

**Exploration of ideological discourses of globalisation in South
African Grade 12 Economics textbooks**

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SUPERVISOR'S PERMISSION TO SUBMIT

I, Professor S. M. Maistry, as the candidate's supervisor, agree to the submission of this thesis.

Supervisor's signature: _____ Date: _____

DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Globalisation appears to offer many benefits to countries and is a phenomenon that is often touted by economists and politicians as beneficial and necessary. For protagonists of globalisation, mankind has significantly gained from the practices of globalisation. Sceptics of globalisation however see it as exacerbating the gap between rich and poor and according to critics (Vally & Spreen, 2014), nowhere is this more evident than in South Africa, with its abysmal levels of inequality. The expectations of prosperity for most South Africans remain a pipe dream as poverty, unemployment and inequality abound. With a Gini coefficient of 0.63 (Oxfam, 2018; UNDP, 2013), the country shows the highest inequality levels in the world. South Africa's exposure to the international economic world, after more than two decades of post-apartheid trade liberalisation, has not made any significant difference to the lives of the poor and destitute. If anything, South African society has become even more unequal, amidst sustained levels of unemployment (Fioramonti, 2017; Oxfam, 2018).

Given the contentious nature of the benefits of globalisation, this study thus set out to examine what notions of globalisation might be prevalent in South African grade twelve Economics textbooks. Moreover, the representations of knowledge were explored to signal whether these textbooks are used as instruments to serve global markets by presenting the discourses of globalisation as natural and inevitable.

This qualitative study was grounded in Fairclough's three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis framework (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 1989; 1992; 2003; 2011). Tools used to analyse visual images were also employed as images can reinforce the presentation of knowledge with a particular ideological slant (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; 2001; Kress, 2010; Machin & Mayr, 2012). The analysis of the linguistic and visual data used the conceptual lens provided by Appadurai (1990; 1996) particularly with reference to the vocabulary he appropriated to describe the various discourses of globalisation. These discourses were financescapes (trade, capital), ethnoscapes (people, society), ideoscapes (policies and practices of governments and institutions), mediascapes (culture and media) and technoscapes (technology) (Appadurai, 1990; 1996).

The critical analysis of the data evidenced unbalanced and biased portrayals of global trade as inevitable and desirable. The textbooks appeared to persuade the readers towards the acceptance of globalisation by ‘selling’ the concept of globalisation. The textbooks appeared to implicitly and overtly assist in the construction of worldviews favouring the outward-looking economic policies of globalisation, free trade and export promotion. Thus this subtly-embedded representation of globalisation is ideological as it serves to give hegemony to the universal and seemingly unquestionable factuality of globalisation. The evidence showed that the discourses constituted, disseminated and reproduced a particular view of globalisation. Hence the neoclassical economic canon continues to reign supreme in the official South African grade twelve Economics textbooks.

The textbooks constructed and validated worldviews which can disregard the cogency of alternative views. From the analysis of textual data, the worldview of the ‘normalcy’ of global capitalism was seen in its domination of the social, political, cultural, technological and economic spheres of human existence. Given this portrayal in the textbooks, it is unlikely therefore that alternative economic policies will gain currency. Of significance too, was the revelation that the structural procedure of textbook selection, ideologically centres the state in the monopolistic role of mediator and prescriber.

This study is a major contribution to the existing body of knowledge in textbook research both locally and internationally as it theorises the notion of knowledge representation. It uniquely provides an extension to the knowledge of high school economics education, as the study reveals that the grade twelve Economics textbooks are captured by a globalised neoliberal and capitalistic agenda.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CAPS	Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DOE	Department of Education
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistributive Strategy
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GETT	Gender Equity Task Team
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
NDP	National Development Plan
NGP	New Growth Path
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
RDP	Reconciliation and Development Planning
RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statement
SAERA	South African Education Research Association
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
UK	United Kingdom

UKZN University of KwaZulu Natal

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Plan

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

WTO World Trade Organisation

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Globalisation as a topic forms an integral part of the South African Grade 12 Economics syllabus. It is a phenomenon that is often touted by economists as beneficial and necessary. This positive sentiment is carried by various media in both overt articulations as well as through systematic lexical manipulation. In this study I focus on how this phenomenon is represented in a selection of high school textbooks. In this introductory chapter I provide the background, contextualisation and rationale for this study. Also included here is a brief discussion of the concept of globalisation. This is followed by an overview of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks developed for this study. Finally, the research design, research questions and organisation of the rest of the thesis are presented.

1.2 Background and contextualisation

The redressing of historic imbalances and redistribution policies were a major challenge facing the post-apartheid government of South Africa in 1994. The new government had to broaden access to social resources for groups which were marginalised through the policies of apartheid so as to uphold the principles of inclusivity and social justice (Fioramonti, 2017; Green & Naidoo, 2008). Initially the government had the newly created equity-oriented Reconciliation and Development Programme (RDP) unit which sought to address the unevenness of the socio-economic terrain of South African citizens. This policy was then abandoned in favour of the neoliberal Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy, which advocated economic growth through the freedom of the market, entrepreneurship, decreasing barriers to trade, liberalising capital movement and global trade integration (Fioramonti, 2017). However, the GEAR strategy was not effective in reducing poverty and creating employment, largely because of its neoliberal approach (Fioramonti, 2017; Green & Naidoo, 2008). This strategy

was subsequently replaced by the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) in 2005, which in turn was replaced by the New Growth Path (NGP) in 2010.

The present policy, the National Development Plan (NDP), was adopted in 2013 as a roadmap to reduce inequality and eliminate poverty by 2030. Declarations emanating from the NDP indicate a strongly neoliberal knowledge-economy agenda (Maistry, 2017) which favours neoconservative–neoliberal economic discourses (Harvey, 2007), most markedly in the adjustment of structural initiatives (Tickell & Peck, 2014).

However, almost a quarter of a century after the fall of the apartheid regime the expectations of prosperity for most South Africans remains a pipe dream as poverty, unemployment and inequality abound (Vally & Spreen, 2014). With a Gini coefficient of 0.63 (Oxfam International, 2018; United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2013) the country shows one of the highest inequality levels in the world. The Gini coefficient is a standard used to measure the inequality levels in a country, and the closer it is to 1, the greater the level of inequality. It is evident then that South Africa (when compared to countries like Sweden and Norway with coefficients of around 0.30) is one of the world's most unequal countries (Oxfam, International 2018). According to Vally and Spreen (2014) globalisation has increased the abysmal inequality with its attendant global capitalist labour markets. South Africa's exposure to the international economic world, after more than two decades of trade liberalisation, has not made any significant difference to the lives of the poor and destitute. If anything, South African society has become even more unequal amidst sustained levels of unemployment (Fioramonti, 2017; Oxfam International, 2018).

It is no surprise then that South Africa of late has seen an escalation in citizen protests linked to the high levels of economic inequality as economic depression often promotes severe unrest (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). Some of the reasons listed for these protests are the frustration of citizens with the inadequate service provision of housing, water, sanitation, electricity and employment, and South African citizens appear to be rebelling against poverty and staggering levels of inequality (Wasserman, Bosch & Chuma, 2018). Sobering too is South Africa's record of having one of the highest youth unemployment rates when compared to the rest of the world (Biavaschi, Eichhorst, Giulietti, Kendzia, Muravyev, Pieter, Rodriguez-Planas, Schmidl, & Zimmerman, 2012). Almost a quarter of a century into the democratic post-apartheid era a great number of the poor are condemned to a lived reality of unemployment and poverty as the norm (Spaull, 2013).

Miraftab (2004) asserts that the adoption of neoliberal policies by the post-apartheid government has crippled the ability of the government to redress the inequalities of apartheid, as it has compromised the raising of socio-economic conditions of the poor and disadvantaged (Miraftab, 2004; Chomsky, 1999). Given these concerns about the neoliberal economic policies such as globalisation and free trade adopted by the government, it is necessary to examine how the discourses of the economic policy of globalisation are represented in the Grade 12 Economics textbooks.

1.3 Globalisation

Global trade has existed long before the 20th century, whether it was in the establishment of the Silk Route or the route of trade in tea and spices. However, there is a significant difference between global trade then and now, as it now involves more people and countries than before. Also significant is that globalisation is a site of intense contestation, as for some it is guided largely by the fundamentals of the free market and therefore is a promulgation of practices and values dominated by a capitalistic ideology (Hasan, 2003). For others globalisation is a progressive force which increases freedom, wealth and democracy (Carnoy, 1999; Cvetkovich & Kellner, 1997; Kenway, 1997). Detractors of globalisation see it is harmful as it increases the hegemony of the developed countries over the developing, poor countries. Proponents of globalisation see it as economically, politically, culturally and socially beneficial, opening up exciting opportunities. Critics also aver that globalisation undermines democracy and culture whilst damaging the environment (Ar, 2015; Jovanovic, 2010; Morawski, 2003).

There were once hopes that globalisation would benefit everyone everywhere, but as time passes the negative consequences of globalisation become more apparent (Jovanovic, 2010). For instance, many Chinese gained employment because of the globalisation of production, but the benefits of this did not trickle down fully to their well-being as the distribution of income in China remained highly concentrated (Jovanovic, 2010; Oxfam International, 2018). The reality is that China is evidence that globalisation is largely responsible for the disproportional gap between the rich and the poor (Morawski, 2003). Critics of globalisation also argue that globalisation is analogous to neoliberalism (Monkman & Baird, 2002; Tickell & Peck, 2014), as both these processes complement and go hand in hand with each other. Of interest is White's (2009) observation that the process of globalisation is comparable to a life form, as its main

objective is survival, often to the detriment of other life forms. Like a life form it also needs to be dynamic and thriving and so globalisation, born from markets needing to expand, constantly has to be fed. What these markets feed on are mainly physical human labour and raw materials (White, 2009).

