberalism in scholastic textbooks and

curricula (Broom, 2010; Carr, 2007; Cole, 2004; Huang, 2012; Hill, 2004; Gandin & Apple, 2002; Rogers, Mosley, & Folkes, 2009; Stairs & Hatch, 2008), its presence in world issues and global citizenship textbooks, especially in the context of Quebec, has yet to be explored. For the focus of this thesis to be fully contextualized, the theoretical framework used to understand neoliberalism now needs to be explained in detail.

The main characteristics of neoliberal policies. I rely mostly on Harvey's (2005) interpretation of neoliberalism and its history: between the end of World War I and ending in the 1970s, the industrialized countries enjoyed what is known as the thirty glorious years under Keynesian policies that balanced state intervention and free market economic policies. These mixed economies, varying in terms of protectionism and social protections from one state to the other, promoted a general rise in the standard of living. Beginning in the 1970s, a new political doctrine was born: neoliberalism. Harvey (2005) posits that neoliberalism redistributes wealth through dispossession in order to restore or create a rich dominant class. Here he lists some of the strategies used to achieve this.

> These include the commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations (compare the cases [...] of Mexico and of China, where 70 million peasants are thought to have been displaced in recent times); conversion of various forms of property rights (common, collective, state, etc.) into exclusive private property rights (most spectacularly represented by China); suppression of rights to the commons; commodification of labour power and the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption; colonial, neocolonial, and imperial processes of appropriation of assets (including natural resources); monetization of exchange and taxation, particularly of land; the

> slave trade (which continues particularly in the sex industry); and usury, the national debt and, most devastating of all, the use of the credit system as a radical means of accumulation by dispossession. (p. 159)

In this way, the promoters of neoliberalism have been dismantling progressive state policies and regulations across the world through state redistribution from the poor and the middle class to the rich: privatization of public services, institutions and resources; the dominance of international finance and multinational corporations over the world economy, governments and international institutions; the systematic management of crises to benefit transnational capital interests and local and national elites; the commodification of labour and the destruction of organized labour (pp. 160-170). This is Harvey's definition of neoliberalism, which he distinguishes from the contradictions between the theory and practice of the free market doctrine.

The free market doctrine: practice versus theory. Following on the economic philosophy of Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman was the influential economist and leader of the Chicago School of Economics that provided and promoted the theory for the free market political doctrine, or *laissez-faire* capitalism (Harvey, 2005; Klein, 2007). Calling for the freedom of choice, he proposes that governments should minimize the possible role in terms of economic intervention and protectionism in world trade. This means that most industries other than the military and legal institutions must be ruled by the supposedly natural laws of the market, with as little government regulation and interference as possible. According to this theory, the laissez-faire state should "favour strong individual private property rights, the rule of law, and the institutions of freely functioning markets and free trade" (Harvey, 2005, p. 64).

Harvey points out that this theory is simple enough to define, but its practice departs from the model. For example, neoliberal states will give free reign to "financial institutions through deregulation, but then they also all too often guarantee the integrity and solvency of financial institutions at no matter what cost" (p. 73). This means that the state paradoxically ends up intervening in powerful ways, for example through bank bail-outs that costs billions of dollars: this was exemplified most recently in the 2008 world economic crisis (Congleton, 2009).

Another example of this cognitive dissonance is demonstrated by the fact that the world's most powerful economy is supposed to be governed by neoliberal rules yet it follows Keynesian policies: the US resorts to astronomical deficit financing for military industrial complex and unbridled consumerism, while China, another important motor of the neoliberal hegemony, applies a great deal of state intervention in its economy (Harvey, 2005, p. 152). Neoliberalism, as understood by Harvey and other social scientists, accounts for these contradictions, going beyond the free market doctrine of Friedman and his acolytes that now dominates economics schools and international finance institutions (IFIs) worldwide (p. 93). The major feature of neoliberalism is its ultimate consequence: the creation and strengthening of a global ruling class. We will now see how this can be empirically observed.

Class restoration through financialization. Harvey argues that the hidden agenda behind the free market doctrine and its pursuers is to create a greater disparity of wealth, both locally and internationally, in order for wealth to be more concentrated. By setting the conditions for unlimited capital accumulation, the ultimate end goal is to restore the power to an economic ruling class (Harvey, 2005, p. 19), regardless of whether it

enhances the wealth of established elite families or if it creates a new bourgeoisie (p. 104). These effects are observed in terms of the growing disparity of wealth between the rich and the rest at the international level but also within most countries (Harvey, 2005). One means to achieve this end is through the "financialization of everything" (p. 33), including multinationals that are now more concerned with their stock market value than the value of what they produce. Through market deregulation, capital has been able to seek shelter from taxes through various means, most notably through tax havens and various schemes that are legal, illegal, or somewhere in between (Khalfa & Massiah, 2010). Not only does this benefit the bank accounts of the rich classes, but it gives the collective transnational capital the means to govern countries undemocratically. Chomsky (2002) and others call this the "virtual senate".

> Free capital movement creates what has been called a "virtual senate" with "veto power" over government decisions, sharply restricting policy options. In this context, governments face a "dual constituency" - first, voters; second, speculators who "conduct moment-by-moment referenda" on government policies (quoting technical studies of the financial system). Even in rich countries, the constituency of private interests prevails. (p. 504)

As we will see below, this power of this "virtual senate" has been facilitated in large part by the IFIs.

The institutions promoting neoliberalism's hegemonic discourse. There are several international institutions that represent what Harvey calls a "hegemonic [...] mode of discourse" (Harvey, 2005, p. 3). The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) regulate global finance, trade and

development in order to dissolve trade barriers and free capital from state intervention. The WTO's privileged role is to "set neoliberal standards and rules for interaction in the global economy" which will "open up as much of the world as possible to unhindered capital flow" (p. 93). Its hegemony is demonstrated by the fact that 159 member states are now part of the WTO, with 25 observer states awaiting their accession (WTO, 2014). The WTO has been criticized for being fundamentally coercive (Peet, 2003) and embodying "disciplinary neoliberalism" by imposing free market policies in order to serve the interests of transnational capital (Gill, 1995; 2008). The IMF is equally criticized for functioning as a neoliberal institution without necessarily practicing the economic theory that they preach: Harvey (2005) echoes what many critics have voiced by describing these IFIs as "centres of raw power mobilized by particular powers or collections of powers seeking particular advantage" (p. 94), citing the 1997 Asian crisis as an obvious example of the IMF's role in liquidating several countries of their assets, in large part thanks to the deregulated financial market policies that they had counselled the developing countries' governments to put in place (p. 97). As for the World Bank, they are also renown for their neoliberal prescriptions, as Sukarieh and Tannock (2008) demonstrate by revealing how the World Bank's "Global Youth Empowerment Project" calls for states to apply policies that would certainly disempower young workers: lowering the minimum wage, eliminating restrictive labour regulations and unions, reducing public sector salaries and employment, and pursuing free trade policies. Since such policies are typical of the IFIs' neoliberal discourse, I intend to examine if these policies and stances are addressed in the textbook *Immediate*, and if so, how.

The institutions benefiting from neoliberalism: multinational corporations.

Multinational corporations were important players in the rise and dominance of neoliberalism around the world, and so it is no surprise that the neoliberal system benefits them the most. Multinationals are of course essential sources of wealth for the capitalist class, and thus for Harvey this is part of neoliberalism's project for class restoration. In the 1970s, US businesses started to act as a collective class to defend themselves against legislation that harmed their interests such as progressive labour law reforms, higher taxes on corporations, and consumer protection; meanwhile they began lobbying in unison for subsidies, lower corporate taxes, and less regulations (Harvey, 2005, p. 48). As their collective lobbying power grew, democracy became corrupted by legal corporate funding and pressure (p. 78). Similar scenarios occurred in other countries to greater or lesser extents. One key strategy for corporations to dispossess wealth from the state is through privatization of public corporations, often at bargain prices (Harvey, 2005; Klein, 2007). To facilitate this, the "revolving door" of high-placed public officials and well-paid private business people occurs not only in Washington but also in most state capitals around the world (Harvey, 2005, p. 77). Another common set up is private-public partnerships: they often manage to privatize the profits and socialize the cost, meaning the state will provide the resources for the unprofitable aspect of an industry (Johnston, 2007). This leaves the profit-generating aspect to a private corporation, often a multinational (Harvey, 2005, pp. 76-77). This same pattern is seen when university research in the US, paid for by the state, offers innovative discoveries in science and technology that are then mass produced and sold by private corporations that are the sole ones to benefit financially (p. 52). Although most longstanding multinationals are used to

receiving investments directly through subsidies and contracts or indirectly through infrastructure and the welfare state, the neoliberal context has liberated them from their state dependency. Now the multinationals may independently access foreign capital and markets without the state, at least in theory (Harvey, 2005). Also, the business class now wields the economic clout to pressure the state to design policy that is to their advantage (p. 116). They can easily attain their objectives from government policies domestically and abroad through capital strikes/flight, funding political campaigns, lobbying, bribery, and setting the economic agenda in tandem with the IFIs and the dominant class (p. 116). While these practices generate great wealth for the global economic elite, the actions conflict with the neoliberal rhetoric of human rights.

The 'Human Face' Rhetoric of Neoliberal Discourse

Neoliberal... yeah, rights. Harvey is most (cynically) impressed by neoliberal theory in its ability to provide a generous and righteous aura composed of "wonderful-sounding words like freedom, liberty, choice, and rights, to hide the grim realities of the restoration or reconstitution of naked class power" (Harvey, 2005, 119). The hypocrisy of such espoused values is exposed in the way that neoliberalism's main concern is to create hospitable business climates that favour multinationals and their private shareholders, while sacrificing the following: the freedom for people to enjoy their environment without pollution, the freedom to join a worker's union and enjoy safe working conditions, and the freedom for a people to have democratic sovereignty over their government. In the majority world of the Global South as well as the minority world of the Global North, countless examples of neoliberal policies infringe on these freedoms in order to privilege international business interests while enriching the local elites (Engler,

2010; Gordon, 2010). Let's consider how neoliberalism generates poverty, rather than eliminating it.

Poverty eradication. Three decades of globally institutionalized neoliberalism has created more poverty, yet neoliberal discourse claims to alleviate poverty. Harvey (2005) demonstrates how despite the rhetoric of "the quintessential neoliberal document, the WTO agreement" (p. 176) which claims to seek to raise the standard of living, attain full employment, protect and preserve the environment, amongst other progressive goals, the WTO's actual policies result in mass impoverishment and environmental destruction. While agreements such as the Millennium Development Goals to eradicate poverty contain the language and aims of solidarity and social justice, its mandate is contradicted by neoliberal conventions set by IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programs that enforce austerity measures, meaning that public services such as education and health care are cut or rendered inaccessible to the economically marginalized (p. 187). These reforms disproportionately punish women who use more services for their reproductive and child-rearing needs (Rakowski, 2000; Vargas, 2003). Despite Third Way policies that try to give a "human face" (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2008, p. 308) to neoliberalism through philanthropy, such a world wide political doctrine is simply not compatible with increasing the standard of living of the extremely poor, the moderately poor, the working class or the middle class. In this mode of a so-called 'sustainable development', humanitarian NGOs receive financial aid to make up for the disparity of wealth generated or worsened by neoliberal reforms.

Humanitarian and other NGOs: complicit with neoliberalism. NGOs are essential for neoliberal reforms. First, they pacify populations that have lost their public

services due to austerity measures (Harvey, 2005, p. 64; Kane, 2013). Rather than contesting privatization and its creation of inaccessible health services, social movements may be pacified by NGOs such as Oxfam that take over the role of the welfare state (Best, Kahn, Nocella, & McLaren, 2011; Choudry, 2013). Thus, the second point to consider is the conflict of interest for humanitarian NGOs: for them, neoliberal reforms in the Global South can result in more aid funding and bigger operations (Choudry, 2010). The World Bank and the IMF not only dispossess people of their state budgets, public services, and environmental resources, but they decide what type of health care the insolvent nation's citizens will receive. During the 1980s and 90s, the Washington Consensus dictated the austerity measures for bankrupt countries while also deciding which NGOs, often from the Global North, would set up shop in the economically colonized country. The third reason why NGOs are complicit with neoliberalism is that they often promote a 'celebrity humanitarianism'; Müller (2013) argues that this donor-consumer perspective propagates stereotypes about the economically marginalized of the Global South as helpless aid recipients without agency. Moreover, this discourse does not consider politics and thus these types of NGOs often avoid denouncing neoliberal reforms or other political injustices. Still, this discourse and social practice has been said to have changed in the past decade or so: according to Murray and Overton (2011), neoliberalism has been widely proven to be a failure in terms of poverty eradication. Development scholars, professionals and institutions (even some of the IFIs) have attempted to abandon aspects of the neoliberal ideology with what some may call Third Wayism (Webb & Collis, 2000), while others call sustainable development (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010). Murray and Overton (2011) links this new movement to

neostructural practices that gained credibility in Latin America during the 1990s. While I intend to critique the humanitarian aid discourse in *Immediate* for its hidden aid to neoliberal practices, I will also attempt to convey any traces of this somewhat post-neoliberal discourse, neostructuralism, that may be equally present. There is a more bellicose aspect to this humanitarian discourse that we will now consider.

'Humanitarian militarism'. In the name of humanitarianism, IFIs and economic powers have much to gain from invading a sovereign state and then opening its industries to multinationals. While neoliberalism could theoretically be compatible with a peaceful internationalism as represented, to a certain extent, by the WTO and UN institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank, in practice powerful states such as the US justify what Harvey dubs "military humanism in the name of protecting freedom, human rights and democracy even when [...] pursued unilaterally" (Harvey, 2005, pp. 178-9). The contradictions of these belligerent actions have been heavily condemned by the international communities in some cases such as Iraq (Schwartz, 2007), and tolerated or ignored in other cases such as the 2005 coup d'état of Haiti led by the US, France, and Canada (Engler, 2009). These post-invasion economies serve neoliberal interests with schemes for privatization, corrupt public private partnerships, and the dispossession of resources: Schwartz (2007) shows how this is the case in many post-invaded countries, focusing particularly on Iraq. While this 'invisible fist' in supposedly free market economies is tantamount for the class restoration project of neoliberalism (Best et al., 2011), I will limit this aspect of profitable neoliberal or neoconservative warfare in my analysis since, as Roberts, Secor and Sparke (2003) acknowledge:

> We do not want to claim too much for neoliberalism. It cannot explain everything, least of all the diverse brutalities of what happened in Iraq. Moreover, in connecting neoliberal norms to the vagaries of geopolitics, we risk corrupting the analytical purchase of neoliberalism on more clearly socioeconomic developments. (p. 895)

Thus, although geopolitical warfare does work together with neoliberal policies, the scope of my analysis will focus on the strength of the neoliberal theory as Harvey (2005) defines it: class restoration through radical economic reforms. Nevertheless, this humanitarian militarism shows how neoliberal discourse adapts to other discourses while subtly changing their paradigms. The same phenomenon is observed in today's social movements.

Neoliberalism's Fragmented Discontents

Prior to neoliberalism in the 1970s, Harvey (2005) notes that most social justice movements were linked together through the discourse of Marxist and socialist ideals. The popular discourse in these movements focused on class struggle and worker resistance. However, since the rise of neoliberalism and post-structuralism, identity politics and narrow issue-campaigns have become the norm (Harvey, 2005). Personally, I find Harvey's lament of today's classless and splintered struggles to be lacking in terms of understanding the reason why class must be acknowledged along with gender, race, nationality and other intersectional forms of oppression (Nesbit, 2006). However, I feel that Harvey (2005) is correct in showing the potential dangers of such identities overshadowing and obliterating the consideration of class interests.

> The neoliberal insistence upon the individual as the foundational element in political-economic life opens the door to individual rights activism. But by focusing

> on those rights rather than on the creation or recreation of substantive and open democratic governance structures, the [grassroots] opposition [against neoliberalism] cultivates methods that cannot escape the neoliberal frame. Neoliberal concern for the individual trumps any social democratic concern for equality, democracy, and social solidarities. (p. 176)

Here, the "opposition" being referred to is made up of the civil society groups around the world who are, mostly, strong opponents of neoliberalism but at times inadvertently serve the neoliberal agenda. After having sketched the basic tenets of neoliberalism, now it is time to meet its grassroots opposition as well as its denunciatory but often complicit partners.

Social justice groups. There is a large diversity of social justice movements around the world that fervently oppose the policies and practices of neoliberalism, including students, feminists, indigenous groups, LGBTQ activists, environmentalists, pacifists, anti-capitalists, anti-oppression movements, and many others. Social movements can include NGOs such as Greenpeace and ATTAC, as well as unions, but they often possess horizontal relationships amongst vast regional and even international networks with very little to no institutional structure (de Sousa Santos, 2010). In this section I will outline some of these movements and their role in slowing down if not altogether stopping the neoliberal onslaught. As Zizek has proposed, leftist thinkers and actors should do what Walter Benjamin proposed: not ride the train of history, but to instead pull the brake (O'Hagan, 2010). It is the role of social justice movements and civil society to critique and resist neoliberal programmes that create oppression, environmental devastation, and larger disparities of wealth. While analyzing the

dominant discourse of neoliberalism in *Immediate*, I will observe how the counter discourse of these social justice movements are presented, or not, in the textbook. The abandonment of class will be understood as an element of neoliberal discourse, which has also influenced social justice perspectives.

Despite the strength of these movements, Harvey (2005) critiques their US manifestations in particular for abandoning the Marxist focus on class which he argues leaves the opposition "fragmented, rudderless, and lacking coherent organization" and is in large part due to "the self-inflicted wounds within the labour movement, within the movements that have broadly embraced identity politics, and within all those post-modern intellectual currents that accord [...] that truth is both socially constructed and a mere effect of discourse" (p. 197). Moreover, he laments that many progressives consider the concept of class as a meaningless, outdated category. Since Harvey views neoliberalism as the trajectory of "ever-increasing upper class power" (p. 202), its opposition must either engage in class struggle or accept its loss. A section of my analysis will focus on class since this is a standard consideration for critical scholarship in education (Nesbit 2006; McLaren, 2009), with special attention to the space made in the textbook for the labour movements.

Labour resistance. One of neoliberalism's most stubborn opponents has been organized labour. Harvey (2005) argues that unions have often presented "strong and in some instances insurmountable barriers", making the process of "weakening (as in Britain and the US), bypassing (as in Sweden), or violently destroying (as in Chile) the powers of organized labour [...] a necessary precondition for neoliberalization" (p. 116). Conversely, the involvement of unions is a key practice in embedded liberalism, or a

mixed economy that involves a free market economy overseen by socialist policies of state intervention and wealth redistribution. Labour struggles are responsible for a great deal of government instituted social measures that guarantee safer work conditions, job stability, better pay, etc. Conversely, neoliberal policies attempt to deregulate labour markets for greater business flexibility which results in fewer or weaker unions and greater employment *précarité* (Harvey, 2005). In my analysis, I will pay special attention to how the general disempowerment of workers is portrayed, or not, in *Immediate*. Harvey outlines how neoliberalism manifests itself in different forms all around the world in large part due to the fights put up by organized labour (Harvey, 2005). For these reasons, labour movements have been at the frontline in the defence against neoliberal policies and play an important role in funding progressive movements; Brosio (2004) explains how unions, as an important counter-weight to capital, have used their resources to mobilize the concerns of citizens throughout the world. It is true that the current alliance between capital, business and the state offer bleak odds for progressive social movement unionism based on alliances with grassroots networks and NGOs (Visser, 2003, p. 450). However, success stories still persists, such as Quebec's recent "Red-Hand-Coalition" for public services, which assembled 125 organizations including "trade unions from the healthcare and education sectors, municipal policy campaigns, anti-poverty initiatives, and environmental organizations" (Solty, 2012). In 2012, they played an important role in the internationally renown and victorious student union movement against the privatization and commodification of higher education, which managed to significantly decrease the government's proposed tuition hikes. Labour also participate in

the alter-globalization movement (Guay & Létourneau, 2010) which will we now consider.

Alter-globalization. Alter-globalization movements have best represented the total opposition of the neoliberal doctrine (Canet, 2010). The term is associated with the World Social Forum (WSF), an annual civil society global gathering that seeks alternatives to neoliberal globalization. While the term 'alter-globalization' is popular in Spanish and French, in English the term 'anti-globalization' is more dominant (Canet, 2010). Chomsky (2002) notes how this term may be a misnomer since this diverse international social movement is not necessarily isolationist or nationalist. Moreover, the term 'anti-globalization' can easily be discredited from a neoliberal perspective: if someone is against globalization, well, they might as well be against the change of seasons. This is why I will use the term alter-globalization to refer to a wide variety of anti-neoliberal social movements, even those that may be considered more radical in their perspectives and approaches (Canet, 2010).

The protest movements that conspire to shut down WTO meetings and G8 summits have faced state repression as well as marginalization in corporate media. Chomsky (2002) heralds this movement, especially in its manifestation through the WSF.

> The popular struggles against investor-rights globalization, mostly in the South, have influenced the rhetoric and, to some extent, the practices of the masters of the universe, who are concerned and defensive. These popular movements are unprecedented in scale, in range of constituency, and in international solidarity; the meetings here are a critically important illustration. The future, to a large extent, lies in their hands. It is hard to overestimate what is at stake. (p. 510)

The success of these movements have been fleeting, although it underwent a resurgence in 2011 under the 'Occupy Wall Street movement', which principally opposed the financialization of the world economy and the increasing social inequalities, while promoting and facilitating participatory democracy (Juris, 2012; Rushkoff, 2013). Due to the *Immediate* textbook's publication date (2009), I will not address this more recent manifestation of alter-globalization. However, before 2009 there existed a wide range of opposition movements that garnered success in countering neoliberal policies through grassroots organizing, as the fight against the privatization and commodification of water in the Global South demonstrated: strategic solidarity alliances were formed between organized labour, environmental groups, indigenous groups and women's groups in order to reclaim water as the public commons (Bakker, 2007). This shows how these movements are very diverse, reflecting a convergence of the often fragmented left that Harvey (2005) bemoans. Several progressive NGOs play an important part in this resistance.

Militant NGOs versus social movements. The alter-globalization movement is made up of several NGOs as well as grassroots social movements that do not have the same institutional structures. Choudry (2010) contends that NGOs end up co-opting social movements since they possess more resources. Similarly, Canet, Conway and Dufour (2010) observe that these power dynamics create tensions in the alter-globalization gatherings, especially at the WSF and other similar forums. International NGOs such as ATTAC serve as a powerful opposition against neoliberal practices, however their dominant role in the WSF is questioned by smaller NGOs and social movements (Khalfa & Massiah, 2010). A more balanced interaction between these

groups is described by Fairclough (2006) who shows how *glocal* manifestations of resistance towards global policies on a local scale successfully combines community associations and affinity groups with international/national NGOs. However, these distinctions are not always recognized: Smith and Johnston (2002) outline the transnational nature of social movements in their global and local struggles against neoliberalism, focusing on the role of citizen groups without distinguishing NGOs from more horizontal grassroots organizations. Despite these tensions, *glocal* struggles show that ordinary citizens have social agency: they can affect and resist policies that are often dictated from high above through IFIs or free trade agreements (and signed behind closed doors). In light of this understanding, this thesis examines how social justice movements are portrayed in the course Contemporary World in their struggle against neoliberalism. To do so, I perform a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the Contemporary World course and its textbook, *Immediate*, which I will now describe in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I start by explaining the specific types of textbook analysis used in this study, with a focus on content analysis, civic textbooks, and linguistic analysis. My main methodology, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is then described through its articulations by Gee (2005, 2011, 2013, 2014) and Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2006, 2012). Here, important terms are explained that will frequently reappear in the subsequent chapters. The rest of the chapter presents the data: the textbook and the curriculum. After considering the data analysis methods of the study, I briefly present the supplementary data of the *Immediate* teacher's manual and an interview with the authors.

Textbook Analysis

I will rely mostly on Falk Pingel's *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* (2010) to outline the focus of my research. Thus, this study conforms to standard practices in international textbook research regarding the content and linguistic analysis of civics textbooks.

Content analysis. I performed a content analysis that examines the textbook *Immediate* and what it does, as opposed to a didactic analysis that would examine the pedagogical techniques used in the text. Thus, while analyzing the neoliberal discourse and the discourses of its oppositional social movements in *Immediate*, I asked common textbook content analysis questions such as: "what does the text tell us, is it in accordance with academic research, does it sufficiently cover the topic in question? (Pingel, 2010, p. 31). Both quantitative and qualitative methods are recommended for such research in

order to examine the terms attributed to facts or identities and the context in which they are placed (p. 66). Nevertheless, my analysis is mostly qualitative and relies more on my own "value system and understanding of the text itself" (p. 67). It is standard practice to announce this frame of reference from the beginning, which is what I have done in the introduction by describing my personal relationship to my object of study. While I use a deductive approach by establishing "external categories to which the book is expected to correspond" and "criteria linked to an academic, disciplinary understanding of the topic" (p. 69), I am also using an inductive approach to "unfold patterns of understanding or worldviews that have guided content selection and modes of presentation" (p. 69). In this sense, as opposed to solely relying on predetermined coding, I also used grounded theory that permitted me to find themes as they emerged during my data analysis.