A neoliberal value system proposes that the market is the most efficient instrument to manage the economy, and that the role of government is to create a good business climate rather than to prioritise provision for the needs and well-being of its citizens (Harvey, 2007). Advocates of neoliberalism argue that the State cannot efficiently govern markets and often is a barrier to individual advancement, economic renewal and economic growth (Chomsky, 1999; Fairclough, 2003; Harvey, 2007; Maistry, 2012; Zhang, 2012). Global institutions like the World Trade Organisation (WTO) also play a role in the dissemination of neoliberal practices as they regulate global commerce and finance and are influential in facilitating the hegemonic discourse of neoliberalism (Harvey, 2007). Neoliberalism emphasises that hard work, efficiency, competition and self-discipline lead to economic well-being. Although these principles to achieve success sound persuasive and plausible, they ignore how extreme deprivation, poverty and oppressive and restrictive and structural concerns in South Africa hamper the poor from achieving economic well-being (Fioramonti, 2017).

So while globalisation and neoliberalism appear as endearing, more than two decades of trade liberalisation in South Africa has not made any significant difference to the lives of the poor and destitute (Vally & Spreen, 2014). This then raises the question as to whether neoliberal values such as unencumbered economic freedom for profit-making, free markets, and the marketisation of social services (including health) are values that hinder rather than favour the under-classes in South African society.

Rosa Pavanelli, General Secretary, Public Services International, in a recent Oxfam International report (2018, p. 7) has this to say about globalisation:

Workers have known for years: most of the heralded benefits of globalisation are reserved for a global elite who consider themselves untouchable. The myths of the current model of globalisation are collapsing like a house of cards and with it the credibility of its proponents and trust in political institutions. Brazen corporate tax evasion, privatization, service cuts and decades of stagnating wages have not happened by accident – We have been warned.

Given these concerns raised about globalisation, it is necessary to examine how the discourses of the economic policy of globalisation are represented in the curricula tool of South African Grade 12 Economics textbooks. The depth of understanding of this representation has been severely limited as there appear to be no previous studies conducted in this field. This study will therefore address this weakness by making a useful theoretical, methodological and contextual contribution to the body of research. In addition, the findings of this study may well stimulate further studies of this nature in future.

1.4 Rationale for the study

The first non-racial national curriculum (Curriculum 2005) in South Africa was introduced in 1997 in order to transform apartheid education (Department of Education (DoE), 1997). Curriculum 2005 was envisaged as a vehicle necessary for the healing of the ills caused by the apartheid regime by establishing a society based on democracy, human rights and social justice (DoE, 1997). However, a number of criticisms were levelled against this curriculum (Jansen, 1999; Vandeyar & Killen, 2003) and subsequently the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) and the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) were introduced in 2001 and 2003 respectively. Yet by 2007 it was apparent that the aims envisioned by these curriculum statements were also not being achieved. So the Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement (CAPS) was developed and its intention was to equip learners, irrespective of race, socio-economic status, gender, and intellectual or physical ability with the skills, knowledge and values necessary for meaningful participation in society as self-fulfilled citizens of a free country (Department of Basic Education (DBE), 2010).

The CAPS, in its attempt to improve the performance of South African learners, advocates the textbook as a key resource in the pedagogical encounter. As such, much energy has been devoted to this initiative (DoE, 2010). There is little contention that school textbooks are often the only textual artefacts in many South African classrooms, so school textbooks continue to be an important and indispensable resource for both teachers and learners (Morgan, 2010; Morgan & Henning, 2011). Consequently, textbooks play an integral role in ‘fleshing out’ content knowledge of the curriculum to facilitate learning, and for this reason access to textbooks is analogous with quality education (Chisholm, 2013). Textbook content is

determined by the official curriculum, which can influence teachers' practices, and this in turn may determine students' acquisition of knowledge (Pillay, 2016).

Textbooks as the programmatic curriculum contribute to the creation of what society deems as legitimate knowledge (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). However, it is not society which creates these canons of knowledge but rather specific groups of people who select what they see as legitimate knowledge (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). Selection of subject matter for inclusion in textbooks is therefore a highly political exercise as the knowledge of the more powerful dictates the textbook content, which enfranchises one group whilst disenfranchising others (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). It follows then that role-players in the selection and construction of knowledge in textbooks may involuntarily or otherwise be transmitters of State discourses (David & Maistry, 2018).

Moreover, since a textbook is a solid, tangible artefact that one cannot change, textbooks once published are likely to have a lifespan that might exceed five years (Pillay, 2016). In addition, when the same content knowledge gets used repeatedly it is then likely to morph into uncontested legitimate and authoritative facts (Akincioglu, 2012). Content knowledge is reified and this makes it difficult to dislodge. Hence readers can be influenced because the text is an official, sanctioned source which bestows epistemic legitimacy to seemingly expert knowledge (Hart, 2011). This point is highlighted in a UNESCO report (2006, p. 6) which emphasises that school textbooks remain an 'important and indispensable resource for both teachers and learners in schools. Any bias reflected in school textbooks could have a negative impact on learners.

Regardless of ideological changes made to the curriculum in post-apartheid South Africa, the GETT (Gender Equity Task Team) Report (Wolpe, Quinlan, & Martinez, 1997) identified a number of obstacles to transformation of the South African education system, one of which was the prejudicial content of textbooks (Biraimah, 1998). Such findings have prompted the South African Minister of Education, Angelina Motshekga, to set up a Ministerial Committee to set up a textbook policy aimed at addressing diversity and to cleanse South African textbooks of biased content (David & Maistry, 2018; Pillay, 2016). The Ministerial Committee's mandate was to evaluate a broad sample of textbooks, since textbooks were criticised as being constructs of middle-class social life (DoE, 2016). These concerns about textbook content highlight the need for research on school textbooks. In this study I focus on South African Economics

textbooks as there is a paucity of knowledge with regard to the ideological subtexts of these, especially focusing on the representation of discourses of globalisation.

With particular reference to the grade twelve Economics curriculum, the statement of aims, purposes and principles in the preamble of the NCS (DoE, 2003) appears to communicate an ideological undertone to the actual Economics curriculum. This is evident in the interpreting of the Economics curriculum as equipping learners to participate meaningfully as self-fulfilled citizens of a free country regardless of socio-economic status, enabling learners to transit smoothly from educational institutions to workplaces and to provide employers with a learner's profile of competencies (DoE, 2003). Schools are seen as flowing production lines, thus appearing to present education as a tool of capitalistic commodification.

1.5 Focus and purpose of the study

Taking into account the above discussion, the purpose of my study was to examine the discourse of globalisation in school economics textbooks.

The following critical questions apply:

1. How are the discourses of globalisation represented in four South African Grade 12 Economics textbooks?
2. Why are these discourses represented in the ways that they are?

The first research question was interrogated using an analytical and conceptual framework which I adapted based on elements from Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2003, 2011), Appadurai (1990, 1996), Huckin (1997), Halliday (1973), Machin and Mayr (2012) and McGregor (2003). The second research question focused on why the discourses of globalisation are represented in the ways that they are in the data sample.

1.6 Theoretical and conceptual framework

This study draws upon the 'meta' theory of critical theory which identifies discursive practices as ideological, and so consequently producing and reproducing asymmetrical power relations (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011). Critical theory is oriented towards a social critique (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) of ideology and power relationships reinforced in written texts (Habermas, 1973). The theoretical framework of this study is grounded in Fairclough's three-

dimensional framework (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999 Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 2003, 2011) whilst incorporating the conceptual framework as identified by Appadurai (1990, 1996) to assist my exploration of the representation of globalisation. I approached the analysis of the data using the conceptual lens provided by Appadurai (1996) particularly with reference to the vocabulary he appropriated to describe the various discourses of globalisation, namely, ethnoscaples, mediascaples, financerscaples, ideoscapes and technoscapes. Appadurai (1990, 1996) identified these as global flows and saw them as follows: **ethnoscaples** – the movement of people in the world in particular immigrants, tourists and mobile workers; social arena), **financerscaples** – trade and investment, capital and mobile money; economic arena, **technoscapes** – technology and technological flows, **mediascaples** – images and ideas; cultural arena) and **ideoscaples** – ideas and practices of governments and institutions; political arena. Appadurai (1990, 1996) used these terms to emphasise the vital role that these subjective concepts have in the process of globalisation, emphasizing that people are just as important as the objective dimensions of finance and economy.

1.7 Research design and methodology

A qualitative perspective was employed to allow me to examine how the discourses of globalisation were represented. This perspective allowed for the provision of a rich and broad meaning of the data by exploring the discourses and examining different possible interpretations as influenced by social factors and economic phenomena. A critical stance was appropriated as it affords the researcher a lens to examine constructions of power as it relates to globalisation perspectives in textbooks (Luke, 1995). The use of the tools of critical discourse analysis (CDA) also exposed how textbooks manipulate representations to conceal neoliberal power relations. These tools applied were ‘foregrounding’, ‘backgrounding’, ‘topicalisation’, ‘embellishments’, ‘over-lexicalisations’, ‘assumptions’, ‘insinuations’, ‘connotations’, ‘omissions’, ‘nominalisation’, ‘modality’ and ‘register’. Included too were the tools used to analyse visual images, as images can reinforce meanings portrayed in texts. Termed ‘multimodal analysis’ (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001; Kress, 2010), this analysis largely employs the tenets of linguistic analysis, for example, ‘foregrounding’, ‘backgrounding’ and taken for granted ‘assumptions’.