Civics textbooks. Civics textbooks are a widely researched topic for their implications and perspectives on global responsibility (Pingel, 2010). It is widely acknowledged that these educational resources not only reflect the dominant values of a society (Issit, 2004), but that they also play a role in influencing the points of view of young citizens (Pingel, 2010). For both reasons, social science textbooks read in large numbers are important sources of data to examine how content is covered, the underlying assumptions and connotations in the narration and layout, and the hidden curriculum which may seek to persuade students to think, speak and act in a certain way (p. 66). To explore this hidden curriculum in civics textbooks, the mode of presentation of the following binary opposing categories are often analyzed:

- Institutional approach vs. focusing on social and political roles in society
- System imposed on the individual/active vs. passive participation

- Static description vs dynamic description, presenting potential for change (p. 74)

I focused on these aspects as I search for the role of social movements in *Immediate*, since participation in these grassroots communities is an effective way to fight for social justice and to create alternatives to institutional approaches (de Sousa Santos, 2010). Conversely, I also examined how IFIs, states, multinationals, NGOs and other institutions are presented. Another common concern in civics textbook research is ethnocentrism, especially in terms of human rights topics that maintain a dominant "centre-and-periphery" (Pingel, 2010, p. 73) approach which regards the Global North as idealized and exemplary while the Global South is presented as a problem-ridden realm of immense suffering and ignorance. These concerns are also addressed in my analysis.

Linguistic analysis of textbooks. My research is mostly a linguistic analysis. This presents insight into how facts, events, persons and processes are characterised through the transmitted messages of the textbook. Pingel (2010) explains one common way that this can be done.

> A simple method is to list the adjectives attributed to characters, and social or ethnic groups: are they emotionally loaded, do they have pejorative or positive connotations? A story about the same event can often be told from opposing perspectives, i.e. from the point of view of the victims or from the standpoint of the perpetrators. The author can incorporate these different perspectives and leave it to the reader to evaluate them. (p. 70)

While using this method, I was looking for the perspective of the dominant transnational class that benefits from neoliberal policies versus the other classes and their social movements which have in many ways been marginalized by this economic hegemony.

For this emphasis on language, Pingel recommends discourse analysis for its practical tools.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

To examine the neoliberal discourse in *Immediate*, as well as its oppositional counter (grassroots) discourse, I used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This qualitative research method focuses on how content is explained and expressed in texts and speech through language choices (Gee, 2005; Fairclough, 2006; Xiong & Qian, 2012). CDA examines texts (written or spoken) to connect structures of language with the systemic socio-political structures that display patterns of privilege, power, oppression, and silencing (Gee, 2005; Dworin & Bomer, 2008). This methodology has been used extensively in the education context (Rogers et al., 2005; Xiong & Qian, 2012; Woodside-Jiron, 2011; Hashemi & Ghanizadeh, 2012; Lakshmanan, 2011; Lund, 2008; Oughton, 2007; Thomas, 2002; Barma, 2011; Rogers & Christian, 2007; Vavrus & Seghers, 2010). Using the articulation of CDA by Gee (2005, 2011, 2013, 2014) and Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2006, 2012), I analyzed the textbook's language to see how its socially constructed knowledge "shapes, and is shaped by, the discursive activity" (Gee & Green, 1998, p. 119).

Gee's Seven Building Tasks. Although Gee (2011) focuses on what he calls "discourse analysis", he makes the case that the adjective "critical" is unnecessary due to the necessity for always considering politics and power while examining a text.

> All discourse analysis needs to be critical, not because discourse analysts are or need to be political, but because language itself is [...] political. I have argued that any use of language gains its meaning from the "game" or practice of which it is a

> part and which it is enacting. I have argued as well that such "games" or practices inherently involve potential social goods, which I have defined as central to the realm of "politics". Thus, any full description of any use of language would have to deal with "politics". Beyond this general point, language is a key way we humans make and break our world, our institutions, and our relationships through how we deal with social goods. Thus discourse analysis can illuminate problems and controversies in the world. It can illuminate issues about the distribution of social goods, who gets helped, and who gets harmed. (pp. 9-10)

The "games" Gee refers to are practices that belong to any social group, profession, culture, or institution; each one of these contexts, often mixed together in different ways, involve different language conventions that sustain different interests (Gee, 2005, 2011). For the purposes of discourse analysis, Gee (2011) establishes seven "building tasks" that authors of language, whether oral or textual, use to build their "figured" or ideal world (pp. 16-17). While examining what is written in the text, and how it is written, the analyst raises questions about a text by referring to the "seven areas" of "reality" which I have paraphrased below. I used these tools during my analysis, and so I will often refer to the following terms in chapters 5 and 6.

- **Significance**: how does the language employed make certain issues, things, or people important or irrelevant? What figured world or paradigm is being referred to?
- **Activities**: what practices are important, or not, and how are they demonstrated?
- **Identities**: which identity or identities are relevant, or not, and how are they represented?

- **Relationships**: what sort of relationships are relevant in the text and how are they being presented or used?
- **Politics**: how are social goods relevant and at stake, and how are they distributed? What is deemed correct or incorrect, valuable or worthless, moral or immoral?
- **Connections**: which events and actions are related or associated, and which are not? How are these connections constructed or implied?
- **Sign systems and knowledge**: which language, styles, or symbols are privileged? How so? What type of information is deemed authoritative? What 'conversation' is being introduced, meaning, a societal debate between two or more opposing views? What social languages are used to participate in or describe these conversations? (Paraphrased from Gee, 2011, p. 17)

For example, when I analyzed *Immediate*'s presentation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), I used Gee's tools in the following ways. The textbook's inclusion of economic statistics only shows the benefits of NAFTA, so I used Gee's *politics* tool to see if the text evaluates the treaty as valuable or moral. Moreover, the privileged *sign systems and knowledge* is the economic indicator of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which does not account for the stagnant wages and rising unemployment of the general populations. The text also depicts alter-globalization movements in a separate section from the page where NAFTA is presented without mentioning anti-neoliberal arguments against this trade agreement. Here, Gee's *connections* tool was useful for examining why the text's discourse depicts these events and actors as unrelated phenomena. Gee's *activities* tool was also effective at determining what actions the text is promoting; in this case, the narrator is focusing on North American businesses, free trade

policies and the political parties that implement them. As for the images or graphs that accompany the text, Gee (2011) encourages the use of the seven "building tools" to determine what the pictures and "multimodal text" are communicating (pp. 187-193). Thus, I interpreted the graph of a continuously rising GDP of all three NAFTA countries as a visual cue for the reader to determine that this free trade agreement, and possibly all free trade agreements, are good for the economy, and thus good for society. In this way, I evaluated how neoliberalism and its oppositional social movements are presented in the curriculum and textbook for the course Contemporary World. Note that when I refer to these analysis tools, I will italicize the words as I have done here. The same will apply for the use of Fairclough's tools.

Important tools from Norman Fairclough's CDA. Since Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui, and Joseph (2005) and Gee himself (2011) approve of the trend in CDA research towards eclectic methods that are suited for each study, I also used concepts from Norman Fairclough's CDA (1989, 1992, 2006, 2012), from who Gee often draws inspiration (2005). Fairclough combines the tradition of post-structuralist theorists such as Foucault, Bourdieu and Bakhtin; neo-Marxist critical theorists such as Althusser and Gramsci; and a grammatical and textual analysis based on Halliday's work (Gee, 2005, p. 24). The tools and concepts below from his theoretical framework will allow me to examine neoliberal discourse in Quebec's Contemporary World curriculum and textbook.

- **Naturalization**: how ideas are taken for granted by the author, and presented as though objective and universal (1992).
- **Agency**: verifying if the actor of an action is recognized (Fairclough, 2006). If so,

how? If not, why not? In the text for example, if actions such as environmental destruction or famines are presented without an actor that is responsible for these circumstances, then the author may be hiding or mystifying key actors.

- **Silence**: when events, actors, or concepts are absent even though they are strongly related or relevant to what the text is representing. For example, if certain neoliberal practices are missing from the textbook, such as weakening labour rights worldwide, then this silence in the discourse could further contribute to students generating a positive view of economic globalization (Fairclough, 1989; 1992).
- **Positive, negative, and neutral value connotations:** when words carry a certain judgment or emotion, or virtually none at all when it is neutral (Fairclough, 2006).
- **Epistemic modality**: when a speaker uses language to denote a degree of certainty or uncertainty in what is being expressed. It may mean casting doubt, or reassuring. It could also involve a statement of probability or evidentiality (Fairclough, 2006).
- **Intertextuality**: When different genres of text appear in one text as a hybrid. For example, the textbook *Immediate* follows the standard narration of an objective, distant authority, but once the narrator incorporates a rare and unexpected joke, that is intertextuality (Fairclough, 1989, 1992).
- **Commodify:** The act of viewing people, animals, food, nature, culture or any object as means to gain monetary profit (Fairclough, 2006).
- **Globalization from above/below:** To understand the opposite of the marginalized portrayal of social movements in neoliberal discourse, I referred to what

Fairclough (2006) calls a *globalized discourse from below.* In *Language and Globalisation*, Fairclough (2006) notes that academics often limit their analysis of globalization to international institutions and structural changes, a type of *globalization from above.* Based on my experience as a high school Social Sciences teacher, I find this to be the case in the Contemporary World curriculum. In contrast, Fairclough encourages research to be done on the phenomena coined by Falk (1999): *globalization from below*. This occurs when coalitions and alliances are facilitated on a local scale while using discourses and transnational alliances that universalize their struggles on a global scale (Fairclough, 2006, p. 106). I believe that these struggles should be further explored in Global Citizenship Education courses, which is why I set out to find out how they are represented, or not, in this textbook and its prescribed curriculum.

Data and Analysis Methods

The textbook and the curriculum. The data I will analyze mainly consists of the English translation of the student textbook *Immediate*. The publisher Editions Grand Duc sold over 30,000 copies of this textbook (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 12, 2014). The commercial success of this textbook was bolstered by its status as one of the three Contemporary World textbooks approved by the *Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport* (MELS), as well as the only textbook translated into English with the Ministry's approval (MELS, 2014). In my study, the French student textbook was analyzed especially around controversial issues in the text to compare differences of *positive, negative or neutral value connotations* in the two different language versions. Also, all textual evidence considered in this thesis was

verified in the French textbook in order to ensure that any conclusions drawn can apply to both language versions. When there are differences between the two, I will note the subtle differences of language choices. I also considered basic aspects of the MELS (2010) curriculum for Contemporary World to distinguish between the choices of the authors and those of the MELS.

The general outline of the textbook. Let's consider the general format of the textbook so that the demonstrations of evidence in chapters 6, 7 and 8 can be better contextualized. The textbook is organized in the following order:

- Introduction
- Environment
- Population
- Power
- Wealth
- Tensions and Conflicts
- History
- Headlines
- Techniques
- Glossary
- Index

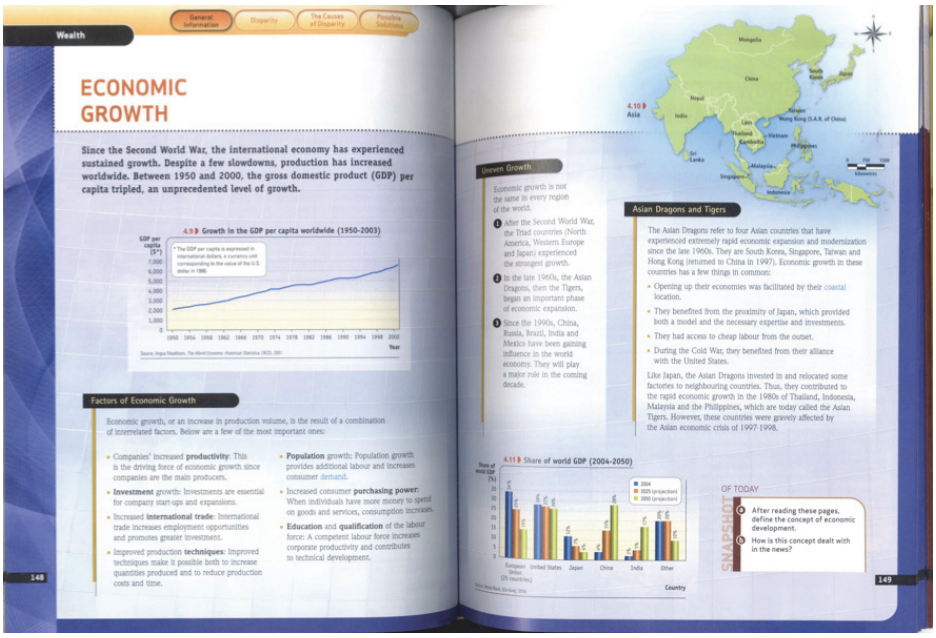


Figure 1: Typical page lay-out in the textbook *Immediate* (pp. 148-9).

The results of my analysis focus more on the two chapters on wealth and power, but I

will also refer to the other chapters as well. Each of the thematic chapters correspond directly to their respective units in the MELS curriculum (2010). Each thematic unit contains a designated focus, a topic to be interpreted, a central concept with related specific concepts, two different positions to be taken, items of knowledge related to the theme, and four prescribed cultural references. The textbook addresses all these points, although the emphasis and length accorded to each varies widely. The chapters are subdivided into two-page sections. As figure 1 demonstrates, there is usually a great deal of blank space between the text and the images, which limits the amount of text and depth devoted to each topic. Each section includes a title, followed by a lead sentence that introduces the topic. There are then usually 2 to 6 sub-sections each with their own titles. Maps, pictures, graphs, diagrams, tables and other visuals take up a great deal of space as well. There are roughly 30 "Snapshots of today" throughout the textbook that each contains 1-4 questions relating to the topics covered.

A qualitative study. As a qualitative study, my research entails a subjective interpretation of the text. One paragraph at a time, I apply Gee's (2005, 2011, 2014) building inquiry tools and Fairclough's (1989, 1992, 2006, 2012) concepts to consider the discourses in the data that relate to neoliberal policies, the institutions that promote and enact them, and the social movements that oppose the neoliberal hegemony. When there are no obvious relations to these themes, I noted general language trends without great depth. In contrast, when the issues were addressed then I unpacked in detail the language by using the different concepts described further above such as *connections*, *politics,* subtle forms of *naturalization* and instances of missing *agency*. Instead of only searching for a discourse that supports neoliberalism in the textbook, the analysis was tempered

with the overall objective not to find one single dominant discourse throughout the data, but to uncover multiple discourses. The textbook reflects the varying compromises and tensions between neoliberalism, embedded liberalism, sustainability, and other more socialist or radical discourses that come to different agreements in different institutions and countries (Harvey, 2005). Once the initial analysis of the data was completed, the dominant themes were reorganized into separate sections for further analysis.

Minimal quantitative analysis. To supplement the CDA as outlined above, I used a qualitative content analysis inspired by Baker's (2006) *Using Corpus in Discourse Analysis,* which describes the method of searching for collocational networks. This enabled me to qualitatively analyze the words that surrounds the terms studied, which often revealed surprising relationships. After scanning the textbook and rendering the images to be text-searchable, I searched for key words such as: corporations, market, alter-globalization, liberalism, unions, solidarity and other terms to pinpoint sections that concern social movements and their resistance to neoliberal policies. This allows me to say with confidence whether certain issues are addressed in the text and how many times, thus adding empirical proof to my mostly qualitative study. Also, I counted certain elements to be found in the images of the textbook in order to generate conclusions about class, race, gender and other power dynamics.

The LES as supplementary data. The *Teacher's Guide* (Corriveau-Tendland et al., 2011a) includes the Learning Evaluation Situation (LES), located in a large loose-leaf binder so that teachers may photocopy the sheets. This was also analyzed but not to the same level of scrutiny. Other than the extraordinary length of these resources (over 700 pages), there are good reasons for limiting my analysis of this data. Firstly, my teacher

colleagues and I rarely used this resource, often designing our own activities. Secondly, whereas the student textbook is narrated with one single voice, the LES are mostly a collection of diverse articles and comprehension questions. Thus, the main student textbook offers a better opportunity for examining how different discourses are presented through a unified consensual voice that is seemingly factual and objective. Thirdly, students do not have access to these LES unless teachers hand them out; Pingel (2010) recommends that teacher guides should be analyzed separately since students do not have access to such guides (p. 30). Finally, the authors who I interviewed did not select or write the questions for the LES.

Interview with the textbook authors. I also interviewed the main authors of *Immediate,* Sébastien Brodeur-Girard and Claudie Vanasse*,* in order to incorporate the context of the textbook's production in my analysis. The two-and-a-half hour interview took place at Kahwa Café in Montreal on February 11, 2014, and it was recorded using a digital audio recording device. They also sent me e-mails the following days with information about their work schedule and the amount of textbooks sold. Rogers *et al.* (2005) point out why taking into account the context of the production of a text is important: "Context also has been important because CDA has often been critiqued as 'out of context', meaning that bits of texts and talk are analyzed outside the context of their production, consumption, distribution, and reproduction" (p. 377). To accomplish this, in the interview I solicited information from the authors about their experience in the textbook industry, as well as their awareness of including or excluding neoliberal and social justice discourses in their work. Although Leedy & Ormond (2005, p. 98) argue that it is appropriate for qualitative researchers to take their findings and conclusions

back to the participants of their study in order to receive feedback, the authors have expressed their desire to give me full liberty in my research and only wanted to see this thesis once it would be officially accepted and published online (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). I should also note that I did not use the interview as data to be analyzed linguistically, but as a supplement to give context to my analysis based solely on the non-oral data.

Now that the methodology of this study is explained along with its theoretical framework, we are ready to consider the major findings of my analysis by beginning with the presentation of neoliberalism in *Immediate* and the course Contemporary World.

Chapter 5: Neoliberal Discourse and the Globalization from Above

Chapter Summary

This chapter shows how the neoliberal discourse is promoted in *Immediate*. The textbook places an overwhelming emphasis on institutions, which helps portray globalization as a process that occurs from above and not from below through social movements. This is explained in part by the working conditions under which the authors of *Immediate* had to produce the textbook, as well as their reliance on primary sources. This chapter includes textual and visual examples to prove that the textbook creates economic liberalism as a desirable equilibrium in politics, especially with the use of metaphors of market freedom. The full promotion of these policies is demonstrated in the textbook's treatment of free trade agreements. The text's presentation of the main orchestrators and benefactors of neoliberal reforms are then explored: international finance/trade institutions and multinationals, respectively. The chapter ends with a brief look at the authors' reflections on why they had chosen not to critique neoliberalism in *Immediate*.

The Neoliberal Discourse in *Immediate*

Globalization from above: an institutional approach. Both the curriculum for the course Contemporary World and the textbook *Immediate* place great *significance* on institutions as opposed to grassroots groups. The Quebec Education Plan (QEP) for the course reflects this when it outlines a central competency for the student to develop: "identify actors—such as states, international institutions, multinational firms, citizen

groups or media—and find facts" (MELS, 2010, p. 11). It is then expected that the textbook will focus on these institutions that, in large part, represent *globalization from above*, yet there could still be some room for *globalization from below* under the actors identified as "citizen groups", which I will look at more closely in Chapter 6. The curriculum does not designate specific actors to be covered, instead it defines the themes, techniques, and competencies to be explored. Nevertheless, each thematic unit is accompanied with suggested cultural references that teachers could address if they so choose. In our interview, the *Immediate* authors say that they decided to include all the cultural references, but some were covered in greater detail than others (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). In terms of neoliberal institutions, they are covered in the unit titled "Power" which examines "The redefinition of the powers of states" (MELS, 2010, p. 29). Under "knowledge related to the theme", the following concepts are compulsory: "Economic zones", "globalization of markets", "international and multilateral agreements", "international institutions", "multinational firms", "political alliances," and "pressure groups" (p. 29). Evidently, the textbook chapter dedicated to this unit calls for a focus on economic globalization concepts. Thus, we will consider how the neoliberal discourse or other oppositional discourses are used to describe these concepts and policies. At the same time, we will analyze sections from the chapter "Wealth" which covers themes that are related to neoliberalism and its opposition: "debts and obligations of states", "influence of [...] neocolonialism", "international organizations", "international trade, "North-South relations", "power of multinational firms", "social gaps", and "wealth creation", and "social justice" (p. 33). *Immediate* often uses the *sign systems and knowledge* (meaning

the social language and accepted information) of the international and transnational institutions they describe. Logically, this method provides little room for critique from other dissenting groups or scholars. Before providing several examples of this phenomenon, the production of this textbook needs to be considered.

The primary source of neoliberal discourse. Brodeur-Girard and Vanasse (personal communication, February 11, 2014) affirmed to me in our interview: "if you want to find out about the effects of neoliberalism, it's not so much in the content as it is the production of the textbook [...] which does have an effect on the content [...] due to the speed of its production". They make a good point. Astonishingly, these two authors had only five months to produce all five chapters, without any help from outside experts. Granted, their PhDs in History and their experience writing several Quebec history textbooks made them qualified candidates for the task... but not under these conditions. They themselves admit that they had to "learn on the fly" and "had no time to take a step back" to be critical of their work (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). This is why, they claim, that they had to resort to resources that were often published by the institutions themselves. As historians, they also said that they privileged primary sources. This explains why their descriptions of the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank, NAFTA, the European Union and multinationals lack much criticism: they often paraphrased and reproduced the *sign systems and knowledge* of the institutions without the mediation of oppositional discourses. Moreover, they admitted that their knowledge of economics was their weakest point and so they had to learn as they wrote. Instead of blaming the authors for this, it is important to consider the timeframe under which they needed to produce the content. Figure 2 is a table of the

publisher's deadlines that the authors received at the start of their contract. This shows how for each chapter (*chapitre*), ranging from 34-38 pages each, they had around three weeks to plan and design the chapter (*micro-planification*), research the required information (*recherche*), and write a first draft (*rédaction 1re version*). As the weeks progressed, they had to revise second drafts, provide all the images (*iconographie),* and create a basic layout for the finished chapters… all while simultaneously writing other chapters.

	Micro-planification	**Recherche**	**Rédaction 1re version**	**Rédaction 2e version**	**Iconographie**
Chapitre 1	15 août 2008 (Tâche 1)	22 août 2008 (Tâche 2)	29 août 2008 (Tâche 3)	26 septembre 2008 (Tâche 4)	26 septembre 2008 (Tâche 5)
Chapitre 2	5 septembre 2008 (Tâche 6)	12 septembre 2008 (Tâche 7)	19 septembre 2008 (Tâche 8)	17 octobre 2008 (Tâche 9)	17 octobre 2008 (Tâche 10)
Chapitre 3	3 octobre 2008 (Tâche 11)	10 octobre 2008 (Tâche 12)	17 octobre 2008 (Tâche 13)	21 novembre 2008 (Tâche 14)	21 novembre 2008 (Tâche 15)
Chapitre 4	31 octobre 2008 (Tâche 16)	7 novembre 2008 (Tâche 17)	14 novembre 2008 (Tâche 18)	19 décembre 2008 (Tâche 19)	19 décembre 2008 (Tâche 20)
Chapitre 5	28 novembre 2008 (Tâche 21)	5 décembre 2008 (Tâche 22)	12 décembre 2008 (Tâche 23)	26 décembre 2008 (Tâche 24)	26 décembre 2008 (Tâche 25)

Figure 2. The authors' schedule of deadlines for the production of *Immediate*.

Clearly, this is an example of stressful working conditions. The deadlines were so tight because of the race between other textbook publishers to get their versions out as soon as possible; the Ministry of Education had revealed the curriculum only one year before the course was to be taught for the first time.[3] However, the authors blamed the publisher for

[3] According to Vanasse and Brodeur-Girard, all textbooks during the first twelve years of the Quebec education reform were created under similar conditions. Every year, publishers scrambled to produce textbooks with less than one year before the start of the school year. The authors consider the first provincial cohort to have used these textbooks as a sacrificed generation, since the teachers had to teach a new course with often poor quality resources that were produced under rushed conditions. It should be noted that the *Immediate* authors believe that by the second year of the reform for each grade, teachers were able to design more programming on their own and use the textbooks with greater discernment.

the working conditions that they endured: their employers could have obviously hired more writers or researchers to enhance the quality of the content, but the textbook publishers "are there above all to sell books", and the quality of the content is a secondary concern because truly, "*c'est une affaire de cash*" (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). This is best exemplified in how the authors recount how the work of the graphic designers are prioritized by the company, since the visual presentation of the textbook plays a larger role in how teachers purchase textbooks. This confirms what Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) contend: companies that design and sell textbooks in ways that will convince teachers and school boards to buy the product. As we consider the neoliberal hegemonic discourse in this *Immediate*'s power chapter, it is important to recognize these economic practices that played a large role in the presence of the neoliberal discourse and its barely opposed dominance.