This research study employed purposive sampling. Henning (2007, p.71) described purposive sampling as that which “looks for factors which fit the criteria of desirable”. The purposive

sampling approach is used when samples are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics that will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central questions that the researcher intends to study (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Accordingly, I selected the textbooks on the basis of their “typicality or possession of the particular characteristics being sought” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Although textbooks are in the public domain, their identities will remain anonymous and pseudonyms will be given to avoid ethical or litigious issues which may arise. The textbooks will then be labelled as textbooks A, B, C and D.

TITLE	TEXTBOOK
Charles Grade 12 Learner's Book	A
Zama Economics Grade 12 Learner's Book	B
Elijah Economics Grade 12 Learner's Book	C
Denva Economics Grade 12 Learner's Book	D

Table 1.1: Textbook Sample

To ensure the trustworthiness of this study the process of open coding was used to analyse the selected textbooks. This involves dismantling, examination, identification of concepts and the categorisation of data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Member checks in the persons of my supervisor and the PhD cohort programme were also undertaken to ensure the trustworthiness of this study. Papers based on this study were regularly presented at internal seminars at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) to test the validity of my findings. In addition, a paper based on this study was presented at the SAERA (South African Education Research Association) conference in Cape Town in 2016, where my presentation was interrogated by other CDA scholars. Furthermore, two attempts were made to publish articles based on this study and intense scrutiny was employed to ensure that the scholarly rigour of the papers was appropriate.

1.8 Organisation of this study

This study comprises eight chapters, the outline of which is given below.

The background, contextualisation and rationale for the study were provided in this first, introductory chapter. The research problem and purpose were stated, and the theoretical and conceptual frameworks then followed. This was then followed by an overview of the theoretical and conceptual framework. The research design and methodology used in this study were then presented.

In Chapter two the relevant literature to the study is reviewed and discussed. Arising from this literature review, the conceptual framework is then developed and discussed. Chapter three details the research design and methodology employed in this study. Thereafter Chapters four, five and six present the data analysis which guided the findings for the first research question, which is how the discourses of globalisation are represented in the textbooks. Chapter Seven addresses the findings in relation to the second research question, which is a discussion on why these discourses are represented in the ways that they are. Finally, the summary and conclusions of the study are presented in Chapter Eight.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter served as an introduction to my study. I have explained the background, contextualisation and rationale for engaging in the study. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks and the research methodology employed in this study were then briefly reviewed. The next chapter comprises the review of the literature germane to this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter detailed the background to this study, the statement of purpose, the critical questions to be addressed and the rationale for this study.

This chapter reviews the literature which is germane to the conceptual framework of this study and which consequently scaffolds it. I begin with an overview of the history of textbook research and the debates in the field. Thereafter I present a review of literature on scholarly research interrogating the concept of ideology, which is followed by a critical examination of the ideological imperatives of research within the economic, political, social, cultural and technological arenas of globalisation. Finally, Business Education texts and their role in the transmission of implicit messages are focused on.

2.2 School textbooks and textbook research

In 1949 UNESCO published guidelines for the evaluation of textbooks using the criteria of accuracy, world-mindedness, fairness and balance (UNESCO, 1949). Following in this tradition, researchers in The International Textbook Research Network (established by German educationalist and historian Georg Eckert) assisted textbook writers in developing and improving the quality of their textbooks by looking at the usage and analysis of textbooks (Dean, Hartman & Katzen, 1983). However, the intentions of these organisations, UNESCO and the Georg Eckert Institute, were not always carried out as intended, as not all countries adhered to the guidelines. In fact, textbooks often propagate a politically correct ideology (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983) as school textbooks can be used as ideological tools to transmit what role-players (writers, publishers and political powers) in the textbook industry deem as necessary knowledge. Textbook writers, whilst being curriculum specialists and academics, also have certain assumptions of which knowledge is deemed necessary, and thus an analysis of textbooks can often offer a glimpse into the make-up of a particular society (Schissler, 2009).

Textbooks are key curriculum role-players and apparently authentic sources of knowledge impartation, especially in classes, as they are legitimate and officially sanctioned conveyers of

knowledge (Muspratt, 2005; Schissler, 2009). This is accomplished through the delivery of legitimate and officially sanctioned persuasive or argumentative information and ideas (De Castell, Luke & Luke, 1989; Muspratt, 2005). However, research has shown that what counts as officially sanctioned and legitimate knowledge may not include the experiences of the marginalised and disempowered groups in society (Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Resonating with this thought is Apple and Christian-Smith's (1991) contention that students in classrooms are presented with only one version of reality through textbooks. Furthermore, they reiterate that textbook content is a significant form of control in the concealment and trivialisation of knowledge (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). Also, textbooks are complicit in that they contribute to a form of social control when they "select in" some knowledge and "select out" others and can construct a distinct historical and economic reality (Sleeter & Grant, 1991, p. 294). Therefore the inclusion and exclusion of certain knowledge contributes to the inevitable selection of knowledge (Fairclough, 2003).

In this process of selection of knowledge a distinct worldview is appropriated and articulated and no discourse is neutral (Fowler, 1991; Gee, 1999) in what is included and excluded, what is explicit and implicit and what is foregrounded and backgrounded (Fairclough, 1995). This clearly includes ideological positions about globalisation, and no representations in the textbooks are neutral as these can either sanction or contest the status quo through the ways in which the discourses of globalisation are constructed.

Intimating that textbooks are also creations of economic activity and human thought, Luke (1998) states that this is so because they are simultaneously, products of economic and cultural activities. Luke (1998) affirms Apple's (1986) presupposition of the textbook being a cultural product, because of his proposal of an exposé of commercial and political constraints on text construction. Defining texts as concrete forms of social discourse, Kress (1985, p. 137) further elaborates that

whereas sentences can be shown to be formed on the basis of knowledge of grammatical rules, texts arise on the basis of knowledge of rules and of exigencies which are first and foremost social in their nature - and in their functions and effects ... the ability to construct texts ... reflects the circumstances in which speakers and writers are placed, as well as their social needs and attention.

Textbook construction, therefore, is a social activity closely linked to the ideological leanings of role-players in the industry (Luke, 1988), allowing meaning to be transmitted in particular

ways and distortions to influence and inform readers (Hodge & Kress, 1979). Because textbooks contain legitimised knowledge which mirrors society's political culture, they can be potent political tools (Apple, 2001). Equally, they can be compilations of reality with a purposeful agenda (Apple, 2001). Consequently, language in print is a powerful tool used to maintain relationships of power, which can be exposed by analysts using a critical framework to reveal this abuse of power (Fairclough, 2003). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) therefore has an interest in the ways that language perpetuates ideology in social constructs, which has direct implications for my study in researching these educational tools.

2.3 Ideology and textbooks

Ideology has been a key concept of investigation in CDA (Hodge & Kress, 1979; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995, 2003; Wodak, 1989; Van Dijk, 1998, 2011; Pingle, 1999; Kumaravadivelu, 1999; Blommaert, 2005; Heros, 2009). A major concern of critical analysts is how texts can be representations of ideologies and contribute to social relations of power and domination. Ideology is also largely associated with Marx, who viewed the concept as a vehicle through which dominant societal forces exert power over subordinate groups through resources like education (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

One of the first uses of the term ideology was about 200 years ago when Destutt de Trace, a French philosopher, referred to it as “the science of ideas” (Van Dijk, 2011). Later this term began to be used with negative connotations, mainly by Engels and Marx who implied that the idea of the existence of the working class was misguided, largely through the ideology inculcated by the governing power. This served a purpose in the exploitation and domination of the working class (Van Dijk, 2011). Further to this, Gramsci (Blommaert, 2005) stressed the idea that the values of the bourgeois can become accepted and adopted as common-sense notions, and thus ideology plays a role in this hegemony. Van Dijk (2011) conceptualises ideology in two ways. Firstly, he sees it as a belief system, but he also sees these belief systems as being manifested by members of social groups as social beliefs. This can be compared, for example, to religious beliefs shared by religious communities or a linguistic group sharing a particular language. Ideology is therefore also a mentally implicit representation (Van Dijk, 2011) which is shared in the behaviour and conduct of members of the group. It can manifest itself in a particular verbal or non-verbal representation, for example, racial or gender

discrimination. This can become evident not only in discourse but also in other social practices (for example, education). Therefore ideology can be seen as subtle mechanisms which underlie social behaviour (Blommaert, 2005).

These representations and beliefs (Van Dijk, 2011) have to be relevant for the members if they are to be shared and accepted in these social groups. Therefore different ideologies will be developed in the groups around concepts like death, gender, power and work. Furthermore, when ideologies work in defence of the interests of the social group, the members of the group defend their interests when confronted by other groups (dominated or dominant). For example, anti-globalists will oppose the practices of globalisation, liberals will oppose conservative practices, and so on. In this instance, ideology can be seen as working for the group's interests. When an ideology is already in existence in a social group it is in turn transmitted to new members through inferences, practices and discourses of parents, friends and the media (Van Dijk, 2011). Ideologies can also be learned through the teachings of teachers (using textbooks), leaders or priests. Van Dijk (2011) uses the example of workers who become socialists not automatically as a result of poor working conditions, but as a consequence of being exposed to discourses when interacting with socialists.

Blommaert (2005) also distinguishes ideology as having two different conceptualisations. On the one hand he sees ideology as sets of ideas or perceptions and on the other hand he sees it as ideas produced by distinct institutions of power and social material forms. Blommaert (2005) concurs with Marx's view that ideas become material forces when the masses appropriate them. According to Althusser (1971) ideology first operates at an institutional level, for example at a school. Therefore Althusser theorises that schools can become ideal ideological apparatuses because of their presumed neutrality and naturalness. Textbooks are thus easily appropriated to present significant ideas, as their function is to "tell children what their elders want them to know" (Or & Shohamy, 2015, p. 120) and to "represent to each generation of students a sanctioned version of human knowledge and culture" (Ping, 2015, p. 78). Hsiao and Cheng (2006) point out that the ideology of the ruling political power can strongly influence the education system of any country and therefore educational textbooks cannot be "value neutral" since the selection of teaching materials is influenced by value judgements that reflect the interests of the ruling class.

Evidence of the textbooks as sites of ideological issues can be seen in Gu's (2015) study. Drawing on a quantitative and qualitative analysis based on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Gu (2015) explored the relationship of subjectivity, evidentiality and ideology in three Japanese history textbooks. Gu defined evidentiality as sources of information as marked by semantics, for example, verb suffixes, modal nouns, modal auxiliary verbs and the discursive practice of verbs. Categories as such indicate a strong authorial voice on the subjective evaluation of historical events involving the Japanese army in World War II. Therefore this usage contributes to the construction of a linguistic ideology (Gu, 2015). Because of the authorial stance through this linguistic construct, the Japanese atrocities committed against other countries are downplayed. In particular, one history textbook's representation of historical knowledge is presented as true, factual and unquestionable, thus leading to a false historical conception; it is a reconstruction of the past through a sanitised narrative. Therefore Gu (2015) exhorts readers to guard against ideologies portrayed through this problematic linguistic perspective and urges that students should be taught the reality of the iniquity of war and the importance of reconciliation.

As seen in the above discussion, textbooks can be seen as socialising learners into the prevailing culture and socio-economic order. Consequently this present study will focus on how Grade 12 Economics school textbooks play a role as instruments of socialisation and sites of ideological discourse in the representations of the ideological discourses of globalisation. The next section presents a review of the literature on the economic, social, political, cultural and technological discourses of globalisation. However, the interconnectedness of the discourses does not allow for an easy separation and for them to be treated as discrete discourses, and hence they are discussed as interdependent and interchangeable discourses.

2.4. The ideology of globalisation within the economic, social, political, cultural and technological arenas

In this study globalisation will be considered an ideology which restructures and rearranges social relationships for the advance of global capitalism and the functioning of a market economy (Castells, 2010; Foucault & Senellart, 2008). Globalisation is the international process whereby people from different areas of the world are integrated into one society which through the advances of transport and communication allows for the easy exchange of ideas,

products and cultures (Mundy & Manion, 2014). It can also be defined as a compression of time and space into a single economy through increased trade and commodities (Harvey, 2007; Gibson-Graham, 2006). Globalisation can also be seen as local events being shaped by distant social events and distant events in turn shaping local happenings (Giddens, 1990).

Blommaert (2003) describes the phenomenon as a scalar process whereby events are either at macro- or micro-levels occurring at global or local levels. As a noun one of the first incidences of use of the term globalisation (Simpson & Weiner, 2009) was in 1930, where it holistically described an educational human experience. By the 1980s globalisation began to be broadly used by social scientists and economists when referring to large corporate enterprises. It also refers to the process of reducing barriers between countries and encouraging closer economic, political and social interaction (Mittelman, 2000). The International Monetary Fund (IMF, 2000) identified aspects of globalisation, namely, trade and transactions, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people and the dissemination of knowledge.

Globalisation is a multi-faceted phenomenon (Stromquist & Monkman, 2014). In the economic arena prevailing practices feature unencumbered free markets, private enterprise and increased foreign investment (Gruen, O'Brien & Lawson, 2010; Luke, 2011; Bazzul, 2012; Stromquist & Monkman, 2014). An economic theory held by neoliberal protagonists advocates that free trade and capital flows generate a more efficient distribution of scarce world resources, resulting in greater consumption and output than that generated under protectionism (Kapstein, 2000). In the social arena changing lifestyles, living standards and their attendant consequences on social organisations (like the family) prevail (Bauman, 2011b; Stromquist & Monkman, 2014).

A greater awareness of human rights and democratic practices highlights the political arena (Tickell & Peck, 2014). Also included in this arena are the policies and practices of governments and governmental organisations (Appadurai, 1990, 1996; Bigelow & Peterson, 2002; Spring, 2008). The influence of the media also strongly impacts on cultural identities which are shaped by greater exposure to divergent images, people and information as well as new patterns of consumption and consumerism (Appadurai, 2002; Ar, 2015; Bauman, 2011a, 2011b; Gruen, O'Brien & Lawson, 2010; Amadi, 2013; Stromquist & Monkman, 2014). The role of technology and technological advances also play a major role in facilitation of the process of globalisation (Ar, 2015; Gibson, 2007; Kapstein, 2000; Norton, 2017).

Globalisation is also contributing to the development of its own academic language (Appadurai, 1996), namely that of financescapes (trade, capital and money movement), ethnoscapas (the movement of people in the world; social aspects), ideoscapes (ideas and practices of governments and institutions; political aspects), mediascapes (media; images and ideas of cultural aspects) and technoscapes (technology). These discourses of globalisation in turn converge into a wider narrative where independent nations now become globally interdependent with cultural identities being transformed by the domineering systems and ideas of the West (Sleeter, 2003). Correspondingly, with this intensification of movement and flows one of the results is that of interaction and difference, which is certainly not a new phenomenon but is new in scalar and spatial intensity (Blommaert, 2003).

Holton (2000) distinguishes between the cultural causes of globalisation and the consequences of globalisation for culture, averring that much attention has been focused on the latter and not enough on the former. A close examination of the consequences shows that these are complex as they reveal three rudimentary loci. These loci as posited by Holton (2000) are homogenisation (wherein globalisation results in a North American or Western convergence), polarisation (which sees a resistance to Western culture amid cultural wars) and hybridisation (wherein the incorporation of elements from diverse cultures results in the creation of a hybrid culture). In detailing the cultural consequences of globalisation, Holton (2000, p. 151) himself realises that these consequences are complex and diverse, unlike political, technological and economic spheres of globalisation which converge “around market-driven capitalism, electronic technology, and liberal-democratic politics”. Paradoxically, while Holton (2000) bemoans the lack of attention focused on the cultural causes of globalisation, his article closely scrutinises the unresolved deliberations between the three positions and gives very little attention to the cultural causes of globalisation.

Grove (2007) acknowledges that there are three basic types of cultural globalisation: cultural homogeneity, hybridity and core religious clashing states within civilisations (a replacement of the old Cold War coalitions). Drawing on Bourdieu’s (1984, 1998) perspective, Grove (2007, p. 157) strongly contends that economic globalisation, instead of leading to cultural homogenisation and convergence of cultures, rather leads to “parallel path dependent trajectories”. He acknowledges Bourdieu’s concern that the advance of neoliberalism and the dominance of market forces could result in the subordination and subjection of local cultural productions to policies of one distinct imperial and dominant economic market. This could lead

to a homogenised universal culture. However, Grove (2007) envisages that the divergence between religious values can heighten cultural fragmentation. Using the example of the Middle East Islamic values juxtaposed against the more liberal Western values, Grove (2007, p. 167) details the worsening zone fragmentation and concludes that “a diverse world that is characterized by differing perspectives and dispositions will likely persist and compete for influence”. Actually the same market forces which bring the world closer can also kindle festering conflict (Morawski, 2003). This happens when, through globalisation, the rich get richer and the socio-economic divergence between the rich and the poor increases, which may cause the ‘losers’ to retaliate against the ‘winners’ (Morawski, 2003).

Yet Gibson (2007) raises the fear that with globalisation the subsequent lack of cultural diversity will, without intervention, leave succeeding generations with nothing but a homogenised, Westernised culture to inherit. However, using Webster’s Dictionary definition of culture as the patterns of human behaviour represented in action, speech and artifacts being transmitted to successive generations, Gibson (2007, p. 8) recommends that “cultural diversity can be strengthened through globalisation by providing the means and wherewithal to support cultural groups attempting to make a difference in society while still maintaining their distinctive set of beliefs, practices and values”. Nonetheless Morawski (2003, p. 298) argues that culture can be a barrier to globalisation as

Culture has been conceived as an active determinant of globalisation but, perhaps more often than not, it has been presented as a barrier to globalisation. Globalisation enthusiasts argue that globalisation leads to the homogenisation of culture whereas others argue that culture inhibits globalisation and globalisation itself actually facilitates diversification or even revolt against homogenisation.

In addition, protagonists of globalisation advocate that global forces can be a source of empowerment for people to rebel against outmoded ways of existing and seeing in the world (Cvetkovich & Kellner, 1997; Kenway, 1997). In fact, if globalisation is responsible for the creation of forces that divide people economically (Aguirre, Eick, & Reese, 2006; Bazzul, 2012; Davies & Bansel, 2007), it is also responsible for a renewed affirmation of traditional identities (Stavenhagen, 1997). Also, Carnoy (1999) reiterates that globalisation does not diminish the power of the State; instead, apparatuses of the State can assist global firms and markets in the maximisation of profits and the protection of their investments. These investments are further aided when states efficiently provide sound political policies and strong

regulations to protect their assets, which in turn will attract global finance (Carnoy, 1999; Evans, 1997; Morawski, 2003). Furthermore, studies of the industrialised Asian markets in the late 20th century show that strong State bureaucratic interventions were largely responsible for the rapid economic growth (Carnoy, 1993, 1999; Evans, 1997; Morawski, 2003).