The *naturalized* centre. Before exploring the chapters "Wealth" and "Power", two sections relating to the theme 'power' should be addressed from the introductory chapter to assess how different forms of economic liberalism are portrayed as the natural equilibrium between other less desirable options. In the two-page section "Democracy versus dictatorship", liberalism is proposed as the natural "centre" and "middle ground": "The centre advocates ideologies that promote a middle ground between progressivism and conservatism, such as liberalism" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 9). The visual element seduces the reader (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996) into believing that liberalism is at the centre by its placement in the middle of the visual spectrum with other political

ideologies on the other extremes. The same spectrum and basic lay-out is repeated again in the next two two-page section with different examples and

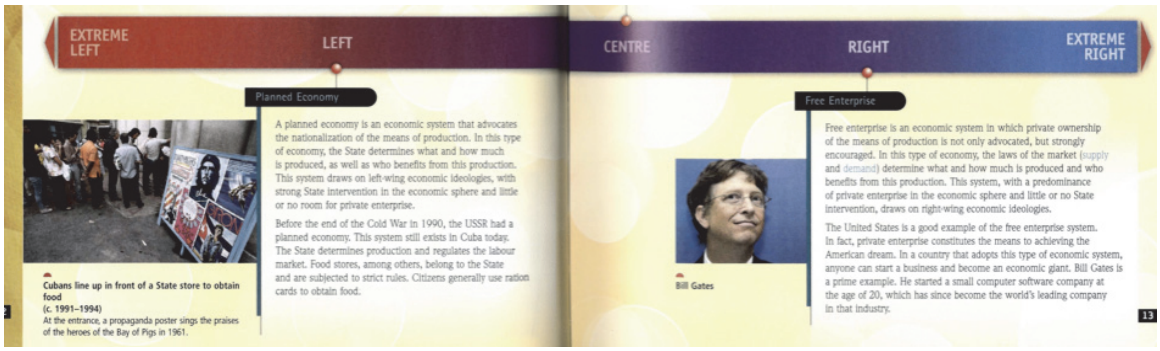


Figure 3. This section of *Immediate* presents communism as a failure and capitalism as a success (pp. 12-13).

reformulations. In the section "Economic systems" (figure 3), the right side of the political spectrum contains a picture of a smiling Bill Gates accompanied by a text on free enterprise with glowing terms that yield what Fairclough calls *positive value connotations* (2006) such as "encouraged", "predominance", "good example", "American dream", and the mythical sentence that conjures the Hollywood narrative: "anyone can start a business and become an economic giant" (Brodeur-Girard et al., p. 13). In contrast, on the far left side of the spectrum a "planned economy" is presented as repressive, referring to "strict rules" and ending with the sentence: "Citizens generally use ration cards to obtain food" (p. 12). The text is accompanied by a photograph of Cubans lining up to do just that, juxtaposed by what the underlying caption calls "propaganda posters" (p. 12) that praise communist heroes such as Che Guevara. This excessive use of *irony* breaks free from the typical *genre* of the textbook, which aims to seem neutral. Fairclough notes that *irony* such as this may be manipulative in certain cases (1992, p. 232): here we see that the narrator is mocking the allegedly false ideals of the Cuban

revolutionaries, while fully endorsing the "American dream" without any *irony*. If the discourse wanted to reveal the *irony* of the "American dream", a photo capturing the poverty and systemic racism associated with the neoliberal aftermath of Hurricane Katrina (Klein, 2007) would have given the proper balance. On top of the page, the example of a mixed economy is portrayed by a nationalized hydro-electric dam in Quebec: the photograph is *significant* in that it evokes a nationalist pride for Quebeckers who associate the nationalization of electricity with the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s and the *Maîtres Chez Nous* slogan (Masters in our own home).

The two-page section for "Ideologies" reflects the same hegemonic discourse for the different forms of liberalism. The more progressive form of liberalism is visually situated at the centre with the stated goal of promoting individual freedom and a limited role for the state. The authors remind the student that 12 of the 14 Liberal Party of Canada Leaders became Prime Minister (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2011), which evokes the myth of 'Canada's natural governing party' (Behiels, 2010). The *significance* of this placement may also reveal the ideal *politics* in the discourse of the textbook: a free market with some progressive state intervention. This is contrasted with Margaret Thatcher slightly to the right of the centre: as an example of conservatism, she is pictured in a victorious position under a British flag (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2011). None of the economic policies (privatization, weakening labour, market deregulation) are named that made her the neoliberal leader *par excellence* along with Ronald Reagan; this *silence* in the discourse is repeated throughout the textbook. The pattern is clear: presenting the shiny gloss of economic globalization while providing few *connections* to its disastrous impacts on the middle, working and poor classes in the Global North or the Global South.

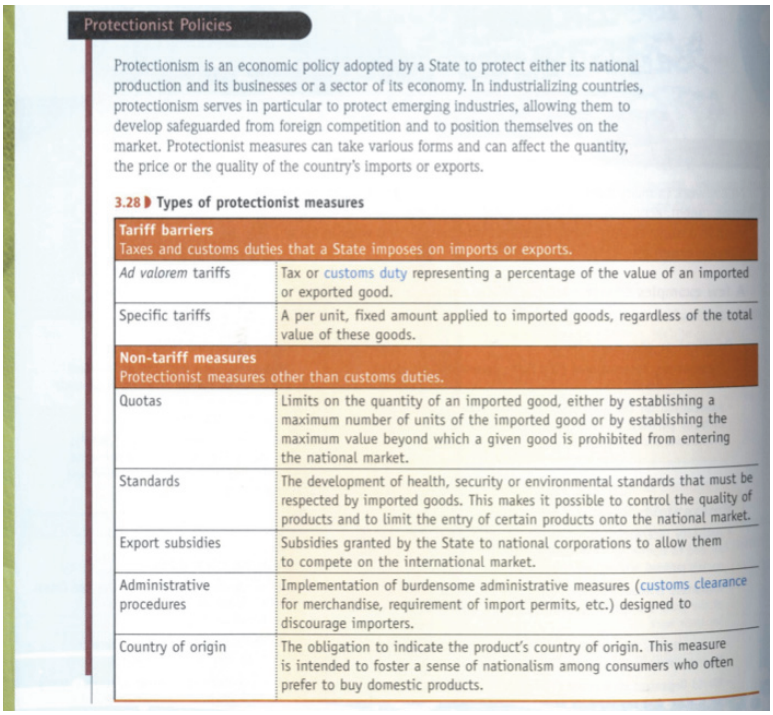
Moreover, for the example of a socialist government, the textbook refers to the French Socialist party which "is still part of the French political landscape" (p. 10). The *epistemic modality* with the word "still" implies that, in general, socialist parties are generally a phenomenon from the past or something that is on its way out. Its focus on the "government of cohabitation" (p. 10) that was a coalition with the "liberal right" (p. 10) firmly establishes the *relationship* of compromise that leftist governments must accept to stay in power. Whereas the restoration of class is a central result of the neoliberal project (Harvey, 2005), the appearance of the term "class" only appears here within the brief definition of socialism, along with its brief presence in the "History Headlines" chapter to describe the Russian Revolution (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 222), and once more as "the ruling class" is used to refer to state leaders responding to worldwide environmental pollution (p. 43). This shows how the discourse revolving around class is largely absent, with a larger focus on inequitable relations between the global North/South, as we will see further below. Finally, the placement of socialism at the far left, squeezed out from the centre by the politically less significant green parties demonstrates the discourse of the textbook that attempts to marginalize the socialist discourse and replace it with the discourse of sustainable development, which we will explore in Chapter 6. In these ways, right from the start, the opponents of liberalism are relegated to the margins in order to privilege the *politics* of the free market discourse. In the next section, we will focus on the chapters "Power" and "Wealth" to examine the hegemony of the neoliberal discourse revolving around the free market.

The market in need of liberation. In the chapter "Power", the two-page section "Protectionism versus free trade" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2011, pp. 22-23) displays the

dominance of the neoliberal discourse through the use of language. One full page is dedicated to the free trade discourse. Observe how this neoliberal concept is *naturalized*, making it seem rational and absolutely normal.

> Free trade is an economic policy based on the free circulation of goods and services. The opposite of protectionism, this system of international trade eliminates tariff barriers and non-tariff measures that hinder free international trade. Free trade expands economic markets and increases business opportunities for corporations. Foreign competition stimulates overall corporate productivity and, based on the logic of the laws of the market, leads to lower prices. (p. 23)

Terms and images with *positive value connotations* prevail in this section, thus giving the impression that the discourse is engaging in the *activity* of persuasion and promotion with the words “free”, “eliminates barriers that hinder”, “expands”, “increases”, “opportunities”, “stimulates”, “productivity”, the appeal to *common sense* and *authority* (Fairclough, 1989) with the dogmatic “logic of laws”, and the seductive concluding point: “lower prices”. The last term possesses a type of *intertextuality* (Fairclough, 1992) since students will recognize and may identify with the term in an emotional way due to a lifetime of viewing commercials; thus, the education genre mixes with a mass media genre. In contrast, the section on the opposite page titled “Protectionist Policies” (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 122) is visually imprisoned by a table with policy terms that repels the reader (see Figure 4). Observe how words with *negative value connotations* such as “prohibit”, “limit”, “burdensome administrative measures”, “discourage importers”, and “obligation to indicate” (p. 122) give the impression that such policies are artificial, that they are trying to stop what is natural, which in this case



Protectionist Policies

Protectionism is an economic policy adopted by a State to protect either its national production and its businesses or a sector of its economy. In industrializing countries, protectionism serves in particular to protect emerging industries, allowing them to develop safeguarded from foreign competition and to position themselves on the market. Protectionist measures can take various forms and can affect the quantity, the price or the quality of the country's imports or exports.

3.28 ▸ Types of protectionist measures

Tariff barriers Taxes and customs duties that a State imposes on imports or exports.	
Ad valorem tariffs	Tax or customs duty representing a percentage of the value of an imported or exported good.
Specific tariffs	A per unit, fixed amount applied to imported goods, regardless of the total value of these goods.
Non-tariff measures Protectionist measures other than customs duties.	
Quotas	Limits on the quantity of an imported good, either by establishing a maximum number of units of the imported good or by establishing the maximum value beyond which a given good is prohibited from entering the national market.
Standards	The development of health, security or environmental standards that must be respected by imported goods. This makes it possible to control the quality of products and to limit the entry of certain products onto the national market.
Export subsidies	Subsidies granted by the State to national corporations to allow them to compete on the international market.
Administrative procedures	Implementation of burdensome administrative measures (customs clearance for merchandise, requirement of import permits, etc.) designed to discourage importers.
Country of origin	The obligation to indicate the product's country of origin. This measure is intended to foster a sense of nationalism among consumers who often prefer to buy domestic products.

Figure 4. The cumbersome presentation of protectionist policies in *Immediate* may reflect neoliberal attitudes about state intervention (p. 122).

would be hegemonic capitalism unfettered by regulations. Although this section may seem to represent the protectionist perspective, its hidden neoliberal orientation/inclination/discursive constitution is revealed in this subtle criticism: "The obligation to indicate the product's country of origin [...] is intended to foster a sense of nationalism" (p. 22). The way it is worded, it is as if such a policy is unjust to force multinationals to indicate the origin of the products they sell. In this way, a cumbersome strawman argument for protectionism is presented on one side with a convincing neoliberal argument on the other, even though the textbook's objective-sounding presentation seems strictly neutral and factual at first glance. The arguments for a free market contain elements of what Fairclough calls *easification*, where the discourse becomes simplified in order to quickly get a point across or to seduce the reader (1992). Fairclough urges us to critically examine and question reoccurring *metaphors* that are used in a discourse to describe complex phenomena (Fairclough, 2006). This occurs here

with the metaphor of "liberation" in neoliberal economics, used again in the section on "International Trade" where the WTO seeks to "extend" trade and "dismantle" what "hinders" it (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2011, pp. 124-125). The metaphor gives the impression that the market is a mythical damsel in distress in need of being saved, or an occupied nation in need of liberation. This *easification* is not accidental, since it is part of the methodically constructed neoliberal discourse that is designed so that no sane person could possibly be against its proposed values: freedom, globalization, human rights, good business climates (Harvey, 2005). In the same *naturalizing* discourse, a common market is associated with the "the elimination of obstacles" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2011, p. 126). Workers' rights and unions are amongst the obstacles to this form of free trade, and this social language is subtly advocating for their destruction. The promotion of free market *politics* logically leads to the discursive embrace of free trade associations.

Hegemonic neoliberal economic associations. In the textbook's chapter on power, the economic interests of multinationals and, to a certain extent, states, is what garners the most *significance*, but the workers and oppositional communities are barely considered and their *relationship* to neoliberal policies is largely absent. In the section on "Protectionism versus free trade", states decide to open or close their borders for trade "depending on what seems to be [...] most profitable" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2011, p. 122). However, the text does not explicate: profitable for who? As Harvey (2005) demonstrates, neoliberal governments have become subservient to the multinationals that corrupt and control them; neoliberalism restores class power through various policies of dispossession. We can therefore assume that the missing *identity* of who receives the profits is multinationals and the dominant class in a state, and not the state itself nor the

majority of its citizens.

To understand this neoliberal discourse, consider the two-page section on "Economic associations" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2011, pp. 126-7). Under the title "Regional unions", countries seek to "recreate protected economic markets", and so they "sign free trade agreements in order to encourage the economic and social development of their regions and, in some cases, promote political stability" (p. 126). What *politics* does this sentence convey in terms of the *social goods* being distributed? First, it places *significance* on the protectionist aspect of a free trade agreement rather than the liberalization aspect. Second, it associates free trade with *positive value connotations* that no reader could possibly object to. Third, and most importantly, there is a discursive *silence* on how such agreements can adversely affect worker's rights, land rights, environmental regulations, and other social aspects that have been documented to be compromised or jeopardized by free trade agreements. The term "social development" should comprise social measures that are accessible to all through public services, yet free trade deals often contain neoliberal policies that do just the opposite. The example of NAFTA is presented (see Figure 5) at the top of the right page with an enlarged text and an accompanying graph of the agreement's success demonstrated by the billions of dollars in trade between the US, Canada and Mexico. The discursive decision to show only economic statistics that concern multinationals and the dominant class may reveal a subtle form of *politics* since the text is thus evaluating the free trade agreement as valuable and justifiable. The privileged *sign systems and knowledge* is the economic indicator of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which does not account for stagnant

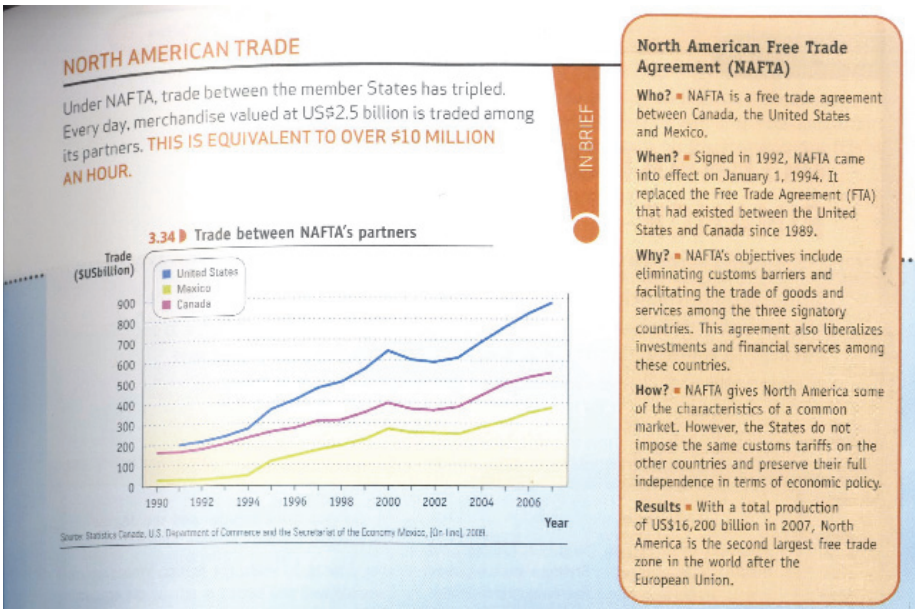


Figure 5. *Immediate*'s visual demonstration of NAFTA's supposedly overwhelming success (p. 127).

wages, rising unemployment, job *précarité*, and wealth disparity of the general populations of each country; Chomsky (2002) points to several studies that demonstrate these disastrous effects of NAFTA on all three of its signatory countries. Furthermore, there is no *connection* to social movements such as organized labour that vehemently opposed NAFTA; their point of view is *silenced*. The *activity* taking place in this section is clear: the text is promoting multinationals, free trade policies and the political parties that implement them. Finally, the colourful graph of a continuously rising GDP of the three North American countries serve as a visual cue for the reader to interpret this free trade agreement, and potentially all free trade agreements, as good for the economy, and thus good for society. This of course hides any opposition to NAFTA and other free trade agreements. Similarly, the *Immediate* section on the European Union (taking up a whole four pages) also seems to promote the *politics* of free trade, referring to the EU's economic harmonization as highly advanced and successful. No social movement opposition is shown whatsoever, neither is the view that the formation of the EU was

another example of neoliberal reform (Harvey, 2005). Why does the text's narrative express these hegemonic perspectives and *silence* most opposition? The reason may lie in the textbook's authors' faithful reliance on International Finance Institutions (IFIs) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) for their primary sources of information.

The International Institutions Behind Neoliberalism

The IFIs and the WTO: straight from the source. The IFIs and the WTO are presented in the textbook using the *identities* that they themselves attempt to embody through their official publically available documents. Under the two-page section "International trade" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, pp. 124-125), the "historical perspective" of "trade liberalization" is articulated with a neoliberal discourse through the *connections* it makes. Consider the sub-section the "Economic Crisis and the Second World War".

> The economic crisis of 1929 caused an unprecedented collapse of production, wages and prices throughout the industrialized world. States moved to protect their national markets, erecting tariff barriers. The United States led the way in 1930, imposing a 40% tariff on all imports. Other nations quickly followed suit, causing international trade to plummet. (p. 124)

First note how there is no *agency* in the "unprecedented collapse of production", and especially no connection to the potential cause: deregulated markets, especially in the United States (Harvey, 2005). The protectionist measures are then associated with a *negative value connotation* with the word "plummet". The next section on the timeline in 1945 reads as follows:

> After the Second World War [:] In an effort to avoid a repeat of the economic

> instability of the 1930s, Western governments decided to work together. In 1944, in Bretton Woods, United States, 44 States gathered to establish an international monetary system. Three years later, 23 countries signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) opening an era of free trade that persists to this day. (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 124)

"Economic instability" thus has a *connection* to protectionism, which shows how the discourse presents a certain *politics* where the liberalized trade is not only *naturalized* as a universal practice but is also presented as a social good, seeing as how Western governments "work together" to achieve "stability". But is this stability universal? Or does it just benefit these Western governments? In this way, the hegemonic discourse of the WTO is not questioned. On the opposite page, descriptions of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and WTO principles are provided in much the same manner. The WTO "is responsible for gradually extending free trade to additional areas of additional areas of activity, particularly agriculture, services, textiles and intellectual property. It also seeks to dismantle non-tariff barriers that hinder trade particularly export subsidies" (p. 125). This discourse does not reveal the *relationships* between farmers, especially peasants in the Global South, that are driven out of business when states apply the WTO advice for more free trade (Desmarais, 2010). Although "escape clauses" for developing countries "to protect their emerging industries" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 125) are briefly noted, the neoliberal act of dispossession of wealth and land is not hinted at here, nor elsewhere in the textbook. Finally, the two sole images further display the dominance of the hegemonic neoliberal discourse: a map shows how most of the world's countries are WTO members, while an image of a farm in Italy is accompanied

with a caption that voices the tension between the US and the EU over the liberalization of agricultural trade. This bucolic picture is positioned next to the neoliberal discourse that performs the *activity* and *politics* of promoting free trade. The reader may be led to conclude that the European Union should, as the WTO recommends, "dismantle [...] barriers that hinder trade" (p. 125). An attentive reader may consider the US' criticism as *significant* since it is echoed elsewhere in the textbook: "Other countries have sharply criticized the policy as unfair competition with respect to their own agricultural producers" (p. 114). It is interesting to note that this critique of protectionism is emphasized, while critiques from the protectionist perspective are not presented to the same degree. These are some examples of how the WTO discourse, which Harvey considers to be the quintessential neoliberal institution, pervades in the "Power" section of *Immediate*.

The section on "International Finance" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, pp. 128-9) is also articulated through a hegemonic neoliberal discourse shares the text with a Keynesian or embedded liberal discourse. This division is marked in particular by the placement of a photo of John Maynard Keynes at the top of the right page along with a description of his philosophy. It says he "favoured active State intervention in economic affairs" and opposed "economic liberalism, which advocates State disengagement" (p. 129). This view is contrasted by photos of the imposing headquarters of the IMF and the World Bank along with descriptions of their work. In the introductory paragraph of this section, the burning question between Keynesians and neoliberals is posed: should international finance "be given free reign or regulated" (p. 128)? Further down, a section

on market liberalization attempts to evenly present both the neoliberal discourses and a fair trade discourse.

> The move toward economic liberalization, that is to say, reduced regulation, continued through the 1980s and 1990s. Its advocates argue that financial markets function better when they are left untouched. Other economists argue that state intervention is necessary to preserve the stability of the international economic system and to ensure equitable trade. The debate on this issue rages on. (p. 128)

The *relationships* between these two points of view are described, yet it is worth noting that the *identity* of the "other economists" is not presented, whereas the IMF, the World Bank, and before the WTO have all been formerly introduced. While Keynes is introduced above, his old photo may facilitate the perception that state intervention is a bit old fashioned in comparison to the modern buildings of the two powerful IFIs. Although the English translation seems to hint at a true struggle that provokes passionate debate, the original French version is much more subdued, as shown by my literal translation of the same last sentence cited above: "the debate around this question still remains pertinent today" (Brodeur-Girard, Vanasse, Carrier, Corriveau-Tendland, & Pelchat, 2009). Moreover, the World Bank and the IMF descriptions are much more hegemonic: the former receives no criticism, although this may be because the latter receives a mild critique that could apply to the former.

> The IMF intervenes in financial crises by lending money to countries in difficulty. These loans are conditional, however, on the adoption of economic reforms aimed at stabilizing and liberalizing the economy of the borrowing country. This condition is sometimes criticized because it limits the sovereignty of the borrowing countries,

> which are forced to comply with conditions imposed by an international organization. (p. 129)

This leads us to the question: What *sign systems and knowledge* are used to *naturalize* hegemonic concepts in this text? The text has two competing discourses here: one focuses on state sovereignty with words such as “intervene”, “limits the sovereignty”, “forced to comply”, and “conditions imposed” while the other represents economic liberalism with the terms “conditional”, “economic reforms”, “stabilizing”, and “liberalizing” (p. 129). Although neoliberalism is critiqued, it is strictly through the lens of “the redefinition of the power of the state”, the topic mandated by the curriculum (MELS, 2010, p. 29). For this reason, the citizens of states and their social movements are absent as either critics or victims of neoliberal policies. Similar to the passage referring to “other economists” (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 128), the authors of the criticism are absent, and so their *agency* is missing. Thus, although this section includes a neoliberal discourse along with a Keynesian discourse, militant grassroots actors are not included. A similar privileging of the *sign systems and knowledge* of IFIs occurs in the textbook’s discussion of debt in the chapter “Wealth”.

The IFIs and debt. The two-page section titled “Debt Burden” significantly draws upon the logic of the neoliberal discourse of debts and structural reforms, while leaving a small space for its critique. The IMF and the World Bank are named four and three times, respectively, however the critique of the debts are always made in separate sentences: such spatial *connection* creates a text that does not directly denounce the institutions, which is in line with how the authors’ stated in an interview that they sought to remain “neutral” and “objective” while presenting these IFIs and other controversial topics (S.

Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). This can be observed in the sub-section of "Developing Countries and Debt" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 155) below.

> After decolonization, developing countries contracted sizeable debts with the IMF, the World Bank and other States. This enabled many of them to gain their independence. They then had to construct major infrastructures and invest in industrialization. Dictatorial regimes borrowed large sums of money, sometimes with the support of foreign powers, to finance civil wars and oppressive social structures or to line their pockets. (p. 155)

In this way, most of the information in this section presents the *identity* of the IFIs and wealthy states as simple creditors who may have made some mistakes in their lending practices, but whose intentions were good. In the second sentence, the *connection* between the independence of developing countries and their borrowing is odd, since it gives the impression that the Global South are dependent on foreign funds for independence and lack their own *agency*. The obligation surrounding the phrase "They had to" (p. 155) in the third sentence *mystifies* the role of conditional aid and how most of these projects served the interests of the lending institutions (Engler, 2010; Gordon, 2010). The fourth sentence contains the *epistemic modality* "sometimes" in terms of the corrupt actions of "foreign powers" that lack a specific *identity*, although we could assume they include the IFIs mentioned before, we cannot be sure as readers. Having read this, the reader could then conclude that such debts are illegitimate and should not be paid by the people, but this form of *politics* is not explicitly stated. Instead, the main argument presented for cancelling or alleviating debt is based on the sheer size as well as

the unfair nature of interest. Consider the following passage.

> According to the Committee for the Abolition of Third World Debt [CATWD], the cumulative debt of developing countries rose from US$8 billion to US$2.6 trillion between 1960 and 2004. Since 1980, these countries have paid back 10 times what they borrowed, but interest has nonetheless increased their debt by a factor of five. (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 155)

The CATWD provides this information, yet the authors chose to include only the most conservative and empirical evidence presented by this vehemently anti-neoliberal international association. Moreover, CATWD is a powerful demonstration of *globalization from below* through its diverse coalition of "social movements against the neo-liberal offensive" (CATWD, 2014). None of their radical critiques of the IFIs are included, and the *identity* of grassroots social movements mobilizing in solidarity against these debts is forsaken by the text. Instead, three short paragraphs follow that outline the IMF and the World Bank's efforts to "substantially alleviate the debt" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 155) of poor countries to the tune of over US $70 billion. This *significance* of placing these paragraphs at the end of the section gives the impression that the text defends and justifies the *politics* of the IFIs and gives them a benevolent and forgiving *identity*. Moreover, the disciplinary measures of neoliberal reforms are not problematized in the sentence, "They must commit to major reforms aimed at economic recovery" (p. 155). In the sub-section titled "foreign debt", the text does the same by briefly mentioning Mexico as the first country to declare insolvency without foregrounding the neoliberal *significance* of Mexico: Harvey (2005) describes how Mexico was the first to submit to the new free market fundamentalism that took over the IMF and the World

Bank under the influence of the Reagan administration in the US.

> What the Mexico case demonstrated, however, was a key difference between liberal and neoliberal practice: under the former, lenders take the losses that arise from bad investment decisions, while under the latter the borrowers are forced by state and inter- national powers to take on board the cost of debt repayment no matter what the consequences for the livelihood and well-being of the local population. If this required the surrender of assets to foreign companies at fire-sale prices, then so be it. (p. 29)

These aspects of economic injustice are not outlined in the chapter "Wealth", nor in the textbook. Instead, the *activities* of multinationals receive the most criticism for their unjust North/South relations while still promoting and defending their neoliberal agenda.

Hegemonic Multinationals. The section "Multinational corporations" in the chapter on power draws heavily on the neoliberal discourse, with a couple of moments of slight opposition and critique that still excludes social movements. The main *identity* of these business institutions is that they are highly powerful and virtually unstoppable on the world stage. The discourse *naturalizes* this status. Note how this is done in the opening paragraph below in which the underlined words naturalize the hegemony of multinationals through the use of *positive connotation values*.