Regarding issues such as human rights, democracy and gender equality, there has been a significant increase in public awareness because of greater global access to media like the radio, television and the internet (Martens & Raza, 2010), which can boost human development. On the subject of human development, Stiglitz (2002) concedes that globalisation of knowledge has improved health and increased lifespans, and debts of the poorest countries have been forgiven. He then questions why globalisation has brought considerable benefits to a few but little value to many. The conclusion he comes to is that the problem does not lie with globalisation, but rather with the way in which globalisation is managed. Stiglitz (2002) therefore advocates for the creation of an alliance charged with the creation of a global society with more social justice.

Even as people around the world are affected by these relations of transnational societies, attempts to restructure and rearrange these social relations away from the public sphere to the control of global capitalism and the market economy are seen as under the pervasive influence of neoliberalism and have become a highly contested terrain (Bourdieu, 1998; Foucault & Senellart, 2008; Rupert, 2000). Furthermore, neoliberalism is also a hegemonic practice with the State being subservient to a market economy which prevails over public commodities (Kellner, 2002). Because of the opening up of economies that allow for the movement of goods, capital, people and discourse between countries (Gruen, O'Brien & Lawson, 2010; Luke, 2011), this in Bazzul's view (2012) leads to the marginalisation and oppression of communities and global inequity. This expansion of ties between countries consequently has resulted in the enrichment of powerful corporations at the expense of ordinary workers and citizens, whilst increasing inequalities between nations in the social, political and economic domains (Aguirre, Eick, & Reese, 2006).

The impacts of globalisation are also more widely geographically dispersed through the activities of groups such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank and the IMF, as these groups have often externally imposed a neoliberal model in the South as a condition for obtaining development loans (Aguirre, Eick & Reese, 2006; Davies & Bansel,

2007). Still other writers (Appadurai, 1996; Sengupta, 2001; Kellner, 2002), raise the point that globalisation is complex, ambiguous and contradictory as it has negative and positive constituents. Kellner (2002) argues therefore that there should be an avoidance of one-sided views of globalisation. Whilst agreeing with opponents of globalisation that the process can be an imposition of neoliberal capitalism on different parts of the globe, Kellner (2002) suggests that this process has contributed to the empowering of previously disempowered people through the technological and scientific revolution. This thus provides opportunities and economic benefits, especially for entrepreneurial individuals and small business.

Other writers are downright sceptical about the economic benefits of globalisation (Amadi, 2013; Kapstein, 2000; Lee, 2011; Stromquist & Monkman, 2014) and see globalisation as increasing dependency because of its creation of social problems in developing countries. Contrary to the widespread view in discourses of corporate globalisation that sees this phenomenon as unifying the North with its 'others' and the rich with the poor, Coronil (2001) asserts that rather than unifying, globalisation polarises and excludes.

Ascribing the high rate of juvenile delinquency in Bradford in the United Kingdom to uncontrolled globalisation, Bauman (2011b) unequivocally states that this is a collateral casualty of profit-driven and uncoordinated trade practices, which leads to the silencing, exclusion and humiliation of the most vulnerable in society. In addition, Sengupta (2001) observes that inequality and its attendant problems of violence and intimidation have worsened in this economic era of globalisation as a result of lifestyle changes through exposure to a global culture. Giddens (1990, p. 130), ominously exposes globalisation as a "juggernaut" on a terrifyingly reckless path with unforeseen circumstances, crushing resistance and all the while threatening to hurtle out of control. In the same vein, Bauman (1998 p. 1) pithily describes this concept as

Globalisation is on everybody's lips; a fad word fast turning into a shibboleth, a magic incantation, a pass-key meant to unlock the gates to all present and future mysteries. For some, 'globalisation' is what we are bound to do if we wish to be happy; for others 'globalisation' is the cause of our unhappiness.

Likewise, Ebert (2001, p. 390) remarks that:

Globalisation ... is ... above all, about the structured inequality in the contemporary world, and contesting theories of globalisation are really contestations over how to understand and engage

this material inequality ... Globalisation, as Marx and Engels describe it, is a dialectical process. Contrary to its official propaganda, globalisation is in no way a remedy for inequality. It reinforces inequality: the fact that it provides jobs for the jobless ... means that it changes the social relations of production. In fact, globalisation is the internationalization of these social relations of production—the internationalization of class structures.

Major institutions like the World Bank, the WTO and trade agreements also play a role in the expectations of education viewed as an economic investment. In a study on globalisation and education Spring (2008) reviewed research on major theoretical perspectives related to the impact of worldwide institutions and processes on educational policies and practices. The differing perspectives were categorised as *world culture* (schooling based on the model of Western ideals) and the interrelated *world systems*, *postcolonial* and *culturalist* perspectives. In comparison to the schooling modelled on the West, the latter three approaches disagree with the promotion of a capitalist market educational agenda by core countries of the West. This Western agenda is evident when business and the State talk about the importance of the needs of the economy being met by schools. The world systems, postcolonial and culturalist analysts further contend that governments should have educational agendas that focus on the development of human capital for economic development. Global organisations like the WTO and trade agreements between countries, according to postcolonial analysts, entrench historical inequalities and maintain negative effects initiated under imperialism (Spring, 2008). Because these global organisations regulate global commerce and finance, contends Harvey (2007, p. 23), they are influential in driving the hegemonic discourse of neoliberalism as

... the rules of engagement now established through the WTO (governing international trade) and by the IMF (governing international finance) instantiate neoliberalism as a global set of rules. All states that sign on to the WTO and the IMF (and who can afford not to?) agree to abide (albeit with a “grace period” to permit smooth adjustment) by these rules or face severe penalties.

Institutional practices established by the WTO and the IMF (Harvey, 2007) have also created the space where neoliberal market and financial power is exercised, resulting in the widespread devastation of the economic and social welfare of the vulnerable across the globe. Moreover, the WTO’s practice of the regulation of economic policies and practices has resulted in the exploitation of the vulnerable in poorer nations, as it is a major stakeholder in the arena of neoliberal globalisation (Fridell, 2006). In fact, according to Stiglitz (2003), through imposed short-sighted neoliberal reforms important decisions regarding citizen welfare have been

removed from the control of nation states. Instead these decisions have been moved to the jurisdiction of international finance organisations like the WTO, which has led to a destructive impact on the poor, especially in developing countries. It has also been argued that the emergence of global trade was largely facilitated through the provision of loans to developing countries to open up

world trade to manufacturing and, later, to service industries, allowing Western and other large international corporations to establish themselves around the planet. The changed global economy has been, and still is, the result of a deliberate project promoted by specific agents for their own purposes – large corporations are able to move into increasingly newer markets to take advantage of cheaper labour and resources and take advantage of their existing economies of scale. (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 139)

Referring to the danger of the internalisation of assumptions about the efficacy of financial institutions, critics of free trade argue that instead of raising living standards for the masses in countries, the monopolistic and internationalised activities of corporate and financial institutions increase inequalities (Bauman, 2011b; Harvey, 2007; Nussbaum, 2011). When readers are continuously fed these assumptions, these can become incorporated and internalised as common-sense notions through which the readers interpret, exist in and comprehend the world (Harvey, 2007). So a biased representation of free trade is ideological as it serves to give hegemony to the universal notion of a highly beneficial free trade (Fairclough, 2003), and it is not a collective truth that everyone is necessarily made better off by greater exposure to international trade. Therefore it is essential that textbooks are reviewed to uncover the hidden and underlying assumptions within their content (Foster & Crawford, 2006).

Non-governmental aid organisations like Fairtrade also play a role in the advance of globalisation, and their detractors argue that these organisations also create a space for neoliberal practices (Fridell, 2006; Nicholls & Opal, 2004; Rodrik, 1996; Spring, 2008; Wallerstein, 2004). However, proponents of Fairtrade (Hiscox & Smyth, 2005; Hiscox, 2007; Kimeldorf, Meyer, Prasad & Robinson, 2004; Vagneron & Roquigny, 2010) argue that interventions in developing countries are an aspect of globalisation which improves working and living conditions in these countries, as they provide access to social and economic infrastructure which the countries normally would not have (Fridell, 2006). They also maintain that Fairtrade initiatives are sustainable economically and environmentally. Moreover Vagneron and Roquigny (2010) note that Fairtrade initiatives facilitate an easier access for

producers to foreign markets, provide technical support and financial and social provisions, and finally enable producers to have access to market information which creates an understanding of the operation of foreign markets.

Nevertheless, detractors are critical of Fairtrade enterprises (Hiscox, 2007; Nicholls & Opal, 2004; Rodrik, 1996) and regard aid agencies as legitimising the interests of the powerful countries through the teaching of capitalist methods of thought and enquiry (Spring, 2008; Wallerstein, 2004). These critics contend that these initiatives are yet more opportunities for corporations to exploit the poor and to entrench inequalities between the rich and poor, and as Fridell (2006, p. 19) points out, the success of the system lies in the fact that it can sometimes be seen as being “highly compatible with neoliberalism”. Another form of exploitation lies in the fact that large multinational corporations, for example Starbucks, make token gestures of supporting social justice causes (using about 2% of Fairtrade coffee beans) whilst reaping the rewards of positive publicity, which in reality masks their commitment to neoliberal practices (Fridell, 2006).

Also of concern to Vagneron and Roquigny (2010) is an unforeseen consequence that Fairtrade may have on inequality. In supporting one group of beneficiaries, conflict may arise between women and men, amongst farmers and wage labourers and between permanent and temporary labourers. Another concern raised is that initiatives of Fairtrade are ineffective in improving conditions in developing countries as the attention of the government is distracted away from more direct intervention (Rodrik, 1996). This then leads to the issue of whether non-governmental development organisations can really provide solutions to problems which can better be addressed by governmental regulations (Hiscox, 2007).