> Multinational corporations are <u>essential</u> to the globalization of the economy. They are <u>responsible</u> for a <u>major portion</u> of <u>global production and sell goods and services around the world</u>. Over the last few decades, the number, the labour force and the sales figures of these corporations have all undergone <u>phenomenal growth</u>. (p. 130)

This celebration of corporate hegemony is further enacted through the use of the indisputable power of neoliberal *sign system and knowledge* of sales and employment numbers listed in a table of the top 10 multinationals. The injustices towards the workers are not mentioned here when multinationals seek "to pay lower production costs than in their home country" (p. 130). Rather, their *identity* gets subsumed into the greater concern of production cost (although they are touched upon later in the chapter on wealth). This is an example of neoliberal discourse *commodifying* workers. The same applies when the text describes how corporations "exploit, for their own gain, the differences that exist between the social and environmental laws of various States" (p. 130). Although this is in part a criticism of such practice, the *relationship* between the exploiter and the exploited is limited to the laws and not to the workers, their families, and the dispossession of the environment (rivers, forests, farmland, etc.). Finally, there are only two moments of truly oppositional discourse: the first involves the picture of a Hydro-Quebec dam as an example of nationalization that seems to indicate that public electricity is a *social good* that needs to be distributed through a public corporation. The text notes that some states prevent their resources from "falling into the hands of multinationals" (p. 130), a statement which seems to carry implied *negative value connotations* used against multinationals. The second instance of critique involves the inclusion of the International Labour Organization's (ILO) attempts to regulate multinationals, yet such an effort is described as futile since "nothing [...] requires multinationals to respect the principles of international organizations" (p. 130). In the first opposition, the state sovereignty discourse is present with a hint of Quebec nationalism which provides the counterweight to the neoliberal hegemony. In the second

form, the *significance* of introducing the ILO's failed attempt seems to further *naturalize* and strengthen the invincible hegemony of multinationals and the neoliberal order which they rule.

Multinationals and neocolonialism. The chapter on wealth has several pages dedicated to describing global disparity and the "causes of disparity" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, pp. 152-165) in which the discourse of neocolonialism appears. It is in this context and through the neocolonialism lens that neoliberalism and multinationals are critiqued. This discursive critique of neocolonialism is part of what the MELS prescribed in its curriculum under the "knowledge related to the theme" rubric (MELS, 2010, p. 33) of the wealth unit. One major difference between the linguistic choices of the two language versions of *Immediate* appears in the section "The disadvantages and advantages of globalization": the French version is actually titled "*Les bienfaits et les méfaits de la mondialisation"* (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2009, p. 162). The *significance* of using words with *positive* and *negative value connotations*, "good deeds" and "misdeeds" sets the tone for a conversation for both the defence of neoliberalism and its condemnation, while the English version presents a more neutral and objective tone. One section under the sub-title "Taking advantage of the poor" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 162) outlines how multinationals enrich themselves and their investors from "wealthy states [...] without contributing to the development of less developed countries" (p. 162). This is a valuable, yet rare critique of neoliberal practices, which is further developed in the LES (I will cover this in Chapter 6). This demonstrates what Pashby would call "an essential self-critique of North-Western hegemony" (Pashby, 2011, p. 438), and it continues in the section on colonization.

In the following two-page section called “Colonization”, the effects of neocolonialism and “economic imperialism” are outlined (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, pp. 164-165). The examples of this phenomenon are illustrated by a Chinese oil worker in Nigeria and an accompanying text about China’s economic imperialism in Africa, as well as a table outlining the amounts of foreign investment of “former mother countries” in the economies of their former colonies. In the same vein, a more explicit example of multinational misdeeds in the Global South occur in the “Tensions and Conflicts” chapter: “With the complicity of a large number of multinationals, the militias and armies pillaged the Congo’s wealth, particularly its mineral (diamonds, gold, cobalt) and forestry resources” (p. 181). While such occurrences in the text do critique the excesses of neoliberal policies that benefit multinationals and exploit the Majority World, its focus on Global North/South relations maintains a *silence* around the *identity* of the workers and their labour movements in both rich and poor nations. It also does not show the struggles and victories of labour organization against these multinationals, thus withholding *agency* from the Global Southern worker. Instead, they are portrayed as compliant employees.

Multinational discourse: workers are mobile and docile. In the two-page section “Migration and Globalization” (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, pp. 87-88) illustrated here in Figure 6, the *identities* of workers as being embedded in communities and families with particular needs are obfuscated by the neoliberal discourse: it subsumes all potential employees as an indiscriminate pool of labour that can be drawn from one region of the world to another, without considering the long term consequences what Standing (2012) calls “the precariat”; the economic classes who experience the *précarité* of shifting labour communities from one region to another.

Figure 6. The *naturalization* of neoliberal relocation and "job losses" (pp. 86-87).

The "greater mobility on the part of both skilled and unskilled labour" (p. 86) is actually the mobility of multinationals to move their factories and operations without any ties and obligations to communities that invest their infrastructure, resources and time in welcoming and working for multinationals.[4] "Job losses", related to relocations seem to be compliantly greeted by workers who are "now unemployed [and need] to migrate to find work" (p. 86); there is no sign of protest, no union mobilization, and no state intervention to maintain the factories and employment. Thus, this neoliberal idealized or *figured world* (Gee, 2014) contains no demonstration of worker, community or state resistance to the dispossession of labour. The comical sentence "Multinationals that relocate their production centres do not relocate all of their employees" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 87) reveals an odd *epistemic modality* since the word "all" seems to imply

[4] For a depressing but amusing read, see Johnston (2007) for the many ways these types of corporate "free lunch" relationships take place in the US.

that most employees have the choice to relocate to a foreign country, while simply a mere few lose their job. Of course, the opposite is true: when multinationals relocate their factories, only a small minority of management and skilled labour will be offered to relocate as well (Harvey, 2005), but the text's *epistemic modality* confidently affirms that "many managers and technicians volunteer to serve abroad" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 87). These discursive choices generate an image of the worker as docile and flexible, essentially *commodifying* the worker.

The impact of the neoliberal discourse in *Immediate* is most evident in the commodification of labour. For example, consider this passage: "the service sector is increasingly affected by relocations and subcontracting. For example, many call centres have been transferred to other countries, where labour is cheaper" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 86). Not only is the *identity* of labour described in terms of its price, but the workers and their communities get lost in the term "service sector" which seems to privilege the industry as a whole more than the employees. Similarly, workers in developing countries are referred to with the noun "labour" and the adjective "cheap". This occurs several other times on pages 148-9, 150, 162-3, 86, and 280. This language dehumanizes and *commodifies* these men and women, which is a typical feature of neoliberal discourse. With this repetition, the young reader may be persuaded that cheap labour is beneficial, since it is often associated with terms that have *positive value connotations* such as economic growth, advantage, competitive, abundance, and the *nominalized* and neutral-sounding term "relocation". Finally, on pages 88-89 there is no emotional *relationship* displayed through the *sign systems and knowledge* of an empirical graph that objectively (meaning that it does not consider human emotion) accounts for

the “job losses” in the European Union due to relocations; the reader may consider what such an impact would have on European workers and communities, but the labour *identity* is missing since the emphasis is placed on the “job” and not the individual human beings. In this way, the neoliberal discourse of labour as flexible and docile is *naturalized* in this section on migration and globalization, with no counter-discourses from grassroots movements or Keynesian state opposition. How does the neoliberal discourse obliterate the perspective of class struggle in *Immediate*?

Multinationals versus the workers. This textbook chapter on wealth contains a neoliberal discourse that subtly, but sometimes excessively, excludes the reality of workers (and their class interests) by whole-heartedly supporting the economic globalization of multinationals. Note the words that I have underlined below which possess *positive value connotations*. The text’s overall effect is to make multinationals and their relocations seem beneficial, thereby legitimizing their practices.

> Multinationals are in a particularly good position to take advantage of globalization. Because they operate at an international level, they can benefit from the advantages of each country in which they do business. Their presence in developing countries enables them to produce cheap goods and services. These are then sold for profit in industrialized States, where the population can afford to spend more.
>
> This model can be so beneficial that many companies close some of their facilities in industrialized countries and move them to developing countries where operating costs are much lower. This is called relocation. This phenomenon benefits companies, but costs numerous jobs in the countries they leave. Also, relocation

> does not necessarily contribute to the advancement of less developed countries, since multinationals are not particularly interested in improving working conditions. (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 163)

The last sentence displays a stunning *epistemic modality* with the clause "relocation does not necessarily contribute..." (p. 163). Not only is the degree of mischief diminished by this turn of phrase, but it almost seems to cancel the negation, as if multinationals normally *do* contribute to economic "advancement", whoever's interests that may serve. This is repeated in the second clause with the adverb "particularly". The whole sentence is filled with positive terms, and the *epistemic modality* of the two clauses water down the negation and the disturbing subject: the mistreatment of workers. Note that the beginning of the second paragraph contains sentences with gloomy terms/consequences. Still, it begins with the misleading clause "this model can be so beneficial", which stands in contrast with the adverse consequences that follow. This is an example for why Fairclough (1992, p. 184) recommends critical discourse analysts to scrutinize clauses placed at the beginning of sentences, since they may give insight into assumptions and strategies which are not so explicit. Compare the above description of relocation and labour deregulation with the following interpretation presented by the Albert Shanker Institute. I have underlined the terms that carry *negative value connotations*.

> Union membership in the U.S. is declining. We urge textbook authors and publishers, however, to portray some of the real reasons for the decline of unions: the erosion of American manufacturing; outsourcing and offshoring; laws and regulatory systems that are hostile to unions and labor rights; and the ongoing anti-union campaigns of employers which are sadly

> tolerated by our society and our legal, political, and regulatory systems.
>
> (Cole, Megivern & Hillgert, 2011, pp. 32-33)

Here the same concept is portrayed from a different angle: the former uses the discourse of neoliberalism to promote the interests of capital, whereas the latter uses the discourse of unions and alter-globalization movements to serve the interests of the working class. A more balanced social science textbook should show both perspectives and make compromises between the two discourses. It is important to understand the production context which led the authors to omit this counter-perspective.

Why the Authors Chose Not to Critique Neoliberalism

In the interview, the authors of *Immediate* advanced several reasons why they did not have a critical perspective to neoliberalism. One aspect was the period in which they were writing, which was also reflected in the MELS assigned curriculum. “In 2009 we were still living in the heyday of the neoliberal era. After that there were lots of criticisms were made, the global context and paradigm has changed, but then, [neoliberalism] wasn’t really questioned. The program wasn’t putting that to question either, so we didn’t take that direction” (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). Since textbooks are considered to reflect the cultural *ethos* of a state, a dominant culture, and an era (Issit, 2004), *Immediate* is no exception. Thus, the textbook does fairly represent certain values of that era, while excluding marginal discourses that are not promoted by mainstream media or dominant institutions. The textbook tends to follow the discursive advice it gives on writing a persuasive text in the “Techniques” chapter: “confirm that your belief is generally accepted and that your opinion is the subject of consensus” (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 253). However, this *modus*

operandi can exclude marginal and critical *sign systems and knowledge* as well as oppressed *identities.* This occurs in *Immediate*, as expressed by its authors: they wanted the textbook to be an encyclopaedic resource, attempting to provide objective information, while leaving the critical perspectives and journalistic approaches to the LES handouts (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). They also contended that it was up to the teacher and the students to search through news items and editorials to find more critical perspectives. As a teacher who used this resource for two years, I admit that I agree to a certain extent: it *is* up to the teachers to supplement the textbook readings with other activities. Teachers do have personal agency in how they will use resources in their courses (Éthier et al., 2013). However, many teachers and students who may be less familiar with these different discourses and perspectives may not question the textbook's presentation of world issues. As we will see, the textbook does contain some critical perspectives towards neoliberalism, especially in the LES hand-outs, but these discourses need to be contextualized with their social practices that are sometimes complicit with neoliberal policies.

Chapter 6: Neoliberalism's Oppositional and Complicit Discourses in *Immediate*, a Discursive Symphony in Five Movements

Chapter Summary

This chapter is divided into five social movements and discourses that oppose neoliberalism but are largely misrepresented in *Immediate*. First, the absence of labour movement resistance to neoliberalism is explored as well as the textbook's brief mention of labour laws as being an important condition to eradicate poverty and improve working conditions. The text offers a perspective wherein the wealthy countries do not have class disparity or conflicts, emphasizing instead the disparity between the Global North and South. After problematizing the textbook's inclusion of a false representation of worker's rights, the teacher's guide is examined for the oppositional grassroots discourses that are found in certain articles.

The second movement examined are NGOs that oppose neoliberalism: their role in the textbook leaves little room for social movements. *Immediate*'s promotion of fair trade NGOs are problematized, along with the text's vague presentation of the World Social Forum. The third movement examined is the anti/alter-globalization grassroots movements that are mostly absent or misrepresented in the textbook, although they maintain a larger presence in the teacher's guide. The fourth movement explores how the textbook's presentation of humanitarian NGOs and development aid may subtly promote neoliberal policies; it also contributes to the stereotyping of a poor helpless Global South dependent on NGOs and foreign aid. The textbook's glorifying of microcredit is shown to embody a subtle neoliberal discourse, and the rhetoric of the Millennium Development

Goals is contrasted with neoliberal practices that disproportionately punish women living in poverty. This section ends with the consideration of a post-neoliberalism in aid and its potential discursive appearance in the textbook.

The fifth movement considered is the environmentalist and sustainable development movements. In *Immediate*, the discourse of the latter is often overshadowed and represented by the former. Sustainable development is presented as an unquestionable paradigm, yet the text does not go so far as to pit this discourse against the excesses of neoliberalism. Environmentalists are presented as mostly diplomats, politicians, technocrats and scientists, while grassroots environmental movements are either missing or misrepresented. The sustainability discourse in the text is then problematized for its simultaneous complicity with and/or soft resistance against environmentally destructive neoliberal practices.

Finally, this chapter ends with the authors' reasons for neglecting social movements and the agency of individual citizens to act.

1st Movement: The Workers and Labour Activism

The worker's absence. As we have seen further above, the unionized worker is excluded from the neoliberal discourse of *Immediate*. This confirms what Naseem contends, "subjects come to be understood by means of their inclusion in (or exclusion from) the dominant meanings fixed by the discourse" (2006, p. 451). Trade unions are mentioned sporadically throughout the textbook, but there is no section specifically dedicated to the role of unions in resistance to economic globalization, or for their fight for better wages and greater employment security. Whereas NGOs play a prominent role in representing social justice issues, as we will see further below, they often do not resist

the unjust economic relations of worker exploitation. Organized labour, when successful and progressive, does. This is why its role is largely excluded in this textbook, with one small exception.

The sole mention of labour laws. The only recognition unions receive in *Immediate* is in the two-page section on "Social measures", where a small paragraph, sharing a page with three other thematically separate paragraphs, quietly states that labour laws are considered as an effective means to "ensure fairer working conditions and authorize the unionization of employees" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 171). Note that unionization is not attributed to be the cause of fairer working conditions, but at least they coincide. However, there is no reference to the political pressure applied by social movements and unions in history to obtain social security measures (Cole et al., 2011). Concrete but unexplained examples of unions mobilizing against governments are relegated to the supplementary "History Headlines" pages (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, pp. 229, 237, 219) which are not part of the obligatory curriculum, and therefore often unread by teachers and students alike. The *significance* of such omissions is clear: the textbook discourse neglects to explain how strikes and demonstrations can be used to combat market deregulation policies since this would run counter to its neoliberal discourse.

Missing words of worker resistance. Many important terms and concepts related to the contemporary worker are missing from *Immediate*. The word neoliberal itself does not appear once, despite its appearance in other Quebec high school Social Science textbooks such as *Panoramas: History and Citizenship Education, Secondary Cycle Two, Year 2* (Horguelin, Ladouceur, Lord, & Rose, 2011), where the definition of

neoliberalism is given: “An ideology that advocates a laissez-faire approach to the economy and calls state interventionism into question” (p. 72). Instead, other terms are used such as “market liberalization” (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 126), and “free trade theory” (p. 123), which lack the critical and socialist perspective associated with the term neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005). The word ‘capitalism’ only appears in the History Headlines section to describe the Russian Revolution (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 220) and Roosevelt's New Deal (p. 223). Paradoxically, the ubiquitous nature of capitalism in our modern world makes it invisible in *Immediate*. The noun deregulation appears only once in the entire textbook (p. 88), without exposing its *connection*s to poverty and environmental destruction. Privatization and its effects on labour unions, workers and communities is never mentioned. The term ‘austerity measures’ is totally absent, and so are the labour and social movements that fight against them. The word ‘strike’, in the sense of labour, is only used twice in contexts that do not outline the demands and the achievements of mobilized workers against the state and big business. The word “struggle” is used in terms of armed conflicts except for the glossary definition of “anti-globalism” (p. 275) and a description of “anti-globalization groups” values under the “History Headlines” section (p. 233); class struggle, or the workers’ struggle, is *silenced.* Throughout the text, the terms “exploit” or “exploitation” are linked with the nouns children, countries, people, territories, resources, the poor, natural resources, forest, lands, zones... but never with worker. The word “abuse” only appears with the nouns children/the weak, cases, civilians, Korean population, Kurd population, and the adjective “environmental”. In these ways, the language of *Immediate* does not include much of the vocabulary that allows for a critique of the neoliberal discourse from the

point of view of the working class, or any class for that matter. In this neoliberal worldview, the world is seemingly classless.

A developed world without class. The negative effects of economic globalization on the middle class, working class, and the poor class of the Global North have been totally neglected in *Immediate.* Since these are one of the key features of economic globalization (Harvey, 2005), such an omission serves the logic of the neoliberal discourse which *silences* such *connections*. In the chapter on wealth, the "disparity of wealth" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2011, p. 142) theme places *significance* on the North/South inequalities while omitting the economic violence endured by economically marginalized communities in rich nations due to class, race and gender. Another *silence* in the discourse is how the middle and working classes continue to lose their economic clout which has been won through over a century of class struggles against capital and state interests (Cole et al., 2011). Under the new economic order, part-time, unstable, and underpaid jobs are the norm for the new global *precariat* class (Standing, 2012) that in many ways turn citizens into denizens who lack basic social, political, cultural and economic rights due to the neoliberal slashing of public services and social safety nets. A small glimpse of this phenomenon, which is due in large part to neoliberal class restoration, is presented in the section "Internal Inequalities", albeit with a discursive attempt to break any *connection* to this class warfare.

> For example, in three quarters of the OECD countries, the income gap has grown since the mid-1980s, especially in the United States, Canada and Germany. This can be partially explained by the fact that the income of the wealthy has increased

> substantially in recent years in comparison to that of people with medium or low levels of income. (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 156)

Note how the words that I underlined attempt to justify the disparity in order to *naturalize* it and make it appear uncontroversial. It also refers to authoritative *sign systems and knowledge* with the use of the word "fact". Thus, this discourse obfuscates the "fact" that rising incomes of the dominant economic class is directly related to the stagnant incomes of the rest of the population: Harvey (2005) outlines how neoliberal policies have increased the wealth of the elite through tax shelters, financial deregulation and increasing CEO salaries and benefits while simultaneously eliminating unionized and decent-paying jobs. The discourse seems to present a *connection* between class wealth disparity and then quickly attempts to withdraw the potential perception of the student who may causally link them. It were as if the two phenomena were totally unrelated. The text also does not refer to the stagnant or decreasing wages experienced by most workers in the Minority World.

Inequality and social injustice are elsewhere. Other than the discursively acceptable problem of "relocation and subcontracting of companies" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 86), the workers and the communities of the Global North are presented as having economies that are fully developed and run smoothly with the help of multinationals, transnational agreements and economic globalization. Besides the vast environmental challenges presented, the only serious dangers that the populations of the Global North seem to face are obesity (p. 158), aging populations (p. 79), the homogenization of culture (pp 134-137), and terrorism (pp. 183, 196, 234). By spending so much space on a seemingly chaotic and destitute Global South, students get the

impression that they are living at the Fukayaman end of history in terms of economic development and social justice in Canada and other wealthy nations. Such ethnocentric centre-and-periphery discourses have been widely observed in international research on civics textbooks (Pingel, 2010, p. 73*)*. Not only does this present a disparaging stereotypical perception of the Global South, it also serves to legitimize the myth of the Global North having arrived at its perfection where the West is fully developed. Finally, such discursive constructions *silence* the class struggle that the less dominant classes of the Minority World have been losing ever since the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s (Harvey, 2005). This loss has been in part facilitated by an international institution that we will now examine.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) does not represent the labour movement. The textbook *Immediate* and the MELS curriculum attempts to represent worker's rights through an ILO policy document, but both the institution and the document are highly misrepresentative of the anti-neoliberal discourse of labour movements. The unit "Population: the increase in migration" includes the ILO's *Declaration of Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work* as one of its prescribed cultural references (MELS, 2010, p. 27). The document was chosen because it is an international agreement, one of the main forms that are privileged in the curriculum's selection of cultural references (p. 23). This choice conforms to the overall *globalization from above* perspective of the course, since the ILO is a hierarchical institution. It also suits the neoliberal discourse since it does not just represent labour, but states and multinationals as well. In the two-page section on "Migration and Globalization", excerpts from the ILO document are prominently displayed under bullet points under the

section titled “International Regulation of Labour” (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 87), which is interesting since neoliberal hegemonic practices make it such that no such regulation exists (Harvey, 2005). While “freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining” (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 87) is supposedly expressed as a commitment by governments and employers, it would seem that this labour rights discourse is an attempt to justify or whitewash the unjust *activities* that multinationals practice. As we have seen further above, 44 pages later on in the textbook, the *relationship* of this organization with multinationals is shown to be weak and virtually irrelevant to their functioning (p. 130). Moreover, the organization itself and its document are misleading as a representation of workers and their rights. Guy Standing (2008), professor of Labour economics and formerly involved in the ILO, denounces the ILO and its declaration. He notes that this organization was once a global force that represented labour power, at least in developed countries, but the institution lost all legitimacy as a voice for workers and unions with the rise of neoliberalism in the 1970s: they offered no vocal criticism during the worldwide labour market deregulations of the 1980s and 90s (Standing, 2008). Afraid to alienate key funding states such as the US and the UK, in the 1980s they decided not to challenge the dominant neoliberal discourse by suppressing their report that demonstrated the disastrous effects of free market economics (p. 365). According to Standing (2008), “The *Declaration* corresponded with a neoliberal economic view of protective regulations” (p. 367), which enabled the ILO to receive millions of dollars from the US Administration. Why? Amongst many other weaknesses, the *Declaration* rules out trade sanctions if any workers’ rights are violated by a country. This was seen as a victory for multinationals. Considering Standing’s account of the ILO,

we can conclude that the sole representative of labour in *Immediate* does not serve the interests of workers in countering neoliberalism, and thus potentially serves to cover and soften the exploitative excesses of neoliberal labour relations. In this way, oppositional discourses in *Immediate* such as this one need to be contextualized in order to ascertain what interests the discourse may be serving in practice. This attempt to put a 'human face' on the neoliberal discourse further neglects the *identity* of workers and labour movements. The main critique of neoliberalism in *Immediate* lies outside of the textbook in its LES.

Contrasting discourses in the Learning Evaluation Situations (LES). The LES accompanying the chapter "Wealth" contrasts starkly with the textbook in that it contains progressive discourses that critique the neoliberal discourse of IFIs and multinationals. Several articles and texts from diverse sources are presented to the reader so that they may create an editorial report on either "balancing social justice and economic development" or the "control of resources" (Corriveau-Tendland et al., 2011d, 2.11). The provided examples of potential positions in the teacher's guide reveal a discourse critical of neoliberalism and neocolonialism.

- Economic development does not always ensure a better distribution of wealth and greater social justice. [...] Even if globalization can theoretically help a country develop, in reality the situation often benefits only the country or corporation that arrives to take advantage of a developing country where laws are less strict. [...] Solutions: Adopt international laws to better regulate trade. Implement effective social policies, such as redistribution or regulatory measures. Establish fairer trade systems.

- Control over a country's resources by a foreign power hinders local populations more than it helps them. [...] Consequences: The world's wealth is distributed very unequally. Some developed countries and multinational corporations become wealthy by exploiting developing countries' natural or energy resources. [...] Solutions: [...] establish international rules forcing developed countries and multinational corporations that exploit a foreign country's resources to redistribute some of the wealth to the local population. (p. 2.12)

These suggested answers demonstrate the discourses that were found in the articles which I will try to briefly resume. In one journalistic piece, the leftist NGO Alternatives contains a discourse that criticizes the *politics* of neoliberalism: "defenders of free trade at any cost are not particularly concerned with the fact that hundreds of millions of people are living on less than a dollar a day" (Corriveau-Tendland et al., 2011c, p. 1.20). Another article promotes the discourse of embedded liberalism where the *relationship* between corporations and labour unions are shown to promote social progress as well as economic success. In an editorial, multinationals are denounced since the "exploitation of oil is more profitable for multinationals than for the people" (Corriveau-Tendland et al., 2011d, 1.14). A poster of the progressive organization *Survie* embodies the *politics* of distributing *social goods* more equitably between France and Africa (Corriveau-Tendland et al., 2011c, p. 1.14). In another editorial, the IFIs' policies requiring developing countries to eliminate agricultural subsidies is shown to have disastrous results, followed by a question for the student to answer: "Do you think that World Bank and [IMF] [SAPs] have had a positive effect on Senegal's economy?" (p. 1.21). The *sign*

systems and knowledge of this section differs as well from the textbook in that the testimonies of the people of the Global South affected by these policies are also given space in the news articles and editorials, showing the aid recipients as critical and resistant to neoliberalism and not merely passive and without *agency* as shown in the textbook's humanitarian images and statistics-filled text (to be addressed further below). For example, the use of irony in an editorial provides a scathing critique of the WTO and the IFIs: "several food exporting countries [...] have decided to reduce foreign sales to- how dare they!- make sure their people have enough to eat. The North is easily offended by the selfishness of others" (p. 1.23). Again, the *connection* between state intervention and social benefits is made, and the insanity of the neoliberal logic is denounced in its insistence that the market dictates the use of food, even in times of famine. Another example of the stark contrast between the textbook and the teacher's guide is found when the corrupt role of multinationals in French Africa critiquing neocolonialism critiquing neocolonialism is explained, followed by a quote by Che Guevara critiquing neocolonialism. What's more surprising is that the text introduces him as a "revolutionary" (Corriveau-Tendland et al., 2011d, 1.30). The presentation of Guevara in a positive light differs radically from the mockery of Cuban communism in the introductory chapter of the textbook (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2011, p. 10). These examples of oppositional discourses to multinationals and the IFIs give an alternative vision to the textbook's less oppositional presentation of neoliberalism's role in the Global South. It does not, however, include discourses from grassroots organizations; instead it relies on journalistic and NGO *sign systems and knowledge*. This trend of prioritizing the *identities* of NGOs and avoiding the *relationships* they have with horizontal social movements is

even more present in the textbook itself, as we will see next.