Reiterating the view that globalisation is a highly contested terrain, Kapstein (2000) examined empirical and theoretical claims of several economists, especially focusing on the association between labour and trade and the political response from the Government of the United States of America (USA). His study of a review of literature on winners and losers in the global economy looked at the impact that globalisation has on the skilled and unskilled workers in the USA. Kapstein (2000) established that there are definite and bleak implications of increased trade with the South on wages and employment, especially for unskilled workers. In addition to this, there is also the depressing finding that the poorly educated and female workers are more likely to be displaced because of increased imports. He therefore suggests that the

government should intervene in the form of compensation programmes for displaced workers. But Kapstein (2000) concedes that it is very difficult to provide low-cost assistance programmes as these must compete for funding against other government projects. In this review of the literature he also disagreed with Cline (1997), who rejects the policy of protectionism. This rejection of protectionist policies will, Kapstein (2000) asserts, result in great losses for skilled workers with limited gains for the unskilled. Therefore Kapstein (2000) advises that a more profound understanding of these issues should lead to the discovery of why the affected groups of society have been marginalised by globalisation.

However, Kapstein (2000) maintains that technology too can be a culprit in the saga of lost incomes, as efficient and innovative technological improvements have correspondingly resulted in the displacement of workers, low wages and low employment levels. Although Kapstein (2000) does admit that more in-depth studies are needed for a more analytical picture on workers in the North, more nuanced studies are also needed to focus on the impact of globalisation on workers of the Third World and developing economies like South Africa. Contrary to Kapstein's (2000) assessment of the negative impact of technological innovations, Kellner (2002) observes that research shows that new technologies directly and indirectly facilitate and positively influence globalisation, for example in the fields of finance, tourism and medicine (Morawski, 2003). New technologies can provide opportunities for small-scale entrepreneurs and small businesses and provide social progress and be socially beneficial for previously disempowered individuals and groups.

Nevertheless Kellner (2002) does admit that there is also evidence that new technologies can be a form of homogenising domination with the imposition of neoliberal capital logic on different parts of the globe. Similarly, Gibson (2007) regards technology as culturally biased because it advances the ethics and standards of First World countries. In fact, users have easy, superficial access to a range of cultures, but in reality there is a danger of the dissolution of cultures into a single brand. Elaborating on this danger, Gibson (2007) states that because developed countries have gained political power through their knowledge of technology, their dominant belief patterns and ideologies are perpetuated globally. He does, however, recommend that in a technological society equal opportunities and equal access are needed to avoid a monoculture (Gibson, 2007).

Hand in hand with the advances in technology is the empowering of consumers as they now have the choice of products, and this in turn forces producers to cut costs, which pits them against rivals (Morawski, 2003). Therefore new technologies inflict greater competition, which is seen as a most efficient method in the allocation of resources (Colombo & Porcu, 2014). At the same time, whilst stimulating competition this has led to the fostering of monopolies in the market (Morawski, 2003). Nevertheless, Bazzul (2012, p. 1008) labels the taken-for-granted notions of innovation, competition and freedom of choice as neoliberal logic, and questions how “are we governed or regulated in order that this freedom, or illusion of freedom, can be sustained?”, noting that it is paradoxical that regulations promote ‘freedom’.

Another facet of this increased choice for consumers is that constant change and innovation serve the interests of the market, as an incessant stream of new-fangled offers is vital for the turnover of merchandise (Bauman, 2011a). To some this infers that this has ushered in a new era in economic prosperity by opening up channels of development; however, to others globalisation has also created some areas of concern, and prominent among these is the impact that it has had on the environment (Ar, 2015; Fioramonti, 2017; Martens & Raza, 2010). Embedded in this discourse too is the notion that new techniques, innovation and new technologies are tools of the market to colonise all activities (Ar, 2015) at the expense of social needs.

Still, Fioramonti (2017) draws attention to the fact that while a greater choice of products may be seen as advantageous to the consumers, this results in increased wastage which then becomes socially problematic. Consumers may celebrate these innovations but these can have long-term effects on the environment (Karatas, 2016). For example, plastic is of immense use when it comes to packaging and preserving goods that are to be exported, but is one of the major toxic pollutants as it is non-biodegradable and has led to widespread environmental pollution (Karatas, 2016). Another consequence of consumerism is the need for transport, which is directly connected to the exploitation of natural resources in developing countries. For example, an emerging power like India is regarded as having impressive growth rates linked to production for the global market, yet environmental degradation is a serious concern in this country (Martens & Raza, 2010).

As a result of an evolution in technology, the world of work has become fluid. Consequently, global and local levels are thus impacted by increasing levels of inequality because political systems are delegitimised by a “new turbo-capitalism” (Schissler, 2009). Therefore Bazzul

(2012), Lee (2011), Akincioglu (2012) and Amadi (2013) argue that critical engagement is needed to counter the legitimisation of the discursive practices of globalisation, especially by educators, teacher educators and the media. In a study on neoliberalism, globalisation, global capitalism and science education, Bazzul (2012) examined excerpts from a science textbook. He found that the ideologies of neoliberalism and globalisation are present in taken-for-granted ways. This is evident in one extract where the title states that science is driven by competition. This caption is presented as a statement of fact, thereby promoting and reinforcing the importance of competition and not collaboration. Bazzul concludes that without critical engagement, the neoliberal agenda can be reinforced. He suggests that science educators should challenge the taken-for-granted notion that individual achievement and market-oriented research is natural in science education and consider alternatives to this neoliberal agenda. Concurring with Bazzul are other writers who emphasise that pupils at primary and high school levels and teachers should be exposed to critical questioning skills (Sleeter, 2003; Bigelow & Peterson, 2002).

Sleeter (2003) examined curriculum standards of State and national policies in North America to determine how globalisation is represented. Drawing on six metaphors to provide models for thinking, she found that metaphors used highlight certain phenomena while obscuring others. An example of this is the use of the *global village* metaphor to highlight mutually beneficial economic and cultural relations, while ignoring the unjust processes of profit-making which can lead to exploitation and oppression. Other metaphors which Sleeter (2003) highlights are the *military competition* metaphor (implying global political conflicts between competing ideological forces), *networks of independence* metaphor (different nations benefit economically because of market forces of supply and demand), *McWorld* metaphor (shared tastes for global chainstores of media, products and food), *spaceship earth* metaphor (the threat to the environment and ecosystems by unrestrained economic activity), and the metaphor of *neo-colonialism* (reproduction of earlier colonial systems to politically and economically exploit nations for profit).

Subsequently, Sleeter (2003) examined alternate resources which can assist teachers in rethinking globalisation (Bigelow & Peterson, 2002). These resources advocate that teaching activities together with conceptual analyses can be used to raise the pupils' levels of awareness of issues around poverty, inequality, multicultural social justice, etc. Furthermore, Sleeter (2003) recommends that education should cultivate critical questioning skills so that schools

can be used as instruments serving social needs instead of serving global imperialism. One of the alternate resources examined (Bigelow & Peterson, 2002) presumes that students can learn to act in ways which actively resist profit-seeking systems. However, in many parts of South Africa students learn only through a close interaction with textbooks and the authority of these textbooks is uncritically accepted (Morgan & Henning, 2011), and therefore textbooks can be used as tools to cultivate critical questioning. Hence continual oversight of textbook content is needed to ascertain that textbooks are not subservient to a market economy.

In a similar vein, Lee (2011) exhorts teacher educators to play a greater role in motivating teacher interns to critically appraise content in textbooks. In a study which sets out to expose the influence of the globalisation policy of South Korea on high school textbooks, Lee (2011) examined ways in which high school South Korean English as a Foreign Language textbooks promote globalisation. The selected sample was made up of three popular English textbooks produced by three different publishers. Employing the central concepts of CDA as a tool, Lee (2011) sought to unveil the textbooks' social, historical and political perceptions about globalisation and to determine if these are interpreted within distinctive South Korean contexts. During the examination of passages in the selected textbooks Lee unearthed cultural assumptions which led to his finding of popular embedded notions of globalisation in South Korea. Four key themes emerged: "Legal/Illegal Action, Capability/Incapability, Equality/Inequality and High/Low Quality of Education." (Lee, 2011, p. 53). Disconcertingly, these findings portray Westerners as capable, law-abiding, educated and living in societies where equality is respected.

On the other hand, non-Westerners are presented as incapable, poorly educated, having little respect for the law and being stoical with regard to social inequality (Lee, 2011). The analysis also shows that selected segments of the texts illustrate positive portrayals of developed countries in the West while excluding productive and positive facets of African and Asian countries. Another alarming finding is that the non-West is depicted as having little economic influence, whereas the economic success of the affluent West is admired and idealised. Thus Lee (2011) advocates that teacher interns should be encouraged to question and challenge biased textbook content, especially as moral considerations such as ethically cooperative living should supersede the overemphasised economic accomplishments. Whilst Lee (2011) chose not to analyse the linguistic features of the texts in great depth, a linguistic analysis would have

allowed for greater depth in the unveiling of the link between the textual context and the social context, which Akincioglu (2012) used in his study.

In his study of applied linguistics textbooks, Akincioglu (2012) found that certain selected texts incorporate words and symbols, like 'globalisation' and 'marketisation', which identify a neoliberal discourse. The use of modality and nominalisation in these textbooks assists to promote a positive view about neoliberalism, in spite of the devastation that neoliberal policies have visited on countries. In addition, Akincioglu (2012) found that the construction of new knowledge in these textbooks acts as a scaffold for the internalisation of aspects which are biased towards neoliberal ideas. Akincioglu therefore posits that unless contested, these texts present teachers and pupils with a version of a dominant economic policy as ideal, valid and authoritative, and he recommends that teacher education training should incorporate courses to empower trainees to challenge the ideological content of teaching materials (2012).

According to Amadi (2013) the media also plays a role in the glorification of the benefits of globalisation. His study, in which he theoretically sampled nine textual samples using CDA, found that the reporting in the Nigerian media glorifies economic globalisation instead of drawing attention to the negative consequences of it. These negative consequences (Amadi, 2013) act as catalysts for inflicting poverty on the majority of the people in Nigeria. In fact, writers state that assertions that globalisation strengthens the economy and increases prosperity levels are assumptions which glorify globalisation (Ar, 2015; Jovanovic, 2010). For that reason, instead of unwittingly legitimising the discursive practices of globalisation the media, according to Amadi (2013), should continually question and challenge the discourses of globalisation that lead to the domain of colonisation.

Viewing aspects of social media from a different perspective to that of Amadi (2013), but also critically analysing social media data (rather than newspapers as Amadi did), Unger, Wodak and KhosraviNik (2016) employed aspects of critical discourse studies to analyse the role of the discursive arena of social media enmeshed in social phenomena. With reference to a particular focus group on Facebook, Unger et al. (2016) illustrate how social media data can be used in the context of political resistance. Critical discourse studies, according to the authors, focus on social phenomena which are not necessarily socially or politically negative experiences as all social phenomena need to be investigated and challenged so that they are not regarded as 'taken-for-granted' notions (Unger et al., 2016). Acknowledging that the theoretical aims of critical discourse studies (as CDA is referred to in this expansive chapter)

do not link in easily with the patently distinctive discursive arena of social media, the writers nevertheless employed eight semiotic and linguistic analytical categories, including the original analytical categories of modality, presupposition, syntax, nominalisation, etc. These were used to conduct an exploration of how digital media technologies are used to facilitate the communication of ideas in relation to socio-political global changes, especially by journalists and protestors.

The sample comprised Google images linked to social action groups, globalisation and protests, for example, images relating to the 'Arab Spring' and the 'Occupy' movement. The authors of this case study (Unger et al., 2016) focused on the link between local images and socio-political changes globally. They found that social media facilitates the acceleration of communication and is a vital component of social and political structures. However, a key finding is that global languages like English frequently dominate the dissention movements and that

the hegemonic power structures found in the global economic system are partially reproduced in the way technologies and texts flow between protests, much as in the case of academic publishing, where 'Western' publications in the English language are seen as more prestigious and desirable in many disciplines. (Unger et al., 2016, p. 15)

Therefore the authors deem it crucial that readers constantly critically analyse how language in social media is structured, shaped and distributed.

Fairclough (2009b) also focused on the role of language in relation to globalisation. In order to differentiate between the plethora of views about globalisation, Fairclough (2009b) distinguished five categories, namely research and analysis by academia, national and international agencies of governance (for example the United Nations (UN) and WTO), non-governmental organisations (for example Oxfam, Fairtrade, Greenpeace), 'ordinary' people in communities, and lastly the media (press, television, etc.). Acknowledging that the process or a set of processes is ideological (assuming a 'general' position as a global truth), Fairclough (2009b) opines that globalisation has created a space for unrestrained profit-making. This space is created on the assumption that markets work best in a space free of external regulations. Furthermore, in the realisation that the global media is dominated by formidable multinational communication corporations, Fairclough (2009b) attributes the propagation of a global neoliberal discourse, to a significant extent, to this key source of information (the media). Elaborating on this point, Fairclough maintains that the media promotes the attitudes, assumptions, claims and values of a globalist discourse and often legitimises the practice of a

global neoliberal economy. He also cautions that accurate reporting exposing and criticising social ills is gradually being undermined by the powerful media corporations because of their close links to business and industry. While a positive aspect of the globalised media is that people benefit from the increased access to resources and information, the greater danger lies in their exposure to the agendas and stratagems of the powerful.

Also analysing construction of the ideology of globalisation in the media by applying a CDA framework, Ar (2015) focused on two different genres: extracts of opinion editorials in newspapers and extracts of political speeches. Using a theoretical framework constructed on ideology, political economy and discourses as an aspect of globalisation, Ar (2015) examined aspects of grammar and meanings of keywords associated with globalisation in two countries, China and the USA. The study establishes that two interconnected ideologies, namely neoliberalism and new capitalism in globalisation, are linguistically and socially construed through vocabulary and propositional content. In the analysis of the extracts new capitalism is seen as attempting to globally control the political, social and economic aspects of humanity, whilst neoliberalism manifests the political, social and economic agenda as endorsed by supranational organisations like the WTO, IMF and prominent economists.

Analysis of the data also uncovers an implicit inevitability: the “social-Darwinist survival of the fittest” (Ar, 2015, p. 63) in global economic activities. Furthermore, Ar theorises that the profits from products generally do not benefit manufacturing countries, which are often developing countries. This is because the profit returns to the countries where the headquarters are, and therefore capitalist wealth distribution functions as a mechanism to entrench economic and political divisions (Ar, 2015). Thus Ar (2015) concludes that the advantages of a global economy remain a fantasy for people in developing economies, whilst the only beneficiaries are the economically dominant nations and their hegemonic corporations.

Likewise, the use of a CDA framework also enabled Reyes (2011) to determine that language can be a tool to justify strategies used to manipulate global power. Combining Halliday’s SFL and the framework of CDA, Reyes (2011) examined how language use in society is a tool of power and control which contributes to the legitimisation and justification of certain discourses of two leaders, Barack Obama and George W. Bush. Reyes (2011, p. 781) explains how explicit linguistic usage constructs key legitimisation strategies, through “emotions (particularly fear), a hypothetical future, rationality, voices of expertise and altruism”. The study explicates how these particular linguistic strategies are used in two speeches to justify military intervention in

the infamous armed terror conflicts in Afghanistan (2009) and Iraq (2007). However, Hasan (2003, p. 447) emphasises that language by itself is only a potential; its semiotic energy requires the ideological spur of the speaker to be activated, and “the active principle is always the socially positioned speaker”. In light of this realisation there is a need to continually question and challenge the selected knowledge in textbooks. Therefore this study strives to fulfil this critical task with Grade 12 Economics textbooks.

The next section of this chapter examines literature focusing on Business Education.

2.5 Review of literature on Business Education studies

Studies on Business Education and Accounting literature have also shown an ideological bias (Kelly & Pratt, 1994; McPhail, 1999; Ferguson, Collison, Power & Stevenson, 2005; Ferguson Collison, Power & Stevenson, 2009; Zhang, 2012; David, 2012). These studies are textually orientated and many of them examine the language in Accounting texts (David, 2012; Ferguson, et al., 2005, 2009; Maistry & David, 2017; Pillay, 2013; Zhang, 2012).

These studies show that Business Education can be considered as a form of control and hegemony because it can instil in students values and notions associated with capitalism (McPhail, 1999). McPhail (2001) takes this further by suggesting that hegemony can be reinforced through the linguistic tools used to transmit knowledge to students. Collison (2003) corroborates this viewpoint in his discussion on the role that Accounting education plays in inculcating values in students which establish the interests of corporate stakeholders. For Collison (2003), Accounting education promotes propaganda through the use of ‘taken-for-granted’ assumptions. In his study McPhail (1996, p. 278) observes that “accounting departments appear to function as ministries of propaganda, subliminally instructing students in the rudiments of neo-classical market economies”. Thus Ferguson et al. (2009) say that Accounting textbooks lend themselves easily to the criticism that they are tools of capitalism.

Textbooks become instruments of propaganda when they promote and advance the ideologies of neoliberalism, globalisation and capitalism, inculcating students with a particular worldview which draws on the values and assumptions of capitalism (Kelly & Pratt, 1994; McPhail, 1999; Ferguson et al., 2005, 2009; Zhang, 2012; David, 2012). However, many of these studies focused on a content and thematic analysis which may provide a limited insight into the ideological make-up of textbooks and do not explain how ideological discourses are

constructed (Wilmot & Naidoo, 2011). Also, textbooks and policies often are written with an appearance of impartiality which makes it difficult to identify an ideological bias. Therefore the use of CDA as in David's (2012) study can unearth the hidden ideological biases.

In a study which employed the tools of CDA to examine three South African Grade 7 Economic Management and Sciences textbooks, David (2012) found that these textbooks propagate the idea that businesses are successful if they engage in global trade. David (2012, p. 103) unearthed an implication that businesses are only regarded as successful if their product/s are traded on a global scale as "globalisation is a natural and expected consequence of successful businesses". The writers of the textbooks, through the use of linguistic features like the present tense of verbs, assumptions and omissions, highlight the positive effects of globalisation in a seemingly factual way. International trade is depicted as driven by the need for making a profit, despite the fact that globalisation is diametrically opposed to the basic needs of people (Chomsky, 1999; Bone, 2010; David, 2012). What is also disquieting (David, 2012) is the absolute silence on the outcomes of globalisation in both the importing and exporting countries. For example, in order for products to be marketed competitively in foreign countries, manufacturing costs will have to be reduced; to facilitate the decreased costs the workforce will probably be decreased, with a resultant impact on families and communities (David, 2012).