2nd Movement: NGOs Fighting for Social Justice

NGOs As the Only Opposition to Neoliberalism? In *Immediate,* the only *identity* of civil society's opposition and resistance to neoliberalism is represented by NGOs; since this is the only representation of what the MELS (2010) curriculum describes in the unit "Power" as the more broad term "pressure groups" (p. 29), this is problematic. In this chapter, the only section dedicated to citizen groups or civil society is titled "Non-Governmental Organizations" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, pp. 120-121), which means that grassroots decentralized movements that form a *globalization from below*, such as the eclectic alter-globalization movement, feminist movements, No One Is Illegal movements, and solidarity networks between the Global North and South are not represented in this section. Neither are the international, national and local labour movements that play vital roles in limiting the plans of neoliberal policy makers (Harvey, 2005). Instead, NGOs often represent *globalization from above*, even though they sometimes maintain a grassroots character. Moreover, Choudry (2010) posits that there is an NGO-ization of social justice movements that co-opt progressive forces and render their demands less radical. Choudry also discredits a popular misconception about NGOs, and we can see this false belief in *Immediate*. Under a definition of NGOs, the textbook affirms that NGOs "must have no tie to any government" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 120). This simple *connection* is rather naive, since a vast amount of NGOs receive funding directly or indirectly from governments and thus they are often serving state interests (Choudry, 2010). In our interview, the authors confirmed that they, as historians, privileged primary sources and so it was more appropriate to describe and cite NGOs

instead of "spontaneous social movements and protests" (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014) that are mostly described only in secondary sources such as news articles, editorials, academic research and many forms of culture. This demonstrates how the authors privileged certain *sign systems and knowledge* over others, although they did admit that their approach was based on time constraints as well, since they had "little time to be critical of their primary sources" (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014).

In this section on NGOs (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, pp. 120-121), several NGOs are listed as examples; the only true oppositional NGOs to the neoliberal discourse would be ATTAC, as well as Greenpeace. The former opposes neoliberalism through its insistence on regulating international finance markets, at least to a certain extent, while the latter calls for "ecological solutions" (p. 121) that disrupt neoliberal dispossession of the planet's ecosystems. Both are briefly mentioned again elsewhere in the textbook. The *activities* that the reader may most strongly associate with NGOs after viewing this section lies in the image of a Nigerian woman walking with a bag of grain handed out by Doctors Without Borders (see Figure 8). Thus, NGOs may have an overall helpful *identity* that assists rather than resists neoliberalism. Let's see how fair trade may be an example of this phenomenon.

Fair trade with the free market. The two pages in the "Wealth" chapter devoted to "Fairer and More Equitable Trade" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, pp. 72-73) contain a sustainable development discourse that critiques the excesses of neoliberalism, without mentioning the discourse of labour movements opposed to neoliberalism (see Figure 7). The introductory paragraph in bold takes a stance against international trade for being the

cause of "serious social injustice resulting from the exploitation of the poor" (p. 172). Although such language seems oppositional towards neoliberalism, such discourse may serve to provide "the human face of structural adjustment" and other undemocratic

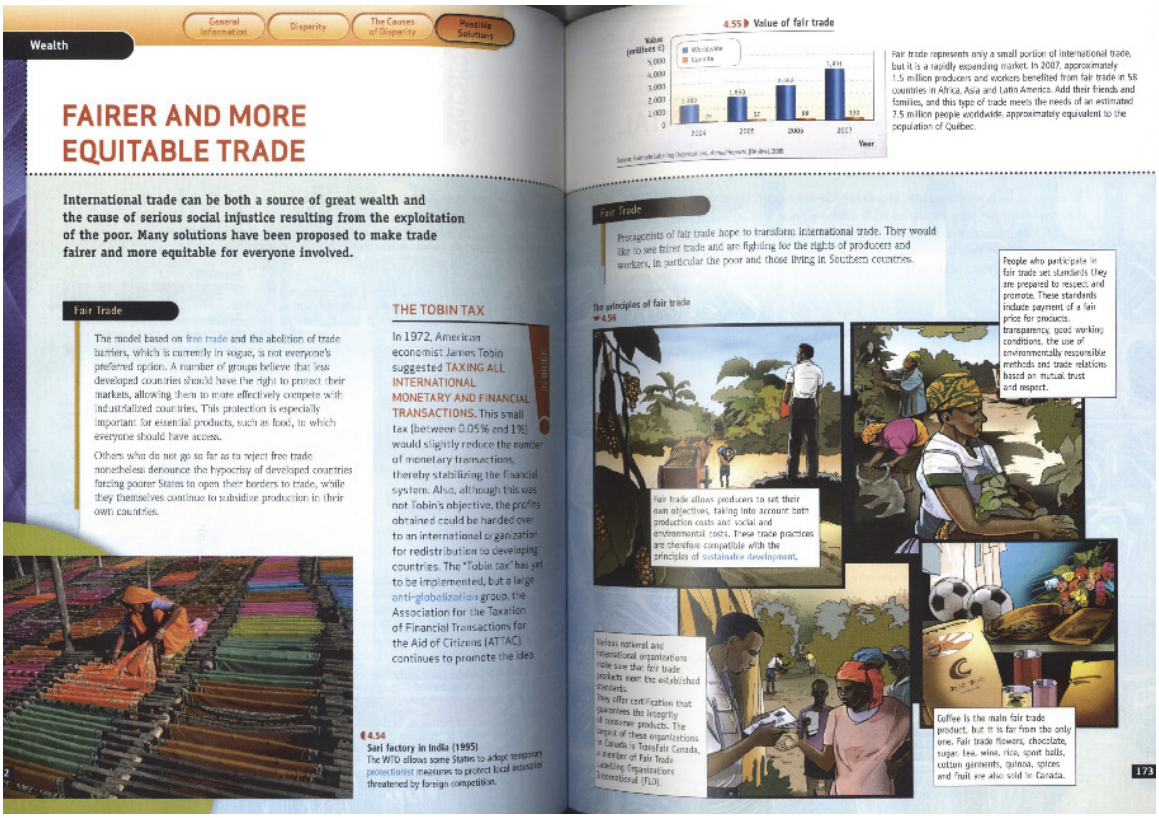


Figure 7. Fair trade is presented in *Immediate* (pp. 172-173).

disciplinary policies (Kane, 2013, p. 1507). The two sub-sections are both called "fair trade", which is a translation mistake from the original two titles: "*un commerce juste"* and "*une commerce équitable"* (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2009, pp. 172-3). In the first sub-section, free trade is said to be "currently in vogue", but "is not everyone's preferred option" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 172). This informal language is a striking form of *easification* that begs several questions. Can free trade be compared to a fashion? Do most countries and citizens truly choose free trade, or is it imposed by their leaders and by IFIs? Are citizens included in this "everyone", or is it implied that the discourse is

referring to the policy makers, politicians and NGO professionals that are part of the *globalization from above*? In an attempt to show balance, both sides of the *conversation* between protectionism and free trade are laid out as equally viable: the first, with the mysterious *identity* of "a number of groups" (p.172), argues that less developed countries should be able to protect their markets, while the others "who do not go so far as to reject free trade" (p. 172) denounce the subsidies that wealthy states supply to their production. The first discourse presented could range from a moderate liberal policy maker to more progressive social movements; even the WTO allows certain states to adopt protectionist measures, as the textbook demonstrates in a caption next to a photo of a sari factory in India (see Figure 7).

The second discourse implies that rejecting free trade is rather a radical position, and argues along the lines of more theoretical purists of neoliberalism: if wealthy countries stop subsidizing their products, especially in agriculture, then the laws of the market would do its work in spreading wealth to the Global South. This position has been brought forward by the discourses of the IMF and the World Bank (Pilger, 2003), but due to the economic interests of the Global North they have not persuaded these countries to be so foolish as to subject themselves to their own bad neoliberal advice (Harvey, 2005). Another progressive NGO that does not directly oppose neoliberalism is the fair trade movement.

The second page focuses on fair trade using a comic strip, which shows the text's *activity* of promoting fair trade consumption without opposing neoliberal practices. This section includes one of the three comic strips in the textbook. It is important to note that the use of this comic strip and textbook *intertextuality* and *easification* are used with

topics where the presentation conveys a certain *politics*: the "Family reunification" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 82) comic strip serves to promote multiculturalism and the understanding and acceptance of immigrants arriving in Canada; the "Functioning of the International Criminal Court (ICC)" serves to convince the reader that the ICC process is morally just as demonstrated by the rare expression of *politics* through the partial sentence regarding war crimes, "Once the conflict is over, these acts must not go unpunished" (p. 216); "The principles of Fair trade" (p. 173) comic strip explains the merits of this industry and engages in the *activity* of encouraging the readers to buy fair trade. Although the textbook shies away from denouncing neoliberal policies as being incompatible with social justice, here fair trade is said to be "compatible with the principles of sustainable development" (p. 173). Good working conditions and other benefits are associated with the practice, yet there is a *silence* in the discourse around the unions or labour laws set by a Keynesian state. Transfair Canada is introduced to the reader, along with a list of the many products available for the reader to purchase. While fair trade does benefit some workers in developing countries, this solution is not in contradiction with free market doctrine: with fair trade, the supposed laws and logic of the market decide if workers will earn decent wages, not regulations and collective bargaining (Forum for African Investigative Reporters [FAIR], 2012). If the people want justice, shoppers will simply have to put their money where their mouth is. As much as this may benefit workers in the Majority World, this consumer democracy does not inhibit transnational capital from conducting deregulated tax-free business, and of course it implies that consumer habits are more effective than grassroots mobilization (FAIR, 2012). This 'human face' to free market economics needs to be deconstructed and

contextualized, and the same applies to the role of NGOs working in development. We will examine this further below, but first we will examine *Immediate*'s presentation of the alter-globalization NGOs and groups that participate in the biggest annual world gathering of oppositional civic society.

The vague discursive presentation of the NGOs at the World Social Forum (WSF). The absence of social movements and a direct critique of neoliberal discourse manifests itself on the top of the second page of the section "Non-Governmental Organizations": The World Economic Forum (WEF) is contrasted with the World Social Forum (WSF) at the top of the second page, and in the title the WEF's name is about thrice the width and four times the height of the WSF's, with the former dominating above the latter (see Figure 8).

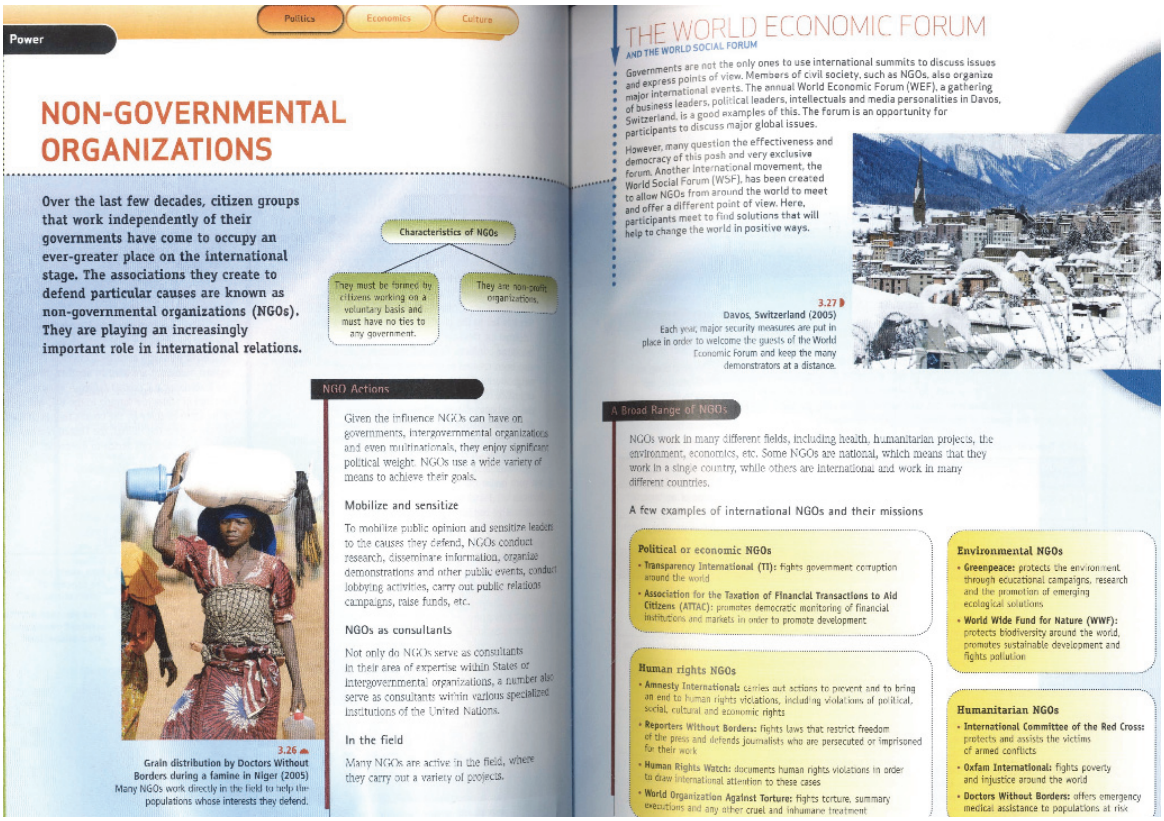


Figure 8. The WEF, the WSF, and the NGOs are presented in *Immediate* while anti-neoliberal protesters are literally and figuratively barred access to this section (pp. 120-121). Note the barbed wire in the top right.

The *relationship* between the two is thus implied visually, showing that the WEF is more important than the WSF. The first paragraph explains the purpose of the WEF, whereas the second includes at first a vague disparaging tone before introducing the WSF: “many question the effectiveness and democracy of this posh and very exclusive forum” (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 121). The *identity* of this group of critics is hidden, and their reasoning for critique is reduced to the mere form of the forum, and not what it represents in terms of the ideological *significance* of the hegemonic business leaders and intellectuals who are accused by alter-globalization movements and thinkers of orchestrating “hyperliberalism” and the “capital of globalization” (Graz, 2003, p. 321). The philosophy behind the WSF, and its adamant stance against neoliberal policies embodied in its slogan “Another world is possible” (Canet, 2010) is rendered more ambiguous through the description of the event: “NGOs from around the world [...] meet and offer a different point of view [...] to find solutions that will help to change the world in positive ways” (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 121). The ambiguous description shelters the neoliberal discourse from any concrete criticism. The role of labour unions (Guay & Létourneau, 2010) and social movements (de Sousa Santos, 2010) in the facilitation of and the participation in the WSF shows that there are missing *identities* in this discourse. Similarly, in the introduction, a picture of a demonstration of the WSF in the Philippines does contain a banner with the motto “On with the Struggle: Jobs and Justice, Land and Freedom Now!” (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 27), yet the caption to explain these powerful grassroots critiques of neoliberalism do not explain or contextualize these statements, other than referring to the WSF as a “counterweight” to the WEF. Also, demonstrators seem to be holding union banners, thus potentially

showing the power of worker's organized resistance, yet this is uncertain and young readers would probably not be able to guess this. This brief and vacuous presentation of the WSF lacks the radical critique of neoliberalism that this alter-globalization gathering embodies. We will further explore how *Immediate* includes or excludes the role of the diverse international social justice movements that attend the WSF.

3rd Movement: The Alter-globalization Movements

Fencing off the alter-globalization movements' discourses. Continuing with the analysis of the *Immediate* section on NGOs (see Figure 8), another clear example of how the anti-neoliberal discourses of social movements are virtually banished from the textbook is visualized by a picture of Davos, Switzerland where the WEFs take place: the city is foregrounded with barbed wire, and the caption explains that this is part of the security apparatus to "keep the many demonstrators at a distance" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 121). What is the *identity* of these demonstrators? What *politics* are they demanding or supporting? The reader does not know. This small caption and picture is an apt metaphor for the role of social movements in this chapter's narrative: they are shut out from attending, but in this case the barbed wire is the neoliberal discourse conspiring with the complicity of an ambiguous NGO discourse as Choudry (2010) and Kane (2013) describe and oppose. The shut-out protestors are part of the alter-globalization grassroots social movement.

Alter-globalization groups play a very small role in the chapter "Power" and in this textbook as a whole. This is surprising since Chomsky (2003) considers this movement one of the world's greatest hopes along with the WSF in the struggle against neoliberalism. Above, we saw how the WSF is presented without any details of its

ideological opposition to neoliberal globalization. The mysterious demonstrators at the WEF also have no *identity*. The only visual appearance of this movement in the textbook occurs in the section on "International Summits" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 110): in a rare display of irony and *intertextuality* (see Figure 9), the textbook combines two different types of photo genres together to create a humorous contrast: the photo on top shows a photo-op of the G8 leaders in Russia, while the photo on the bottom is a protest parody of demonstrators with masks of the G-8 leaders.

Figure 9. Anti-privatization protesters are presented in *Immediate* without much context given (p. 110).

The *significance* of this photo of grassroots resistance shows that the authors may want to give a more light-hearted and positive presentation of a movement that is often type-cast as angry rock-throwing teens (Chomsky, 2003). In this way, this *intertextuality* performs a rare instance of culture jamming (Klein, 2009) hegemonic neoliberal discourse in the

textbook. However, the *identity* of these protesters are not only hidden by their masks, but by the caption which simply states that they are "against the government policies of member countries" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 110). These policies could be anything. In the photo we can just barely make out a placard that addresses the privatization of water, but the term privatization does not appear anywhere else in the textbook so this term may remain unnoticed or meaningless for the reader. Privatization is a vital concept to understanding the dispossession of the commons via neoliberal tactics; without this *connection,* students cannot consider its implications. As we will now see, the inclusion and exclusions of certain terms define the discourse and its paradigm used in a text.

The word anti-globalization only appears twice in the textbook, and the term alter-globalization only appears in the French version of *Immediate*. As Chomsky (2002) notes, anti-globalization is a misnomer for the diverse alter-globalization movement, but the translators probably respected the more hegemonic and dominant term used in the Anglo-Saxon media to describe this movement that is better known as the alter-globalization movement in French (Canet, 2010). There are only two textual appearances of this social movement in the textbook. First, the term anti-globalization in English and alter-globalization in French are the adjectives connected to the NGO ATTAC when the "Tobin tax" is introduced (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 176; Brodeur-Girard et al., 2009, p. 17). ATTAC is briefly described, exposing the reader to the idea that international financial transactions could be taxed if there was enough political will to do so (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 172). The second mention of anti-globalization (or alter-globalization in French) occurs in the textbook under the "History Headlines"

section about the WTO's ushering in "more liberalized international trade" (p. 233). This is the only space where this militant discourse is allowed to take form: "anti-globalization groups have accused the WTO of promoting trade at the expense of international human rights standards, the struggle to end poverty and environmental protections" (p. 233). Although this discourse is partly filtered to address themes indicated in the curriculum and lack a more radical stance, at least the basic principle of the *politics* of this movement is uttered, along with its name. In the glossary, the English version of *Immediate* may have made a mistake by including the less common term, anti-globalism. In the English definition, the anti-globalization movement "struggles for change to ensure that human rights and the principles of sustainable development are respected" (p. 275). The same definition applies for the alter-globalization definition in the French textbook. Although this definition may be true for some elements of this movement, the use of the sustainable development discourse can often run counter to alter-globalization movements' values, as shown in the "Dublin Statement on Water and Sustainable Development" in 1992 that advocated for the worldwide commodification and privatization of water (Bakker, 2007). Furthermore, this shows the *politics* of the MELS curriculum and the *Immediate* textbook to advocate for sustainable development whenever possible without critiquing the neoliberal discourse directly, as we will see further below in the fifth movement of this chapter. It is important to note that this overall omission of the alter-globalization movement in the five chapters written by Brodeur-Girard and Vanasse is contrasted not only by this short passage in History Headlines, which was written by other authors, but also in the Learning Evaluation Situation (LES) written by other authors as well.

LES lets the alter-globalization protesters in. The LES for the chapter "Power"

contrasts sharply with the textbook chapter in that there is a wider diversity of discourses on issues about neoliberalism, including the anti-neoliberal discourse of grassroots social movements. Students are to read articles with differing points of view in order to interpret and take a position on the following problem: "[should a country] join an economic organization?" (Corriveau-Tendland et al., 2011b, p. 2.1). Three articles and a cartoon contain discourses that critique the Free Trade Area of the Americas and outline several problems with free trade that are not mentioned in the textbook, such as the "devastating effects" of the privatization of water, health care and education, the "exploitation of human beings" by multinationals, "NAFTA's harmful consequences", how globalization "leads to greater disparity", how free trade puts democracy "under the yoke of big business", and how the WTO has "catalyzed a race to the bottom" (pp. 2.3-2.8). Not only is this *social language* and its arguments given space, but some of the *identities* of grassroots social movements are represented: "hundreds of demonstrators" including "militants of all stripes, whether they are concerned about the environment, women's rights, social programs, health or poverty" (p. 2.3), as well as grassroots community groups such as the Association for the Defense of Social Rights[5], and national and international student unions and associations. The potential problem here is that students may be more familiar with the other articles that echo views on free trade that are present in the neoliberal discourse of the textbook: three articles present arguments and statistics to persuade the reader that free trade is advantageous, and in one case inevitable. With the textbook possessing a more authoritative, encyclopaedic, neutral and objective tone (at first glance), the articles that critique neoliberalism may be considered too emotional

[5] I am proud to say that I currently work as a community activist artist for the Montreal chapter of this association.

and biased to take seriously. As we will see in Chapter 7, the textbook and the course advise students to seek widely accepted points of view that are objective and emotionless. Nevertheless, the LES on power contrasts with the *Immediate* textbook in that it gives space to grassroots movement discourses against neoliberalism. The LES on wealth also critiques neoliberalism, but it only does so through journalistic articles and the work of humanitarian NGOs.

4th Movement: Humanitarian NGOs serving neoliberalism and neocolonialism?

Humanitarian NGOs: complicit partners of neoliberal institutions. Reflecting the dominant development discourses, the textbook discourse around NGOs may serve the interests of neoliberal policies in the Global South. Rather than offering grassroots contestation and resistance to neoliberal structural adjustment policies, the NGOs in the chapter on wealth in *Immediate*, as well as in "Tensions and Conflicts", work for humanitarian causes which are often complicit with neoliberal policies (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010). Harvey (2005) reminds us that neoliberalism is an ideology that considers human welfare to be best served by the withdrawal of the state from welfare policies (p. 64); NGOs proliferated at the same time as neoliberal policies, which is no coincidence (p. 76), since the NGOs are privately funded and serve to pacify local populations as they experience the termination or slashing of public services. This *relationship* is not described at all in the textbook. As Kane (2013) warns: "International NGOs are challenged to confront the ways in which, by implementing aid, even in the name of strengthening democratic civil society, they may be agents of legitimisation and reproduction of the very relations of power that they seek to transform" (p. 1506). An example of an NGO that has become complicit in neoliberal programs is Oxfam, which is

one of the prescribed cultural references in the MELS curriculum for Contemporary World (MELS, 2010). Briefly described in the textbook's section on the role of NGOs, their *identity* is represented using their own self-promotional discourse without making any *connection* to their complicity in systems of oppression and neoimperialism. In contrast, Choudry (2010) demonstrates how Oxfam and other presumed social justice NGOs have, at certain instances, advocated for free market reforms in the Global South alongside their neoliberal allies. The textbook's presentation of the NGOs contribute to the development discourse that portrays developing countries, especially in Africa, solely as poor and in need of help through the intervention of the Global North's money and knowledge.

Humanitarian NGOs: Stereotyping the Global South

The chapter on wealth contains a humanitarian discourse that as Müller (2013) puts it, "manufactures a truth about 'Africa' and other places perceived as destitute" (p. 470).

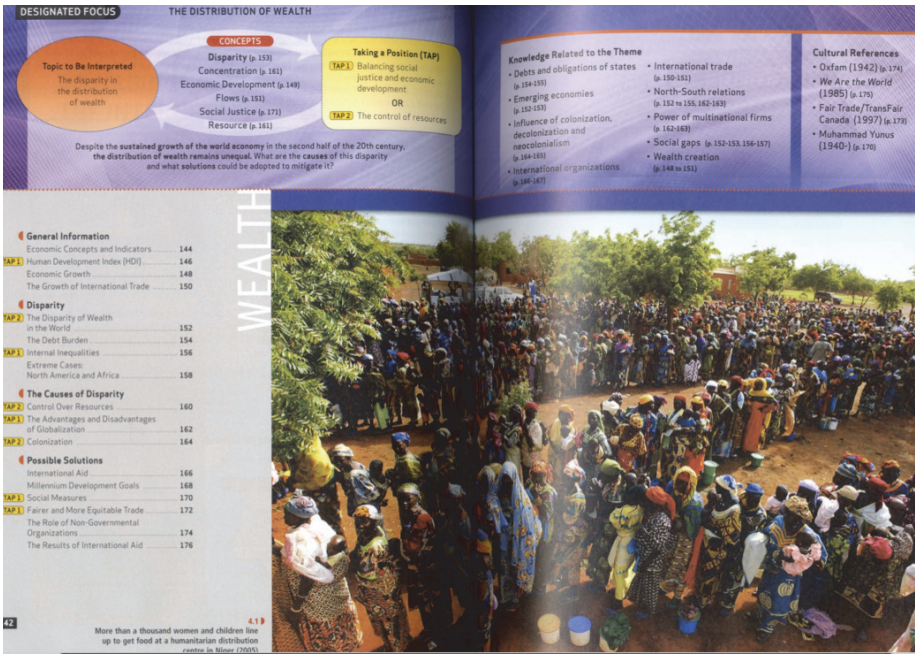


Figure 10. A typical example of how Africans and the Global South are portrayed in *Immediate* as poor and dependent on aid (p. 142).

This can be observed empirically through the visual *identities* of African people throughout the textbook, and particularly in this textbook chapter (see Figure 10). Even in the first pages of the textbook, its table of contents contains four pictures that portray the Global South as polluted, poor, in need of aid, and prone to natural disasters. After counting the photos of African men and women in the textbook, I discovered that Africans were most present in the chapter focusing on poverty with 15 photos, followed by a strong presence in "Tensions and Conflicts" with 10 photos. In the other three chapters, "Migration", "Power", and "Environment", there are only 2-3 photos of Africans in each one. Only one photo of an African appears in the introduction, that of President Mugabe, a corrupt politician. In this way, Africa is primarily illustrated through this hegemonic discourse of poverty, followed by conflict[6]. Furthermore, the textbook's two pictures of the humanitarian aid extravaganza Band Aid, as well as a separate picture of Bono and Geldof, highlight "celebrity humanitarianism" (Müller, 2013). This is embodied especially by the MELS prescribed cultural reference, the charity song "We are the World" (MELS, 2010, p. 33). As Müller posits with great lucidity, "celebrity humanitarianism" perpetuates the discourse of "[a] 'just capitalism' that legitimises the global hegemonic order based on the dynamics of capitalist exploitation and resulting contradictions between global wealth and destitution through 'compassionate consumption'" (p. 474). This type of anti-political humanitarianism views problems of poverty as unrelated to systemic inequalities related to economic imperialism. It also promotes an arrogant one-size-fits-all approach to poverty as promoted by many NGOs,

[6] Middle-Eastern people are also stereotyped in *Immediate*: their greatest visual presence occurs in the chapter on conflicts and tensions, as well as the History Headlines chapter where they are represented mostly by photos of terrorists and dictators.

disregarding the complex social systems of each community that development professionals cannot always understand. Müller argues that this discourse creates an *identity* without *agency* for the "[r]ecipients of the revenues of compassionate consumption [who] are imagined as African victims without a voice or agency and far removed from the parameters of Western life" (p. 474). This discourse of the helpless African continent and the Global south is present in *Immediate*. While it needs to be questioned, we now need to problematize *Immediate*'s use of a neoliberal discourse centred around the autonomy, freedom and individualism of people living in poverty.

Microcredit: the neoliberal grassroots fantasy. The entrepreneurial discourse of microcredit that appears under the section of "Social measures" is *significant* as it contrasts state solutions with market solutions to eradicate extreme poverty. Muhammad Yunus, the pioneer of microcredit and microfinance, is one of the prescribed cultural references by MELS (2010) for the "Wealth" unit, along with Oxfam, Fair Trade Canada, and the song "We are the World" (p. 33). These references are all solutions to wealth disparity that do not involve state measures, thus it demonstrates a subtle aspect of the neoliberal discourse: even though the "designated focus" of the unit is "the distribution of wealth" (MELS, 2010, p. 33), the curriculum does not focus on the concept of wealth redistribution through government intervention. Instead, it presents a consumer-donor discourse of NGOs and IFIs that distribute wealth in the Global South. Despite the curriculum's discursive *silence*, the textbook section "Social measures" (see Figure 11) begins with the Keynesian statement that most countries "have adopted measures to stimulate their economies and redistribute social wealth", and these policies "generally aim at being accessible to as many citizens as possible and at contributing to the

development of social justice" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 170). This welfarist discourse counters the neoliberal discourse that citizens should fend for themselves when it comes to education, health care, and unemployment. While three quarters of the section

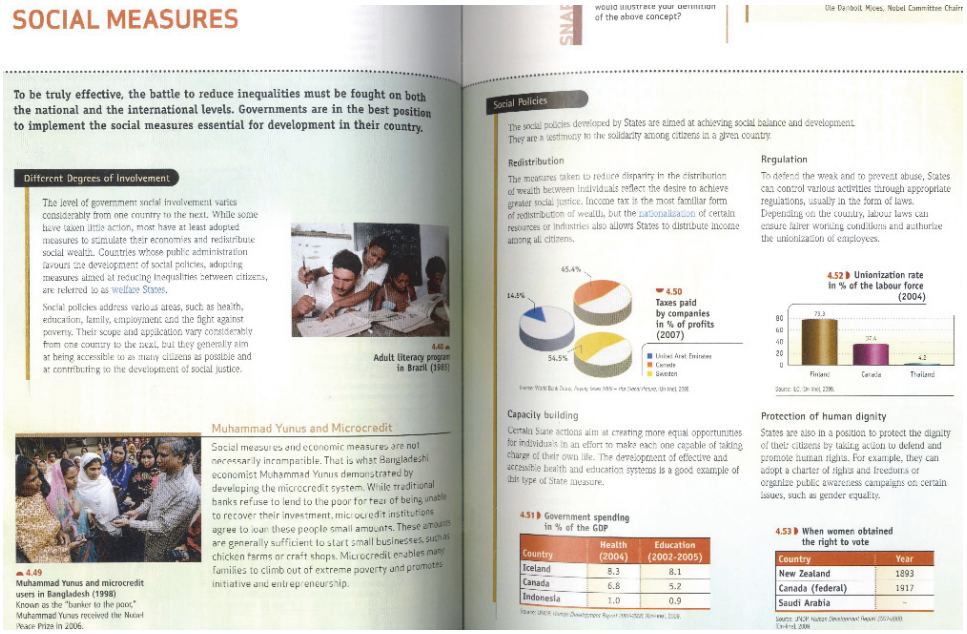


Figure 11. This section in *Immediate* shows different social measures that can eradicate poverty. Note the size allocated to micro-credit versus the top right sub-section on labour regulation (p. 170).

uses a discourse of social solidarity that describes different types of state intervention, the other quarter is dedicated to Muhammad Yunus and microcredit. As if the neoliberal discourse felt cornered and outcast in this section in which it has little place, it comes alive to highlight the *significance* of promoting "initiative and entrepreneurship", and defending market solutions in the paragraph's introductory sentence: "social measures and economic measures are not necessarily incompatible" (p. 170). Does this *epistemic modality* imply that normally economic measures, as proposed by neoliberal IFIs and states, must slash and destroy public services? If so, it could be discounting the economic measures where states can intervene in the economy to attain full employment or reduce the work week so that families can spend more time together. As for the concept of

microcredit, despite its international acclaim, it has been widely critiqued (Karim, 2008; Bateman, 2013) for its neoliberal-inspired myths about microcredit. It has proven to be "an almost wholly destructive economic and social policy intervention" (Bateman, 2013, p. 3). Creating extremely high levels of interest rates, pyramid schemes, an economy of shame, and a lottery system that distributes wealth only to a lucky few, this system has been promoted due to its ideological implications that serve the neoliberal discourse (Karim, 2008). Therefore, its inclusion in this section which is mostly about Keynesian social justice policies is highly odd; it were as if its presence serves to inspire the reader to think of entrepreneurial approaches to eradicate poverty and abandon welfarist approaches. Another contradiction in this textbook lies in the conflicting discourses of neoliberalism and the UN discourse of poverty eradication.

Balancing between the critique and praise of international aid. The "Wealth" chapter provides several sections that contain the development discourse which, although they rarely address the neoliberal constraints that limit poverty eradication goals, do not promote a neoliberal discourse. The two-page section dedicated to the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) gives this aid discourse full reign without any criticism of its contradictions. Harvey (2005) concedes that the MDG are "not entirely bereft of merit" (p. 187) but that they represent only a pious rhetoric that is contradicted by the neoliberal countries' declining investment in social measures such as education. Even within the UN resolution to adopt the MDG, Tujan (2004) brings to our attention a statement that demonstrates the MDGs' commitment to neoliberal economics: "We are committed to an open, equitable, rule-based, predictable and non-discriminatory multilateral trading and financial system" (cited in Tujan, 2004). In *Immediate*, four pages are devoted to

international aid, with the last page dedicated to "a few examples of problems with international aid" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 177). This is a rare instance in the textbook of such an amount of space being given to criticize a hegemonic discourse: the social language of international aid is contrasted with its actual social actions. In their interview, the authors were particularly proud of this section, since they felt it had a critical perspective that was not fully developed elsewhere (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). In terms of an oppositional discourse to neoliberalism, the sub-section titled "Hidden agenda" exposes how countries use donations to "open new markets for their products or to defend ideological causes" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 177). This hidden *connection* to aid is an important insight for students to question government announcements for aid to certain countries. Similarly, a sub-section is devoted to conditional aid that serves the interests of the donor country. While this page does lead readers to question hegemonic practices, it does not specifically denounce neoliberal policies promoted by the IFIs, such as austerity measures that accompany international aid. Still, we will consider below how some aspects of neoliberalism are critiqued in *Immediate* under the lens of neostructuralism.

Post-neoliberalism in aid? The argument could be made that the chapter "Wealth" is guided by a post-neoliberal discourse, or a neostructuralist discourse. Murray and Overton (2011) posit that the orthodox market-centred approach of the 80s and the 90s that imposed austerity measures on developing countries in exchange for aid was such a miserable failure in terms of social development, especially in terms of poverty, that in the 2000s a new consensus was achieved amongst aid donors. While still maintaining the neoliberal or rather economic globalization objectives of regional open markets,

production for export, and access for investment, the new paradigm would focus on social factors such as poverty levels and accountability practices to ensure that the donor aid is properly managed (Murray & Overton, 2011). The biggest contrast from the neoliberal model is that now the state is privileged as a recipient of aid for welfare services such as health and education, whereas before it was the civil society that was entrusted with the task of social development. Murray and Overton (2011) argue that this neostructuralism, which largely compliments but precedes Third Wayism, has been widely accepted by the IFIs and UN agencies. Considering that the authors of *Immediate* admitted that their knowledge of economics was limited and they relied heavily on online primary sources (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014), we can safely assume that this neostructuralist discourse constitutes part of the textbook's *sign systems and knowledge*. The most striking example certainly occurs in the introduction of the section "Social Measures": "To be truly effective, the battle to reduce inequalities must be fought on both the national and international levels. Governments are in the best position to implement the social measures essential for development in their country" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 170). This statement fits Murray and Overton's description of neostructuralism, or at least, it shows that the dominant discourse of IFIs and funding agencies at the time of the *Immediate* authors' research in the autumn of 2009 reflected a post-neoliberal discourse, in rhetoric at least. The emphasis on poverty eradication is also new to the post-neoliberal era, as identified in the MDG section of the textbook. Still, Murray and Overton (2011) problematize the term post-neoliberal, since the objectives of economic globalization and market-based economies are still the ultimate objective. This is definitely the case in this chapter, since

the exploitation of the poor and general inequalities are taken seriously yet they can only be reconciled with solutions that do not disturb the hegemonic global market and the sacred right of capital freedom. In other words, there is no alternative to neoliberalism, but we can still give it a human face through some social measures. Seeing as how neostructuralism is not listed as a theme in the curriculum, it is also possible that the conception of *Immediate*'s narrative was more intentionally oriented by the principles of sustainability, the prescribed "central concept" of the "Environment" unit (MELS, 2010, p. 25).

5th movement : Environmentalist Movements Versus the Sustainable Development Discourse

Sustainable discourse is unquestionable, but it does not question neoliberalism. The chapter "Environment" in *Immediate* not only has a focus on sustainability, it is the only chapter that has a clear unwavering *politics* in that it fully endorses one perspective and discourse, deeming its practice and philosophy to be ideal and moral. In contrast, the other chapters have questions that are framed within a *conversation* between two or several discourses; the chapter "Power" shifts back and forth between protectionist state sovereignty and interdependent globalized states; "Wealth" attempts to find the balance between social justice and economic development; "Tensions and Conflicts" explores the reasons for and against "external intervention in a sovereign territory" (p.178); finally, "Population" focuses on several different issues surrounding regional and global migration. In contrast, the chapter on the environment makes the moral imperative explicit from the first page that governments and citizens need to pursue several environmental initiatives under the influence of the sustainable development discourse;

observe the underlined words that reveal the narrator's *activity* of persuasion and moral necessity.

> The exploitation and consumption of natural resources have led to major environmental problems. Action must be taken to ensure their management, and economic, political and social choices must be made. Given that this is a global issue, the action must be taken on a worldwide scale, particularly through international agreements. (p. 28)

The word "must" is used three times, while in the French version the similar words "*doivent"* and "*nécessite*" appear once each with the same fervour. In this *figured world,* "International agreements" is privileged as the main path to sustainability, particularly via the Kyoto Protocol and Earth Summits to which 6 pages are devoted. The solutions presented are almost exclusively through a *globalization from above* perspective, giving little space for grassroots social movements and their struggles fighting for environmental justice. Also, although capitalist consumption societies are presented as excessive and in need of regulation, the excesses of neoliberalism are not critiqued.

Environmentalism for diplomats, technocrats and scientists. The MELS curriculum and the chapter's designated focus of "Environmental management" and its central concept of "sustainable development" gives a diplomatic and technocratic perspective of environmentalism (MELS, 2010). Kahn considers sustainability discourse to contain an overwhelmingly instrumentalist and deterministic approach that promotes supposedly green technology devised by experts, international policy makers and scientists (Kahn, 2010, pp. 14-15). In a section on environmental international agreements, the narrator's fetish for science and international diplomacy is best

exemplified in the text's rare addressing of the reader in the second person: "Can you imagine a neutral territory where States work together freely to promote science and respect for the environment? No, it is not a utopia, but Antarctica" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 59). This rare light hearted moment in the textbook reveals how the text privileges the *sign systems and knowledge* of scientific studies and transnational negotiation. The respect for science also manifests in the narrator's *silence* on and exclusion of economically-motivated discourses that deny the causal link between industrial activity and global warming.[7] While the curriculum's "knowledge related to the theme" includes topics that represent a *globalization from above* "international agreements", "international organizations", and "measures taken by states", it also includes "environmental groups", "climate change", and "mass consumption" (MELS, 2010) which can be viewed through the *globalization from below* perspective. The authors decided to focus more on the former perspective in this chapter, which can easily be seen in the relative proportions of thematic division: 12 pages on global pollution and resource problems, four pages supposedly on social movements, two pages about sustainable development, four pages about green technology, and, quite disproportionately, 14 pages on international agreements (see Figure 12).

[7] As an environmentalist, I of course agree whole-heartedly with this discursive *silence* on climate change denial. Sadly, educational resources exist that promote this pseudo-science. As a teacher I once received resources from the Simon Fraser Institute that taught students, and teachers, how to deny global warming.

Environmental Problems

Environmental Action

International Agreements

Figure 12. The table of contents for the chapter on the environment (p. 28).

This narrative arc begins with several problems, then finds a solution through sustainable development, and ends with the moral battle to achieve an international "harmonization of environmental standards" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 28). The vast majority of the discussion on these pages presents the complex *relationships* of environmental regulation with a focus on states and diplomacy, while neglecting the *connections* that social movements have in pressuring these states to move on environmental regulations (Hopkins, 2012). This gives the impression to the reader that global citizens remain mostly docile spectators who hope that the experts will solve these complex environmental problems (Hopkins, 2012), just as the social measures and safety nets provided by states were gifts given by politicians instead of long struggles by labour movements (Cole et al., 2011). Despite the strong focus on the Kyoto Protocol and international agreements, the last two sections present "the problems in implementation" and a mixed "results" which cast doubt on the effectiveness of non-binding agreements (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, pp. 62-65). The authors themselves stated that they regret

having placed so much emphasis on the Kyoto Protocol since it was doomed to lose support from several countries, including Canada, and they also said that they felt that the chapter ended on an utterly depressing note (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). This may have been averted if they had considered more *agency* for communities and individuals to mobilize and act against environmental injustice. This is also a good example of the power of the discourse (neoliberalism) in determining what can be written (in textbooks and elsewhere) and what cannot be; what can be said and what cannot be. In this way, grassroots environmental groups are missing in *Immediate*.

Missing and misrepresented environmental movements. The limited space devoted to a *globalization from below* marginalizes and excludes social movements and thus obscures them from the young students' consciousness. In the two sections respectively titled "Growing awareness" and "Environmental movements" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010 pp. 42-45), scientists, celebrities, NGOs and political parties take the

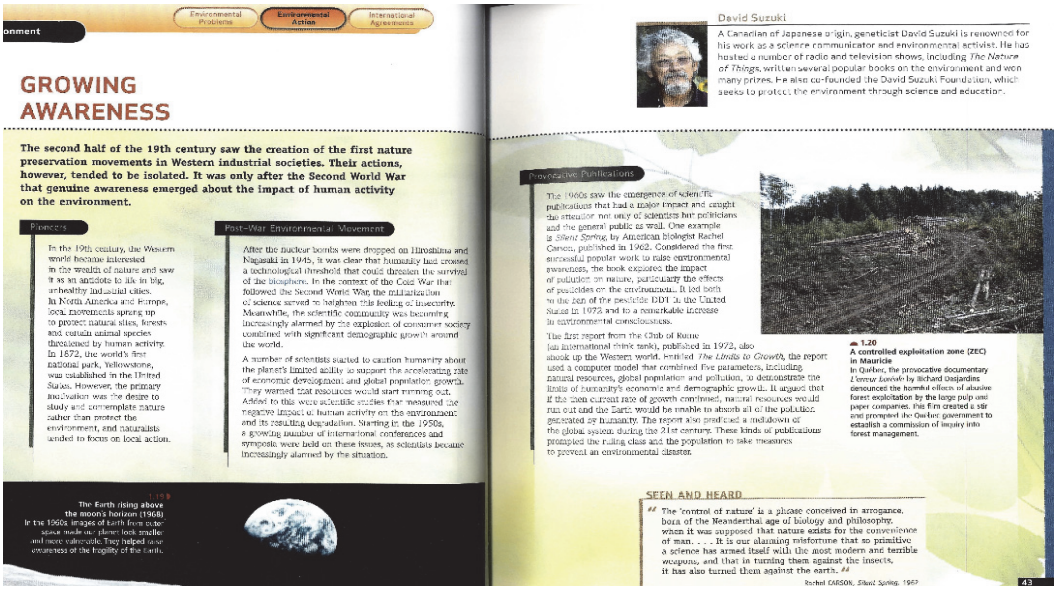


Figure 13. *Immediate*'s first section on environmental movements. Note how very little space is given to social movements (pp. 42-43)

the centre stage (see Figure 13 and 14). On the first two pages, the scientist David Suzuki is prominently pictured with a short biography; the "Post-war environmental movement" sub-section describes how "the militarization of science served to heighten [a] feeling of insecurity" while erasing the *identity* of those who had that "feeling", and then goes on to focus solely on the *sign systems and knowledge* of the scientists and scientific authority; the "Provocative Publications" sub-section focuses on the biologist "Rachel Carson" and the Club of Rome think tank; the activism of singer-songwriter Richard Desjardins is then briefly explained. Thus, only professionals and celebrities working within institutions are credited for their involvement. The only brief mention of grassroots community organizing is under the "Pioneers" sub-section, where in the 19th century "local movements sprang up to protect natural sites, forests and certain animal species" (p. 42). It is a shame that this process of community movements spontaneously emerging does not receive a full section to inspire the student reader. As for the two pages on "Environmental Movements", the exclusion of social movements continues: the NGOs Sierra Club, Greenpeace and the Green Belt Movement receive a paragraph each describing some of their accomplishments, and the "Green parties" receive the largest

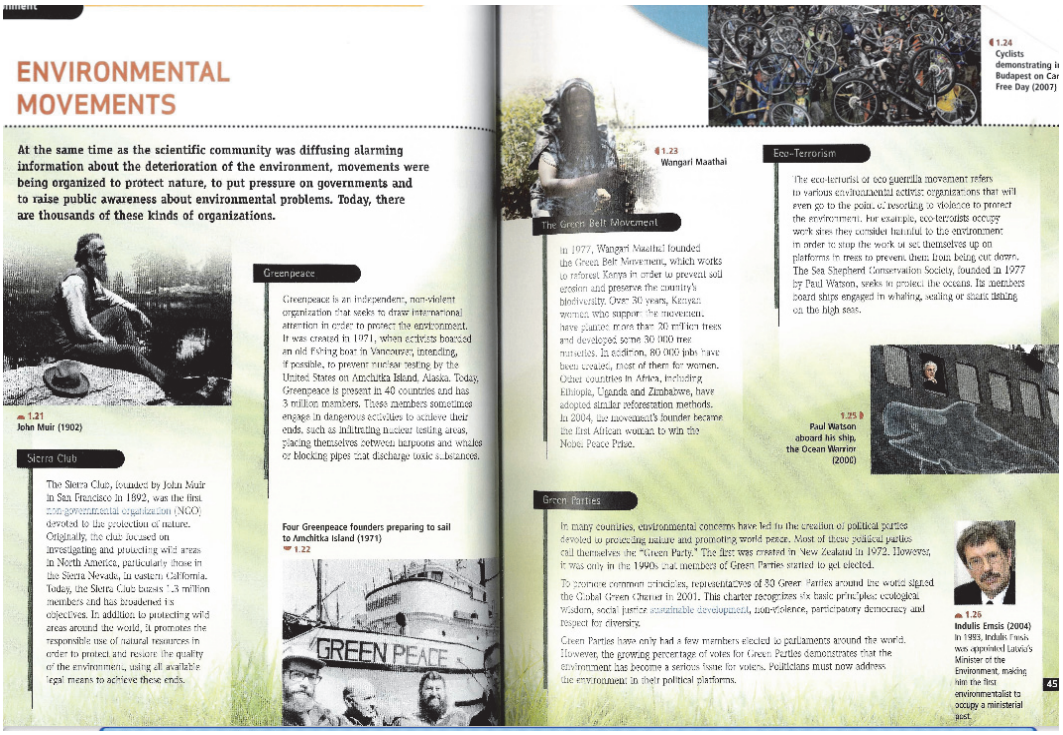


Figure 14. *Immediate*'s second section on environmental movements.

space (see Figure 14). The only space for social movements, other than a photo of "Cyclists demonstrating in Budapest on Car Free Day" (p. 45), is under the sensationally titled sub-section: "Eco-terrorism".

> The eco-terrorist or eco-guerrilla movement refers to various environmental activist organizations that will even go to the point of resorting to violence to protect the environment. For example, eco-terrorists occupy work sites they consider harmful to the environment in order to stop the work or set themselves up on platforms in trees to prevent them from being cut down. The Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, founded in 1977 by Paul Watson, seeks to protect the oceans. Its members board ships engaged in whaling, sealing or shark fishing on the high seas. (p. 45)

This portrayal of radical environmentalists is one of the very few factual errors of the textbook, but it is difficult not to link this sloppy description to the text's exclusion and

marginalization of social movements. First, the term eco-terrorism is a controversial term that is wrongly used in this context. As Vanderheiden (2005) notes, violence consists of harming a human being or animal. The destruction of private property can more aptly be called sabotage, or as Vanderheiden proposes "ecotage" (p. 425). Granted, there do exist some radical environmentalists who will kill for their cause, but they are few and far between (Kahn, 2010). Second, the example given in the textbook are neither manifestations of violence nor property destruction, but of non-violent civil disobedience. Third, Sea Shepherd is a non-profit organization that has been accused of eco-terrorism, not only in terms of sabotage but in terms of injuring whalers, but the textbook's example of their work does not constitute sabotage or violence. Fourth, the overall impression of these four pages may lead readers to conclude that environmental movements engage in only dangerous and confrontational *activities*; Greenpeace is described by its "dangerous activities" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 44). Meanwhile, there is an odd *silence* and exclusion on the role of grassroots social movements. This misrepresentation of civil disobedience and radical social movements is also found in the "Ideologies" section in the introduction (p. 10), where anarchism is described in fairly neutral terms but its photographic *identity* constitutes of a group of Black Bloc protestors who may appear

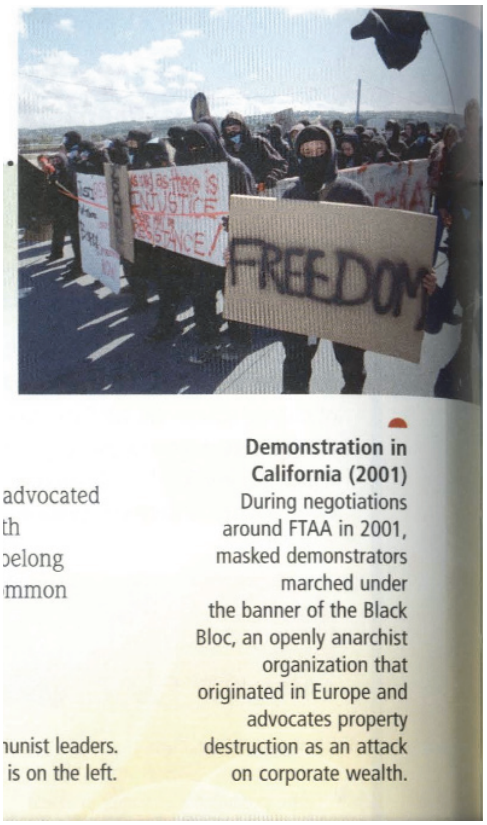


Figure 15. The depiction of anarchists in *Immediate*'s introduction (p. 10).

fairly intimidating and dangerous to young readers (see Figure 15). The caption further cements their violent *identity* that the hegemonic corporate media often conveys during protests (Chomsky, 2003) by stating that anarchists advocate "property destruction as an attack on corporate wealth" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 10). This portrayal not only typecasts anarchist actions in general, which play an important role in grassroots movements with international networks (Bakker, 2007; Canet, 2010); it does not elaborate on the various methods available to citizens who wish to perform civil disobedience. Thus, the sections on social action in the "Environment" chapter follows the same pattern as the rest of the textbook: it promotes international institutions, NGOs, scientists, celebrities and political parties, while excluding or misrepresenting environmental social movements.

Excluded environmental movements: a missing opposition to neoliberalism.

Many grassroots social movements that oppose environmental destruction, using counter-neoliberal discourse, could (should) have been included in this chapter. As the narrator seem to apologize for neglecting social movements, the teacher's guide notes to this chapter state "there are thousands of environmental movements" and "it was impossible to include all of them, so two representative examples were selected" (Corriveau-Tendland, 2011d, p. 32). Due to their admitted dependency on institutions as primary sources (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014), the authors neglected the environmentalist *globalization from below* even more so than what is proposed in the curriculum. They could have focused on the important role of social movements at the World Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm 1972 where grassroots social movements protested and demanded that the international community focus on the problems of pollution and environmental degradation. The result of this mobilization? The United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) was born (Hopkins, 2012, pp. 22-34). Social movements have continued to apply pressure on states to sign on to international environmental regulations. In terms of *glocal* (Fairclough, 2006; Abdi & Naseem, 2008) examples, campaigns from the ground up opposing industrial projects could have been explained along with the battles against the privatization of water, the dispossession of land, and mining pollution in the Global South (Bakker, 2007; Smith & Johnston, 2002). A section could have been included on international solidarity struggles that fight against environmental racism, where marginalized people such as Indigenous people, black people in the Global North and poor people in the Global South do not enjoy the same rights as more privileged groups

in the neoliberal economy (Bowers, 2002). Also, neither the critique of Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) nor the social movements against them were mentioned, other than an a brief mention that GMOs are banned in Europe, but without any explanation (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2011, p. 53). Similarly, vegan and vegetarian movements, along with their environmental and ethical arguments for not eating meat, were not considered. These blind spots in the text may be in large part due to the chapter's focus on sustainable development, a progressive yet ambiguous discourse that can become complicit with the neoliberal hegemony.

Sustainability complicit with neoliberalism. While the sustainable development discourse includes the pillars of social and ecological development, its pillar of economic development does not allow for a radical critique of capitalism or neoliberalism. Two pages in the chapter on environment are devoted to sustainable development (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, pp. 46-47): one focuses on the Brundtland report, the other displays a Venn diagram of the three pillars of sustainable development, which is the most complex and colourful diagram of the textbook and thus expresses the *significance* that this concept is meant to hold for the curriculum and the student. Six short paragraphs explain the six different types of development, including "Equitable development [...] which seeks to increase workers' rights and improve their working conditions" (p. 47). The contrast with this statement and the neoliberal policies about cheap and mobile labour (in the chapter on migration) is striking. In this way, this textbook simultaneously contains both the critical and the neoliberal cosmopolitan democratic discourses as defined by Camicia and Franklin (2011). Still, the concept of sustainable development was accepted by the world's neoliberal governments, so it is safe to assume that this environmental

discourse and the agreements it inspired do not hinder the constant quest for economic growth via exploitation of marginalized workers and the destruction of the commons (Kahn, 2010; Johnson, 1994). Johnson (1994) illustrates how the interests of neoliberalism were appeased in the *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*: it protects the "right to development", the "sovereign rights [of states] to exploit their own resources", and explicitly equates "economic growth" with "sustainable development" since environmental standards should not limit "international trade" (quoted in Johnson, 1994, pp. 118, 120).

Although the potential is there, in practice this discourse does not set out to do what Hill and Boxley's articulation of eco-socialism (2007) proposes: teach educators and students the impacts of industrial and neoliberal policies and practices on the planet's ecosystems and critique the paradigm of economic growth under the capitalist model. Such a discourse would afford a stronger focus on social action and change and spur citizens to action, rather than ignore or downplay the *connections* between neoliberalism and environmental injustice. Furthermore, an Eco-Justice pedagogy as presented by Bowers (2002) would help achieve an emancipatory ecological consciousness that goes beyond the docile role of policy spectator that is promoted in the MELS (2010) curriculum for Contemporary World, and even more so in *Immediate*. Nevertheless, being a spectator does allow for criticism of the hegemony of the US and the Global North.

Sustainability critiques US and economic hegemonies. The discourse of sustainability and its articulation in this textbook, despite its aversion to critiquing the excesses of neoliberalism, does oppose the hegemonic discourse in that it calls for

regulating the international markets and for setting aside economic interests. As stated further above, the moral imperative of making a green policy shift manifests itself not only at the onset but throughout the chapter, as shown on the page following the presentation of sustainable development: “Societies must make choices to prevent the degradation of their living environment and to promote sustainable development on Earth” (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 48). Similar to the social justice versus economic development *conversation* in the “Wealth” chapter, a very short but uneven conversation is permitted in the second last section of the chapter which critiques the economic hegemony: “There are a variety of reasons for refusing to sign an agreement. [...] However, economic reasons are the most common. Clearly, a country with a lucrative oil industry will tend to be less inclined to sign an agreement that seeks to reduce global oil consumption” (p. 62). Here, the sustainable development discourse seems to clash with the liberal market discourse, placing a great amount of *significance* on the economic interests that “stand in the way of the common interests of the planet” (p. 62). In this way, the long section on international agreements does fly in the face of a *laissez faire* capitalism: it critiques the economic hegemony for neglecting to account for the externalities of long term ecological consequences, yet the text does not go so far as to critique capitalism itself. The *politics* of this interventionist discourse manifests itself most vividly through a strategically placed disappointment at the end of the section “The United Nations Earth Summits”: “Despite the adoption of a general action plan, its success was overshadowed by the American government’s decision to not attend” (p. 57).

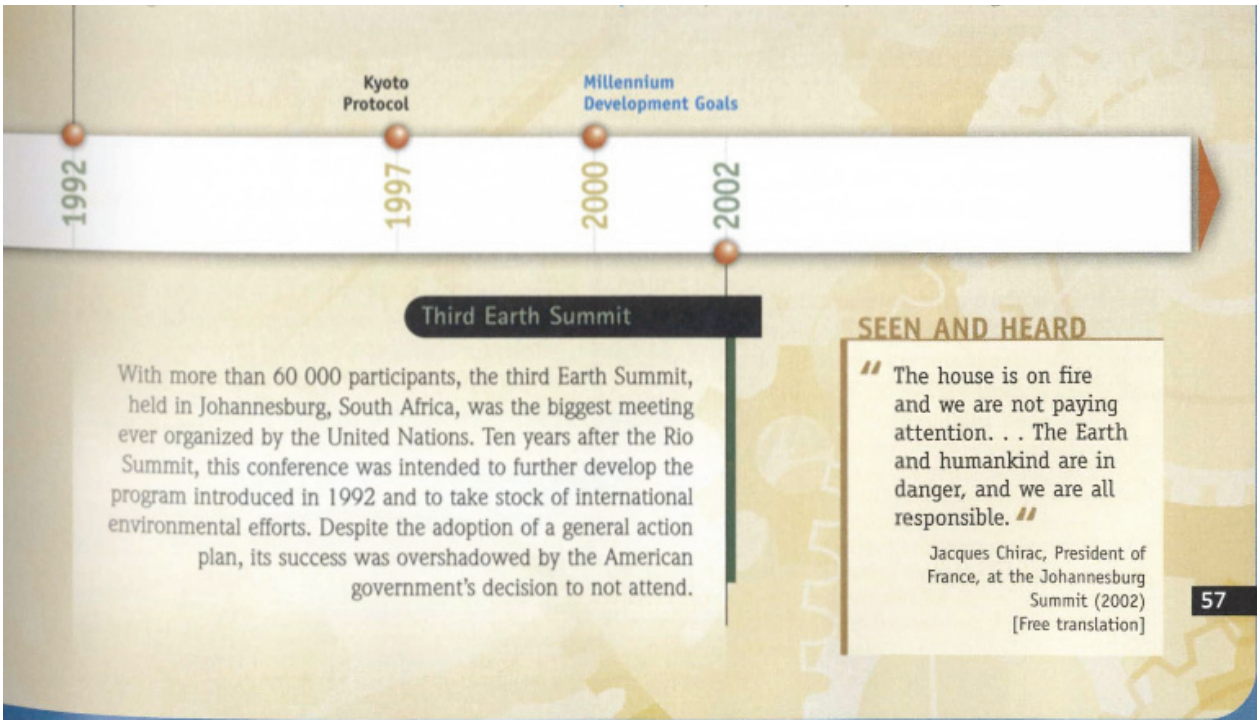


Figure 16. *Immediate*'s discursive narrative bemoans the failures of the Earth Summits (p. 57).

See Figure 16. The failure is then amplified through the passionate metaphor of Jacques Chirac: "The house is on fire and we are not paying attention... The Earth and humankind are in danger, and we are all responsible" (p. 57). In this way, the American hegemonic *activity* on the world stage is denounced for not playing along with the United Nations, a similar theme that is addressed in "Tensions and Conflicts".

Since warfare is incompatible with the sustainability discourse, *Immediate*'s "Tensions and Conflicts" chapter condemns most acts of war, especially that of the US, however it does not make *connections* to neoliberal or neoconservative influences in military hostilities. Since the purview of my textbook analysis is limited to the economic tenets of neoliberalism, I will keep my analysis of this chapter brief in order to highlight some relevant themes. This chapter is framed in a *conversation* question that places a limit in scope: when is external intervention in a sovereign territory necessary? The text thus juxtaposes national sovereignty with humanitarian militarism. It also contrasts

invading countries' hidden interests with the legitimacy provided by the United Nations' approval of an intervention. The American hegemony and its unilateral decisions are thus critiqued, however there is little consideration of neoliberal policies.

I will refrain from analyzing this chapter, which focuses on war since, as Roberts, Secor and Sparke (2003) acknowledge, it may be imprecise to connect "neoliberal norms to the vagaries of geopolitics" (p. 895) and warfare. At the same time, the argument holds true that neoliberalism and a global economic system depends on the constant threat of US and NATO force (Roberts, Secor, & Sparke 2003). Despite the economic incentives of intervening countries being described in this chapter, the relationship between the costs of maintaining economic globalization through military belligerence is not entertained. Also, the effects of post-war construction and imposed neoliberalism, as best demonstrated in the neoliberal assault on a post-invasion Iraq (Schwartz, 2007), is not explored, and neither is the powerful clout of the military industrial complex with its public and private relationships that wage war merely to raise profits and maintain its hegemony (Chomsky, 2011). Still, the chapter does critique and question some

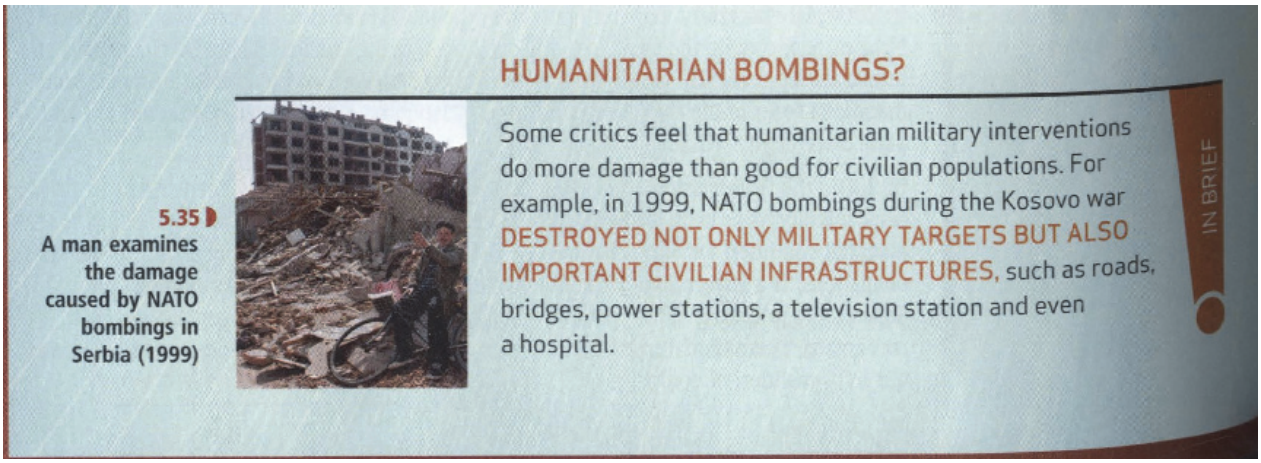


Figure 17. NATO's "humanitarian bombings" are questioned in *Immediate* (p. 204).

humanitarian wars, as can be seen in Figure 17. Similarly, I will withhold my analysis of the chapter's focus on social movements since those addressed in this chapter (Algerian nationalists, Chinese students at Tiananmen square, Tamil Tigers, Amnesty International demonstrators) are not fighting against neoliberalism. However, many modern conflicts involving social movements that did result from neoliberalism were not included: riots and protests against privatization, increases in food prices due to speculation, and austerity measures are some examples (Harvey, 2005). It should be noted that this section neglects presenting any anti-war demonstrations and solidarity movements for conflicts abroad, despite their many achievements. Instead, a section is dedicated to "Humanitarian Organizations" (p. 214) that mostly do not dissent against war and its neoliberal *connections*. This continues the textbook's trend of *silence* surrounding the power of social movements. The authors' reasons for this neglect is explained below.

Why the Authors 'Buried' the *Globalization from Below*

In their interview, the authors Vanasse and Brodeur-Girard admitted that they had left out social movement groups in the textbook, and that they could have included them in several sections despite the curriculum's limited inclusion of grassroots groups. To explain this exclusion, they partly blamed the political context of 2008-2009, which experienced a sort of lull in social movement action. "It was pre-occupy, pre-*printemps érable* [the Quebec student movement of 2012], [...] pre-Arab spring [...], before the current vision of Canada as well [under Harper] [...] The political context has changed these past 5 years" (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). They admitted that their "social consciousness" was limited at that time and that it had "evolved" ever since, even as they were researching and writing about issues

that they had known little about before (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). Brodeur-Girard stated, "it's true, for the pressure groups here I just focused on NGOs but I could have been more open towards civil society" (personal communication, February 11, 2014). They also confessed that the textbook's lack of social action in terms of grassroots mobilization may have been influenced by their overall feeling of pessimism as they were researching and writing.

> When we said we were depressed about the end of the chapter on environment, we were like, my god! There are so many problems! It didn't instigate us to write about how each citizen, each individual can change things. We generally had a pessimistic vision. (Brodeur-Girard & Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014).

Furthermore, the working conditions under which they had to produce this textbook were not conducive to having hopeful thoughts: "We did two pages per day, wow, so we have this theme, today we do the research, we study it, we read sources on it, then we write it all in one day" (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). Due to these stressful conditions, the authors point out that there was no time to sit back and reflect or to do any serious revising. Most importantly, "nobody read the textbook from A-Z to with a global vision and critique"). This may be why the text sometimes appears to be a smattering of several discourses forming a heterogeneous blend of *sign systems* and *knowledge, identities, relationships, politics, activities, connections* and forms of *significance*. It results in a text rich with contradictions in its attempt to create a *figured world* through a consensus of its era's most dominant institutions. Its crystallization is dominated by a discursive *globalization from above*

advocating neoliberalism along side an institutional-oriented sustainable development discourse, leaving little room for anti-neoliberal perspectives from grassroots social movements.

Now that we have considered *Immediate* and Contemporary World's presentations of five movements that oppose but also assist neoliberal practices, we will now look at what sort of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) student is being modeled.

Chapter 7: What Type of Citizen Is Modeled in *Immediate* and Contemporary World?

Chapter Summary

This chapter first examines what aspects of the Global Citizenship Education (GCE) literature are articulated, or not, in *Immediate* and the course Contemporary World. Both are shown to emphasize the knowledge and critical skills associated with GCE while neglecting the social action and agency that is usually promoted. Anti-racism, understanding the global other, and exploring personal experience and feelings are other aspects that are totally absent from both the course and its textbook. The second part of the chapter examines how the textbook fails to critique Canada or Quebec for its global and local problems, particularly avoiding the infamous role of the Canadian mining industry in the Global South. Rather, Canada is presented several times in the textbook under a positive light. This thesis chapter ends with the reflections of the authors as to how and why they attempted to avoid Canada.

What Aspects of GCE Are Covered?

Knowledge and analytical skills. The curriculum for Contemporary World and the textbook *Immediate* successfully articulate most of the knowledge-based themes that Evans *et al.* (2009) outline as being fundamental to GCE. Both invite students to examine global themes, structures, and systems such as interdependence, peace and conflict, sustainable development, and geo-political systems. Through the readings, students can explore controversial world issues and different international strategies for managing conflicts concerning various aspects such as ecology, health, security, etc. Diverse

political beliefs are covered, although as noted previously, liberal and often neoliberal beliefs are more dominant in *Immediate*. To a certain extent, students who work through the LES can develop their "critical civic literacy capacities" (Evans et al., 2009) such as critical inquiry, decision-making, and media literacy. However, the activities proposed are largely focused on individual research and writing work. Thus, the notion of integrating conflict management through group activities is absent. The techniques students need to learn are more analytical in nature, as defined in the curriculum.

- Interpreting and creating a map
- Interpreting a written document
- Interpreting and creating a time line
- Interpreting a picture
- Interpreting and creating a graph
- Interpreting and creating a contingency table (MELS, 2010, pp. 34-39)

These techniques both provide access to information and enable students to communicate their research results. The citizen skills are mostly intellectual, and do not engage as much in communal action. *Immediate*'s lack of citizen's *agency* neglects one aspect of the curriculum: the competency to consider "opportunities for social action" (p. 16). This is understandable, since very few of the knowledge-based concepts in the curriculum are specifically related to this competency. Still, an inventive teacher, or textbook author, can find several ways to link virtually all the curriculum concepts to concrete modes of action for citizens to play a role in the course of history, whether locally or internationally.

Missing social action and agency. When asked about the missing role of social action, the authors replied that this was simply not the focus of the course, which is true

in terms of the prescribed content (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). While there are several NGOs listed that may inspire students to get involved, there are no explicit activities inviting students to "establish […] an action plan" (MELS, 2010, p. 16) as the curriculum requires. In this sense, this textbook lacks an essential GCE component of engaging in "informed and purposeful civic action" (Evans et al., 2009, p. 21) such as community work, organizations that support youth agency, or joining grassroots social movements with *glocal* implications (Abdi & Naseem, 2008). Interestingly, Jean Charest, the former Premier of Quebec, made an electoral campaign promise in 2012 to institute a mandatory 40 hour volunteer component for Contemporary World students, but he did not get re-elected (Chouinard, 2012). Although this involuntary volunteerism is critiqued by some GCE scholars (Carr, 2011), this would have conformed to a certain trend in GCE. The general *silence* on the role of citizens in *Immediate* places its textbook under the categories of civics textbooks that Pingel (2010) outlines: the textbook has an institutional approach, a static description system imposed on the individual, and the student engages only in passive participation as a rational well-informed observer and opinion-expresser (p. 73). The student is also not invited to discover their epistemology of how they see the 'other'.

Anti-racism and the understanding the 'other'. A major component missing in *Immediate* and the Contemporary World curriculum is an anti-racism discourse (Carr, 2011) and an approach to epistemologically understand the 'other' (Santos, 2007; de Oliveira Andreotti, 2011). Due to the course's emphasis on institutions, there is an inherently Quebec-eurocentric bias that extinguishes other cultures' self-determination

and alternative visions, a tendency found in many GCE and CE curricula (Mannion et al., p. 452); in *Immediate*, Africa is portrayed mostly in terms of poverty and not in terms of its alternative modes of living and rich traditions. The concept of historical decolonization is addressed, but as for the ongoing epistemological decolonization that must occur in democratic education... not so much (McLaren, 2008; Abdi & Richardson, 2008). Students are never asked to question their own perspective in terms of privilege of class or race. Stereotypes are not questioned, and are actually reinforced at times; for example, Arab people are mostly represented as dictators, terrorists, and victims of conflict or inequality. Indigenous culture and rights are entirely overlooked, other than one image of "an indigenous Kapayo man from Brazil" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 57) with an accompanying caption about the struggle of indigenous groups against the destruction of the Amazon forest.

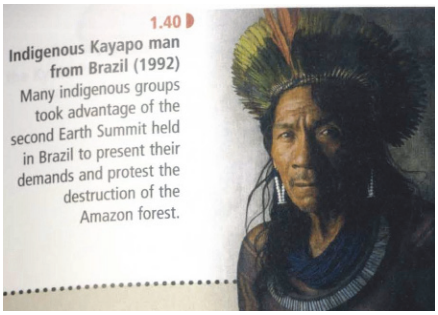


Figure 18. The only illustration of an indigenous person in Immediate (p. 57).

Certain rights (human, labour, refugees) are considered, although there is a total *silence* on LGBT issues and rights. The wealth chapter does explore Global North/South relations, economic injustice, and neocolonialism, as Pashby and others advocate (2011), but there is no emphasis on empathy and emotion. Rather, the *sign systems of knowledge* are often empirical through statistics and institutional trends that do not tap into the

affective or empathetic modes of communication proposed in GCE literature (Evans et al., 2009) .

Ignoring the personal. Whereas feminist perspectives describe the "personal as political" (Hanisch, 1970) and critical pedagogy focuses on the transformative aspect of education which must be grounded in the learner's experience (Freire, 1970), the Contemporary World textbook and curriculum privilege authoritative sources from institutions and mainstream media, rarely inviting the young readers to delve into their personal experience to examine *glocal* manifestations of global concepts (Abdi & Naseem, 2008). Consider this empirical evidence: there are 30 sub-sections in the textbook that contain questions for the student to answer (see Figure 19), and only one asks the reader about their personal *relationship* with the concept: "Do you recognize yourself in this definition [of consumption]?" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 33). The other 29 sub-sections focus on either defining a concept that is presented on the same

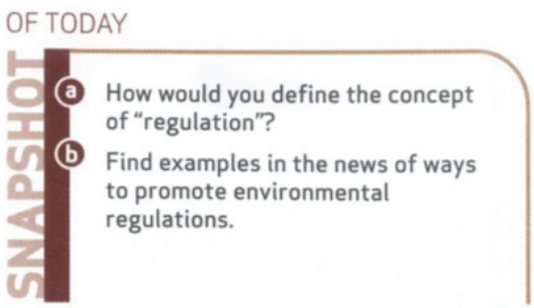


Figure 19. A typical example of the "Snapshot of today" questions in *Immediate* (p. 55).

page or asking the student to rely on media sources to find their information. For example: "Find examples in the news of the ways to promote environmental regulations" (p. 55). This insistence on seeking authoritative sources to understand global issues undermines the student's intimate knowledge of concepts that have personally affected

them such as company relocation, migration, debt, and community organizing. Moreover, emotions are totally absent from the textbook and the activities, and the values of objectivity and rationality are privileged in a patriarchal fashion. In the "Techniques" section, two of the tips for developing a hypothesis reveal this banishment of sentiment: it cannot "contain value judgments or biases" or "convey emotion or feeling" (p. 246). The curriculum exhibits this same trend, even under the connection to the "Subject area" of "Personal development", the course is related to abstract concepts such as "democratic life", "community life", and "deliberation on social issues" while there is a total *silence* about feelings (MELS, 2010, p. 6). In these ways, the activity of inviting the reader to explore their emotions and personal experience is totally absent from the curriculum and the textbook for Contemporary World. Such emotions would need to be acknowledged if students in GCE learn about the unpleasant characteristics of their country's actions in the Global South; de Oliveira Andreotti (2011) argues that students need guidance and attentiveness from their teachers as they experience feelings of fear, shame, and anger once they start understanding their "epistemic privilege" (p. 285) as members of the Minority World.

O Canada: We Stand Uncritical For Thee

The text privileges Canada's positive role in international politics. While the textbook encourages students to "exercise critical judgment" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, back cover), it mostly does so in terms of questioning the practices of other states without much critique of Canada. Canada plays an important role both in its institutions' (state, multinational, transnational) support of neoliberal policies (Gordon, 2010; Engler, 2010) as well as its civil society that joins the global fight against hyperliberalism at

home and abroad (Canet et al., 2010). A quantitative evaluation of all the images of Canadians or Canadian-related topics reveals that 25 of them possessed *positive value connotations* of which the readers can be proud of: Lester B. Pearson winning a Nobel Prize, Prime Minister Harper at a summit for La Francophonie, two pictures of the Canadian International Development Agency (see Figure 20), two photos of aesthetically pleasing photos Hydro-Quebec dams, etc.

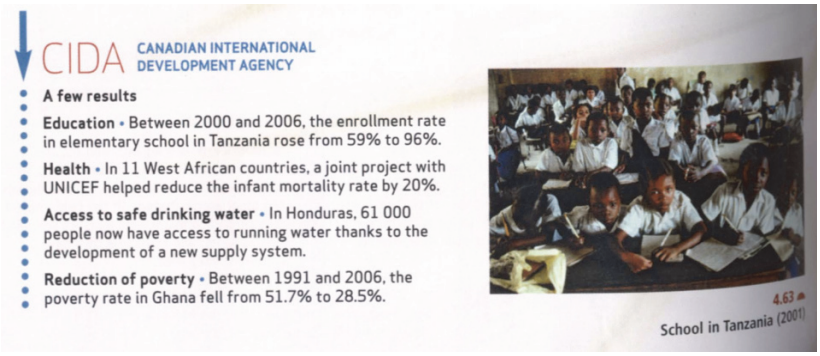


Figure 20. A typical example of Immediate's discursive and visual pride for Canada's role on the world stage (p. 176).

Only one image is fairly neutral and only one image has a *negative value connotation*. The latter is a photo of a clear cut forest in Quebec, but the caption almost cancels the critique by showing how a provocative documentary created such a stir that it "prompted the Quebec government to establish a commission of inquiry into forest management" (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, p. 43). This shows that even the negative image of Canada is balanced with the efforts of the state to amend the aberration. In the text, Canadian-related facts are relayed several times with most passages possessing either *positive or neutral value connotations*. In terms of a critique of neoliberalism, one instance is somewhat relevant: conditional aid from wealthy states is highly critiqued by the narrator, and the *politics* are clearly denunciatory as indicated by the red upper case letter of the last half of the paragraph with the ending words "this form of control [...] has been

widely criticized" (p. 177) (as opposed to the more timid *epistemic modalities* for criticisms elsewhere). This is followed by a table that shows the percentage of conditional aid out of the total amount of international aid given by seven countries: Canada shamefully ranks amongst the countries with higher percentages at 25% (p. 177). Nevertheless, these critiques in the textbook are the exceptions that confirm the rule, since the statistics in terms of Human Development Index and the Gross Domestic Product all make Canada appear to be an exemplary world leader in terms of economic development. Also, two sections dedicated to the dangers of neoliberalism reveal a nationalist Quebec discourse: "The Homogenization of culture" and "The protection of cultures" describe how culture needs to be protected, with two pages devoted to language laws as well as state intervention policies in Quebec, Canada, and France that protect French culture (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010, pp. 134-137). Thus, aspects of neoliberalism are sometimes critiqued in *Immediate* when they conflict with certain nationalist Quebec-Eurocentric values. Still, these are not criticisms of hegemonic neoliberal practices by Canadian institutions that aim towards class restoration.

Canada's missing multinationals. *Immediate* critiques the economic interests of other countries and their multinationals, while leaving out any criticism of Canadian multinationals. Such critique of foreign countries, while not questioning the country in which a textbook is made and used, is rampant in civic textbooks around the world (Pingel, 2010). *Immediate* criticizes French multinationals in Africa, several multinationals without an *identity* in the Congo, the US oil interests in Iraq, and Chinese neocolonialism in Nigeria and other African *countries* (Brodeur-Girard et al., 2010). Meanwhile, Canadian multinationals are never scrutinized. This is surprising, since

Canadian mining companies are infamous for their plundering of resources around the world with the active assistance and complicity of the Canadian government, starting here in Canada with the dispossession and ecological devastation of the lands of First Nations (Gordon, 2010). This Canadian neocolonialism is never mentioned. Engler (2009) and Gordon (2010) outline several incidents of economic violence of which all Canadians should be made aware, especially students taking a GCE course. Military assistance for several coups d'état could (should) have been presented in *Immediate*, especially in Haiti: Canada played a prominent role in deposing a democratically elected government in 2004, ultimately at the behest of Canadian multinational interests (Engler, 2009). This intervention is not even mentioned in the textbook's section "Tensions and Conflicts", and it plays an important part in what Gordon (2010) ironically calls "making the world safe for capital" (p. 276). The most notorious Canadian multinationals are involved in the mining sector: all over the Global South — from Papua New Guinea to the Congo, Peru and the Philippines —Canadian-run mines have perpetuated environmental devastation or violent confrontations (Engler, 2010; Gordon, 2010). Around 60 % of the world's mining companies are based in Canada, in large part to the generous tax shelters, government aid, diplomatic facilitation and military assistance provided (Engler, 2009; Gordon, 2010). Canadian companies were responsible for one third of the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) violations surveyed by mining multinationals between 1999 and 2009, and were observed to be more likely engaged in conflicts with communities revolving around labour disputes and environmental pollution (MiningWatch Canada, 2010). Conveniently, the term "corporate responsibility" does not appear at all in *Immediate*. In these ways, Canada has been a major player in "predatory

globalization" (Gélinas, 2003) which exploits the inequalities between the North/South divide of the neoliberal and neocolonial world. In line with Harvey's understanding of neoliberalism as the restoration of class power, Canadian citizens should not only understand their country's global economic imperialism, but also who it benefits: Canadian capital is strongly concentrated, as demonstrated by the 500 individuals or so who sit on the top 250 corporations of this country (Gordon, 2010). Corporate power dictates foreign policy in large part, and thus the Canadian neoliberal and neocolonial foreign policy serves the interest of a small but powerful dominant class. These inequitable aspects, to name only a few, are missing from the course Contemporary World and its textbook. For these reasons, I was delighted to interview *Immediate*'s authors: I wanted to know if this exclusion of critiquing one's own country was deliberate or unintentional.

How the authors tried to avoid Canada. The authors stated that they had made a conscious effort to avoid talking about Canada: "the goal was not to write about Canada since we had just finished writing textbooks about Canada and Quebec" (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). For example, they did not want to include the war in Afghanistan since they said it was difficult to remain objective in an unresolved conflict (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). After I pointed out that several Canadian events, concepts, and people were mentioned throughout the textbook, and often under a positive light, they first replied: "If we had to talk about Canada, it's because we had to" (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). Then, after going through the many examples together in the textbook, they conceded that they

sought to bring in Canada only as a reference point to understand international issues. After showing them how almost all the photos with Canadian themes possessed *positive value connotations*, they replied that the photos were often simply chosen within the constraints of what was available, as well as in terms of aesthetics. After they perused through the textbook, they admitted: "[if] the treatment was always positive, that wasn't intended, in fact, I'm surprised [...] it was unconscious" (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). In large part, they said that their sections on citizenship in the History textbooks they had written were fairly critical of Canada. Vanasse was surprised that she hadn't thought to include a critique of the tar sands, although one of the other authors did in one of the LES. As for the *silence* of the indigenous *identity*, especially in terms of the First Nations of Canada, Brodeur-Girard was visibly upset and disappointed about this omission, especially since he had fought hard against his publisher to include more information about First Nations rights in a History textbook he had previously worked on. After stating his passion for the subject, he said "I've given up history and textbook writing to study indigenous law to help defend indigenous communities. It was not my intention... I'm the first to be flabbergasted that I left out indigenous people, I don't know what was going through my head" (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). For these reasons, the *Immediate* authors contend that they did not deliberately choose to avoid criticizing Canada, they were simply trying to avoid Canada altogether. By doing so, they unconsciously presented only positive examples of Canada without even noticing, so it seems.

After having shown the GCE aspects that students will potentially explore or ignore in *Immediate* and Contemporary World, we will now conclude by seeing how the analysis findings of chapters 5-7 have answered the research questions of this study.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

To conclude, I will summarize the major findings of my research by answering the four questions presented at the onset of this thesis, followed by a few personal reflections on my experience teaching Contemporary World and using the *Immediate* textbook.

Promoting the Neoliberal Discourse of International Institutions

First, does the course Contemporary World and its textbook *Immediate* promote, explicitly or implicitly, the neoliberal discourse of international finance institutions, transnational trade organizations, and multinational corporations?

In *Immediate*, the neoliberal discourse of the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank is highly present in the chapters "Wealth" and "Power". The analysis of the text shows that the liberal/neo-liberal economic perspective of these institutions is privileged when the textbook describes and presents political ideologies, political parties, free market economies, and free trade associations. The language used by the text serves to naturalize/normalize neoliberal policies, making them appear to be a universal equilibrium that should be should be implemented by governments. Furthermore, the identities of these powerful institutions are each presented in a positive light with little criticism. In my conversation/interview with the authors of the textbook they admitted that this was in large part due to their reliance on primary sources, the web sites and official documents of these institutions. Thus, they do not reflect the criticisms of neoliberal policies that would be found in academic writing, journalism and denunciatory reports from civil society. The authors also admitted that their knowledge of economics

was limited, and so they reproduced the neoliberal discourse found in the available literature without having the academic training required to problematize the language and the concepts through a critical lens. While the Quebec curriculum calls for an examination of these institutions, it does not restrict textbook authors, teachers, or students to embrace the ideologies of such hegemonic organizations.

Similarly, multinationals are mostly presented by the textbook in a positive light. Their relocation of factories from wealthy states to poorer countries are cloaked in terms that privilege and naturalize corporate interests while their relationships with the communities that they abandon are not explored or problematized. The discursive silence on the corporate control and corruption within democratic states, which plays a large part in facilitating the rise of neoliberalism, also naturalizes the processes of economic globalization to make it seem as if the paradigm of the world changed due to purely economic reasons. Multinational power is regarded as incontestable. Despite this positive presentation, they do receive some criticisms for their exploitation of the marginalized peoples living in the Global South, as we will see further below.

The Presence and Absence of Social Justice Groups

The second question that I raised in the beginning was: how does the course and its textbook represent the resistance by the grassroots social justice movements, marginalized groups, and civil society who are opposed to the free-market doctrine?

The textbook limits civil society's resistance to neoliberalism to a few NGOs and some references to the alter-globalization movement; it excludes key actors against neoliberalism such as labour movements. Whereas the curriculum for Contemporary World does designate some space in its knowledge themes for "pressure groups" and

"citizen groups" (MELS, 2010), the textbook focuses on NGOs that are mostly humanitarian in nature. NGOs such as Oxfam receive attention in the curriculum as well as the textbook, but they have often been complicit in upholding neoliberal policies in the Global South (Choudry, 2010). ATTAC and Greenpeace are the only more critical NGO opponents of neoliberalism that are briefly described in the textbook, while their resistance to the free market doctrine is not explained. The World Social Forum is presented as a counterweight to the World Economic Forum, but the description is ambiguous and does not relate its opposition to unfettered global capitalism. As for the alter-globalization movement, they are indirectly alluded to in a few passages. Their only appearance in the text as a social movement appears outside the five main chapters in "History Headlines" as well as the glossary. The significance of this textual silence is clear: economic globalization and its consequences go largely uncriticized. It must be noted that alter-globalization politics and grassroots social movements' identities are presented in the accompanying Learning Evaluation Situations (LES) hand-outs, but the students do not have access to these documents unless the teacher chooses to use these resources.

Labour movements are largely absent as an effective means of deterring neoliberal practices. Instead, the identities of militant workers are falsely represented by a neoliberal policy document from the International Labour Organization (this is another cultural resource suggested by the curriculum). Furthermore, the textbook emphasises the connection between Global North/South economic injustices and some neoliberal policies, while maintaining a silence on the negative effects of these policies on the Global North. While the textbook's critique of neocolonial economic imperialism is

important and commendable, this discursive perspective tends to make rich nations such as Canada appear to be harmonious places where no project of class restoration is undertaken. This discursive silence is reflected in the curriculum as well.

In the textbook chapter "Wealth", some aspects of neoliberalism are critiqued for their role in the Global South, while many perspectives presented are subtly complicit with neoliberal policies. When multinationals and astronomical debts of Global Southern states receive a critique in this chapter, the neoliberal side of the *conversation* is always presented with a defence for the economic and political hegemony. In this way, the authors attempted to present what they considered to be a "balance" (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014). In terms of complicity, I have shown how the curriculum's suggested cultural references of fair trade, the celebrity humanitarianism of "We Are the World", and microcredit are all anti-political and largely uncritical attempts to place a human face on neoliberal economics. As for grassroots movements, the people of the Global South are not shown to be able to organize and mobilize against privatization and other IFI-imposed policies, thus their *agency* is missing. Also, their local indigenous knowledge and their rich culture is not presented as valuable; instead, the global South is presented in the curriculum and especially the textbook as largely poverty-stricken and conflict-ridden regions that are dependent on humanitarian aid and NGOs. However, it should be noted that some neoliberal foreign policies, such as conditional aid, are critiqued in *Immediate*. Whereas the IFIs do not receive much criticism in the textbook, the "Wealth" LES presents the most oppositional discourses from civil society against the hypocritical philosophy and the unjust practices of the free market doctrine imposed by the IFIs and exploited by multinationals.

Nevertheless, even these perspectives do not present much grassroots social movement opposition; NGOs and journalists are more often the sources of knowledge, which contributes to the overall privileging of the NGO *sign systems and knowledge* also found in the textbook.

The "Environment" unit in the curriculum and its corresponding chapter in *Immediate* unabashedly manifests politics by promoting sustainable development while maintaining a silence on the activities of grassroots environmental resistance against the commodification of the commons and business-friendly environmental deregulation. While the philosophy of sustainability and the international efforts towards limiting climate change are presented as moral and good, the discourse does not outline the impact of neoliberal policies on ecosystems and the people that depend on them. Environmental racism is not addressed either. These discursive blind spots are not surprising since the concept of sustainable development has often been complicit with capitalist dispossession of indigenous and community natural resources (Bakker, 2007; Engler, 2010; Gordon, 2010). The textbook chapter focuses on a righteous *globalization from above* that will save the fragile earth: this involves scientists, green businesses, technocrats, and politicians. The environmental movement focuses on NGOs, scientists, and political parties, while marginalizing environmental activists who perform direct action. Indigenous movements fighting against neocolonialism, in Canada and abroad, are also excluded. While consumerism and pollution are critiqued, the chapter's disproportionate insistence on international agreements places little *agency* for civil society's ability to spur governments and international organizations to action. There is

also a lack of *agency* attributed to the individual citizen to act at a *glocal* level through community groups.

The Relationship Between the Narrator and the Reader

The penultimate question: What relationship does the author and the text establish with the high school student to convey the ongoing worldwide struggle between social justice groups and neoliberal forces?

The relationship between social movements and neoliberal forces is drowned out in a paradigm that presents the world as an assortment of problems that need to be understood. The readers are modeled to be rational beings, without emotion, who will take unbiased positions and then defend them. Under this model, community action and resistance is largely irrelevant or non-existent. Instead, individuals must understand the world through its institutions. The *sign systems and knowledge* of the literature of such international and often neoliberal organizations are privileged, but the text includes certain criticisms of neoliberalism expressed by NGOs and scientists. Personal experience that the student readers may have is not addressed, and therefore of little consequence. Instead, students are told to rely on objective news items for their information. If students access the LES, they will see that there are certain social movements that criticize globalization, but they may consider them to be too extreme and lacking authority in comparison to more neoliberal perspectives that appear to be more balanced and supposedly rational. In the textbook, the great battles of social justice movements are centered on human rights, sustainable development and poverty: this reductionism is crystallized in the glossary definition of anti-globalization, but the pattern is shown throughout the textbook. Direct action activists and anarchists are portrayed as

terrorists and dangerous, and protesters have little impact on the policy decisions of institutions. Economic globalization benefits the North and plunders the South, which implies that social justice is achieved in wealthy states for most of their citizens. Meanwhile, the textbook seems to perform the *activity* of encouraging students to donate to or volunteer for humanitarian NGOs working in the Global South in order to help the helpless poor. Most importantly, whenever Canada is presented in the textbook, especially through images, the reader has a reason to be proud of Canada's role on the international stage. Most of the criticisms of multinationals, military interventions, disrespect of environmental international agreements, racism, and neocolonialism apply to other countries. These are some of the aspects of the relationship between the reader and the narrator of the text.

The Techniques of Discursive Silencing and Promoting

The last question: How is neoliberal discourse used to promote or silence neoliberal practices and its oppositional social movements?

The neoliberal discourse shares, co-exists and competes with other discourses in the text of *Immediate* that are sometimes complicit and sometimes oppositional, but its overall power is demonstrated in the language that is absent from the textbook. The word itself, neoliberalism, is not mentioned in the textbook: this means that there is a *silenced* perspective from the social sciences and social movements which has been used to analyze economic globalization and the impacts of the free market doctrine. How can this hegemony be critiqued without the right terms? Descriptions of alter-globalization and the World Social Forum are mere caricatures and are presented as ambiguous counterweights without outlining their arguments in their own terms. Here are certain

concepts that are missing or largely untreated in this textbook that are essential to understanding the international resistance to neoliberalism's project of class restoration: neoliberalism, capitalism, hegemony, privatization, commodification, complicity, resistance, dispossession, direct action, financialization, environmental racism, class, class struggle, class warfare, alter-globalization (not found in the English version), austerity measures, civil disobedience, direct action. Without these words, it is difficult for citizens to think in terms of opposing hegemonic structures that oppress people based on class, gender and race. These omissions were discovered using various techniques of CDA.

Using CDA, I have shown how several linguistic and narrative choices of *Immediate* privilege neoliberal discourse and marginalize/silence social movement discourse. The use of Gee's inquiry tools (2005, 2011, 2013, 2014) has helped me recognize how the *identities* of international institutions are privileged with very little *connections* to their neoliberal *activities* which are part of the class restoration project in the Global South and North. The text's *sign systems and knowledge* are taken straight from the primary sources of international organizations that promote mostly neoliberal *politics*. Overall, the inclusion of certain topics and the exclusion of others are highly *significant* in that this selection often propagates the values of economic globalization. While institutions and their discourses dominate the text, the *relationship* between students as citizens and the potential of *glocal* social movements is also *silenced*. In this regard, Fairclough (2006) helped me understand how the textbook's treatment of *globalization from above* overshadows the grassroots *activities* of a *globalization from below*. Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2012) also offered important CDA concepts that allowed

me to dissect the textual and visual language choices in *Immediate*: I have shown how workers are *commodified* in the text through the neoliberal discourse; the textbook's use of *intertextuality* (where other genres such as comics and commercials momentarily mix with the education genre of the text) is often used to promote certain values, in many cases neoliberal ones; *positive and negative value connotations* mostly glorify or defend neoliberal perspectives, except when the focus is on disparity between the Global North and South; *epistemic modalities* often reveal subtle intentions that reveal the presence of a neoliberal discourse; finally, *agency* is often missing in *Immediate* when it comes to associating neoliberal institutions with economic injustice, while social justice movements and ordinary citizens have no power or presence when it comes to affecting global issues. This study has shown how these linguistic techniques may foster student and teacher subjectivities that are more about policy spectating than active community and grassroots organization. That being stated, it is now time to comment on my personal *agency* and experience as a high school teacher who taught Contemporary World with the textbook *Immediate*.

Personal Reflections

In this study, I mostly refrained from including personal anecdotes and thoughts about my experience teaching Contemporary World with the textbook *Immediate*. Allow me to do so here, limiting my reflections to four briefly addressed themes: my previous obsession with political balance and neutrality as a teacher, my approach of anti-hegemonic and critical Global Citizenship Education, teaching based on students' personal experience and knowledge, and finally, my appreciation of *Immediate* as a pedagogical resource.

The balancing act in the classroom. When I taught Contemporary World and History (grades 9-11) for two years in Quebec City and Montreal, I always wanted to introduce students to the different perspectives on an issue. For example, when I presented the World Bank, short videos and articles that critiqued IFIs were shown to the students along with the formal presentation of this institution through *Immediate* and an online game created by the World Bank. This type of obsession with neutrality is highly critiqued by Agostinone-Wilson (2005), who contends that scholars and teachers should not be afraid to take political stances with their students. Personally, I was always worried about brainwashing the students, so I decided to give them hegemonic perspectives alongside critical perspectives to let them decide for themselves. The problem was that the (often neoliberal) resources produced by institutions are usually more effective at conveying the hegemonic paradigm, in large part due to their financial and human resources available, but also because students may be more familiar with hearing these discourses on mainstream media. In contrast, the critical and oppositional resources not only lack the funding to be effective pedagogical tools, but their discourse often sounds highly foreign. As Chomsky says in the film, *Manufacturing Consent*, this happens when critics of American foreign policy and capitalism speak on television: it sounds like they are from another planet, since their discourse is so unfamiliar (Achbar & Wintonick, 1992). For these reasons, I believe that my attempts to always seek neutrality were misguided. Using the World Bank unit as an example, the students probably enjoyed the online World Bank game the most, and thus this neoliberal discourse and paradigm may have left the greatest impression on them. I had figured they would be able to critique the structural adjustment programs and their economic jargon by contrasting

the information with the more alter-globalization perspectives presented before. Although some students may have done so, I had not sufficiently explored the techniques of and the pedagogical reasons for implementing a more critical Global Citizenship Education program.

The importance of anti-hegemonic teaching. After taking time off from teaching to pursue my passion as an activist-educator-singer, I have come to understand how formal education lacks the terms, the facts, and the paradigm needed to understand the class restoration project of neoliberalism, as well as how its unbridled global capitalism is devastating this fragile Earth, especially for marginalized communities in both the Global South and the Global North. By completing my M.A. in Educational Studies, I have also expanded my understanding of critical Global Citizenship Education (GCE). Carr (2011) argues that we as educators should be promoting an oppositional discourse to hegemonic structures and their oppressive political and economic practices; this creates a thicker democracy where social justice is at the core of a society's values, as opposed to a thinner democracy where authority is patriotically accepted and politics is limited to electoral parties. This style of teaching resonates with me, and I believe that these spaces need to be promoted in Social Studies classrooms. Although I did do this to a certain extent as a teacher who often rapped in class with a focus on social justice issues, my graduate coursework (especially with Dr. Adeela Arshad-Ayaz) and my research has cemented my conviction in creating more space not only for critical discourse, but to tread carefully when discussing about the 'other' by maintaining a "hyper-self-reflexivity" (de Oliveira Andreotti, 2011, p. 395). In this way, we can attempt to avoid falling prone to the 'celebrity humanitarianism' (Müller, 2013), promoted in

large part by NGOs working in the Global South, that depoliticize poverty and perpetuate stereotypes about the Global South. While I was familiar with anti-neoliberal discourse when I taught, I must admit that I did little to deconstruct this hegemonic discourse in humanitarian aid that often serves a neoliberal agenda in subtle ways. Still, my pre-service training at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) had introduced me to critical pedagogy, so I did endeavour to facilitate an anti-racist and anti-oppressive classroom environment, especially in terms of fighting homophobia. Instead of treating these issues at a theoretical level, I made an effort to guide controversial discussions that dealt with what the students experienced in their everyday lives. This transformative learning is based on personal experience, which leads me to my third reflection.

Exploring the personal experience of the learner-teacher. Taking after Freire (1970), OISE and other progressive pre-service programs promote a pedagogy that draws on the previous knowledge of the learner. In this way, learners end up teaching the educator and broadening the classroom's perspectives, hence Freire's (1970) understanding of the teacher-learner and learner-teacher dynamic. I always took this lesson to heart, attempting to connect students to what they had learned already through personal experience and previous formal/informal education. That being stated, most of my activities did follow a more analytical approach based on external authoritative knowledge. This was in part due to the curriculum's focus, as well as the *Immediate* textbook and its activities based almost solely on reading and writing. In hindsight, I can see various ways to connect students to the abstract but omnipresent practice of neoliberalism: asking students to reflect on their experience with family members getting laid off, precarious work conditions at fast food restaurants, exploring and deconstructing

their preconceptions of Africa and the role of international aid, considering environmental racism/classism in their city, discussing class struggle and class restoration, etc. The greatest connection I had made with my students occurred in the migration unit: focusing on issues revolving around diasporas and multiculturalism, the students (most of whom were either first, second, or third generation Canadians) took great delight in teaching one another about their communities and the difficult decisions they faced revolving around their cultural identities. While meeting the criteria of the course curriculum, my activities veered far from the intellectual and institutional pedagogical style of *Immediate*. Nevertheless, I would like to end this thesis by stating my personal appreciation of this textbook.

My favourite course and textbook. After spending so much time and space critiquing the neoliberal discourse in *Immediate*, it is highly appropriate that I now explain how important this resource was for me as a professional as well as a citizen. As I told the authors personally, this textbook introduced me to several issues that I had not been aware of, while complimenting my previous knowledge in other domains. Just as the authors learned "on the fly" (S. Brodeur-Girard & C. Vanasse, personal communication, February 11, 2014) as they wrote this multi-disciplinary textbook, I also learned a great deal as I taught the course. Since I started in 2009 when the course was implemented for the first time, many other teachers also had to inform themselves on a broad range of issues as they developed their lessons and units. By 2010, when the course became mandatory, every high school in Quebec had teachers doing this as well. After analyzing the textbook in great detail, I now see how social movements that resist neoliberalism are silenced. However, while I taught I simply used this discursive silence

as an inspiration to search for alternative sources. In terms of the layout of the textbook, it is spacious, colourful, and full of illustrations that make this resource more user-friendly than traditional textbooks. The language is highly appropriate for the learners, and the short paragraphs are perfect for a young generation whose attention span is limited. The fact that the textbook lacks built-in activities may have given me more agency as to how I wanted to plan my activities. It is important to note that teachers and students interpret and use textbooks differently than the authors intend (Éthier et al., 2013), an aspect that I have neglected in this study and should be explored in future research. Personally, teaching the curriculum of Contemporary World, with its thematic inclusion of social action and citizen groups, was a dream come true for me. I got to teach about global issues that I consider to be more important than provincial or federal history. Rather, these global trends contextualize local and regional history. I enjoyed using *Immediate* and the Contemporary World curriculum to create an anti-hegemonic space where neoliberal practices were critiqued and the agency of citizen action was promoted. Of course, after my graduate work, I now see how I could go much further in this critical democratic direction.

Now, I stand at a crossroads: I can go back to the classroom to facilitate more of these spaces in formal education, I could do the same in informal educational contexts (music, activism, social media), or I could do more academic research to explore how teachers and students subjectively interact with neoliberal and social justice discourses in Social Studies courses like Contemporary World, possibly with the textbook that I now know so well: *Immediate*. Whichever path I choose, I will make sure to be conscious of

the importance of critical GCE in helping students and citizens better understand this neoliberal world and its global grassroots resistance.

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