Hence David (2012) argues that because the negative outcomes of globalisation are not portrayed, pupils are presented with a skewed economic reality. Consequently, pupils may internalise and reify this narrow version of economic reality. David (2012) concludes that because the selected textbooks portray an ideology which reifies the acquisition of wealth and profit-making, these textbooks can serve as tools of propaganda. She therefore emphasises that educators should ask critical questions of texts and be acutely aware that texts can be ideological tools.

Also using a methodological framework of CDA, Zhang (2012) found that Accounting discourses and policies in China are ideologically formed to aid particular socio-political programmes. The use of CDA facilitated Zhang's finding that textbooks and literature in Accounting as a globalised practice are also instruments of neoliberalism (Zhang, 2012). Zhang (2012) found that the adoption of globalised accounting practices by the Chinese Government reveals that this government entrenches the ideological precepts of neoliberalism. However, recent research (Oxfam International, 2018) confirms that income inequality in China has increased over the last 30 years. For instance, even though many Chinese are employed because

of globalised production, their well-being did not improve because of the unequal income distribution (Jovanovic, 2010). Hence Zhang (2012) comments that in addition to textbooks and policies that appear to be ideologically unbiased and impartial, the importance of what is left unsaid or what is hidden as a subtext is more powerful than what is overtly stated.

This subtext was evident in a study examining a Canadian Grade 11 Social Study textbook. Using CDA Parker (2014) scrutinised how the Global Citizenship Education textbook presents neoliberal policies, practices and discourses. The theoretical framework as understood by Harvey's (2007) perspective of class dispossession and class renewal was utilised to reveal the textbook's portrayal of neoliberalism. With Gee's (2005, 2011, 2013, 2014) inquiry techniques of CDA, Parker (2014) found that the discourse of neoliberalism is presented in a manner which privileges the positive outcomes of neoliberal restructurings. The absence or misrepresentations of role-players like social movements and labour opposing reformed neoliberal practices is also significant. Fairclough's (1989, 1992, 2006, 2012) concepts of negative and positive value connotations, intertextuality, modality and agency also reveal the privileged positioning of neoliberal discourses. So even though the terms associated with neoliberalism are absent, this significant silence demonstrates its overarching power in the propagation of the economic values of globalisation. Thus Parker (2014) concludes that this presentation of knowledge is likely to lead to Global Citizenship Education students lacking the analytical skills to criticise the institutions of Canada, as well as leaving students with little empathy with the Global South 'other'.

It is neoliberalism as an economic ideology, according to Fioramonti (2017), which is responsible for the change of focus of international global organisations like the IMF and the World Bank from advocates of welfare promotion and global collaboration into advocates of free market enterprise. Giving a scathing commentary on the preoccupation on economic growth by countries like China and the USA and economists, Fioramonti (2017) reveals how pursuit of the fallacy of economic growth has resulted in increased human, social and environmental impoverishment. The neoliberal obsession with economic growth has seen a widening gap between the exorbitant wealth globally of the richest entities and the great mass of poverty-stricken people. Fioramonti (2017) also denounces the role of the media in being complicit in the diffusion of the "economic growth ideology" without acknowledging the consequences of this monetary profit creation. The accumulation of wealth and, by association, power only benefits a few whilst amplifying levels of inequality across the globe (Fioramonti,

2017). The neoliberal ideas of free trade and capital liberalisation are also denounced as fallacies by Keifman (2006).

In a study examining neoliberal propositions regarding openness and issues of inequality, Keifman (2006) drew on research to derive equations proving that these propositions are actually fallacies as they are based on over-simplified generalisations which have been empirically disproved. Three fallacies which he disproved are that trade liberalisation raises employment levels and real wages of the poor within developing countries, thus reducing inequality; that trade liberalisation decreases inequality across countries; and that liberalisation of the capital account also results in the diminishing of inequality across countries. Even though these propositions, Keifman (2006) concludes, are based on inadequate theoretical fundamentals, they have become common-sense assumptions in academia and in the business world, thereby bearing testimony to the ideological power that vested interests have over global economic institutions.

Drawing on Halliday's work in linguistics but focusing on Halliday's (1994) concept on metaphenomenon, Moore (2002) explored the 'metaphenomenal discourse' of three prescribed undergraduate first-year textbooks from the fields of Physics, Economics and Sociology at an Australian university. Moore (2002) investigated how information is constructed linguistically in textbooks and particularly the way in which it differs in the disciplinary range from 'hard' (Physics) to 'soft' (Sociology) fields of knowledge, with Economics perceived as the centre. Halliday's (1994) technical explanation of metaphenomena as a "representation of a (linguistic) representation", a projection comprising of a projecting clause (a participant, for example, 'Keynes') and a projected clause (a verbal or mental process, for example, 'argues' or 'believes') (Moore, 2002, p. 350), was the basis for this investigation and thus led to the discovery of how human agency is used to construct disciplinary knowledge.

All three textbooks present evidence of metaphenomenal elements and also metaphenomena in the nominal form, that is, a transformation of a verb (for example, 'argues' or 'believes') to a nominal (for example, 'argument' or 'belief'). What was of particular interest to Moore (2002) is the finding that the Economics text has the fewest examples of metaphenomenal discourse, creating the implication that the inclusion of human agency lessens the likelihood of statements being perceived as facts. What is also notable is that economists are often considered as a collective voice, thus conferring a canonical status to this voice. This, in Moore's (2002) view, augments the effect of persuading students of Economics that these are indisputable facts. Also,

because the subject matter of Economics is involved with essentially the economic activity of achieving economic growth, the use of the canonical voice can be an effective stratagem.

Therefore Moore (2002) intimates that from a CDA perspective of ideology, Economics intentionally excludes other views and voices and serves as indoctrination or political hegemony. Moore echoes other critics (Brown & Guilding, 1993; Klammer, 1990) when he emphasises the necessity for various viewpoints to be heard, especially dissimilar viewpoints, so that students benefit by gaining greater insight from a broad perspective instead of knowledge gained from a single perspective. There is a risk that readers may internalise and perpetuate views presented in the canonical textbooks (Moore, 2002), as the potential does exist that learners may not have the profound skills necessary for a critical engagement and interpretation (Maistry & David, 2017).

In their article Maistry and David (2017) examined the portrayal of entrepreneurship in three post-apartheid South African primary school Economics and Management Sciences textbooks. Using a CDA framework favoured by Fairclough (2003) the writers discovered that a constitutive and constituted ideology is at work in the selected textbooks. The overriding discourse concerning entrepreneurship that materialises is that individual beings are responsible for their own economic development, despite prevalent historic conditions of oppression, racism, injustice and human suffering, and that “entrepreneurship is a readily viable way to achieve economic emancipation because it naturally leads to wealth creation” (Maistry & David, 2017, p. 101). Consequently, the article concludes that the selected textbooks are instruments of neoliberal ideology as they advocate values of self-advancement and personal wealth accumulation. Moreover, prominence is given to the notion that individuals in society who thrive economically are those who pursue wealth accumulation. Also of significance is that whilst Maistry and David (2017) acknowledge that learners may critically engage with the textbook content, the potential does exist, as mentioned above, that the learners may not have the profound skills necessary for a critical engagement and interpretation. The article therefore recommends that because of this evidence of uncritical legitimisation of neoliberal values, teachers and teacher educators should develop a greater awareness when engaging with such textual ideological influences.

2.6 Implications of the literature and concluding remarks

The literature reviewed in this chapter gives credence to the notion that textbooks and other forms of media can be used as instruments to serve global markets, and may present the discourses of globalisation as natural and inevitable. Transmitters of knowledge they may be, but it is clear that textbooks can be linked to the ideological leanings of role-players in the industry (Luke, 1988), allowing meaning to be transmitted in particular ways and distortions to influence and inform readers (Hodge & Kress, 1979). Arguably there is evidence of a lack of research on globalisation and South African textbooks as opposed to international literature. Therefore this study addresses the gap in the South African literature, thereby aiming to contribute to the academic body of knowledge in the exploration of the discourses of globalisation manifested in Grade 12 Economic textbooks.

In addition, the literature reviewed not only revealed a focus on the relationship between the discourses of globalisation and the broader social environment, but also demonstrated how these discourses are systematic constructs (Luke, 1995) of power and of a neoliberal, capitalistic society. This chapter also developed and explained this study's conceptual framework which consists of the five discourses of globalisation, namely financescapes, ideoscapes, ethnoscapescapes, mediascapes and technoscapes. These conceptual framework elements provided a useful scaffold in guiding the data collection, analysis, interpretation and explanation of the research phenomenon.

Notwithstanding the fact that these studies reveal useful insights and that these findings will be useful in discussing the findings of my studies, of significance for my study is that many of the studies do not clarify how discourses are constructed. It is for this reason that a CDA protocol will be appropriated in this study. By using CDA greater depth can possibly be added in describing, interpreting and explaining the ideological dimensions of the discourses of globalisation.

In the following chapter the research design and methodology used to generate the data will be discussed.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research design and methodology employed in this study. I first deal with the research paradigm framing this study. This is divided into sections: the roots of critical discourse analysis (CDA); ideology and hegemony in relation to CDA; and then a detailed examination of the components of CDA together with the theoretical, conceptual and analytical framework used to examine the representation of discourses of globalisation in the textbooks. This is followed by a critique of CDA. The sample of textbooks is then described, and finally the trustworthiness, ethical considerations and limitations of the study are discussed.

3.2 Research paradigm framing the study

3.2.1 The roots of CDA

The research paradigm of this study is framed within a critical paradigm for which I appropriated elements from CDA (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 2003, 2011; Huckin, 1997; Luke, 1996, 2002; McGregor, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2009; Gee, 2011; Van Dijk, 2011; Huckin, Andrus & Clary-Lemon, 2012). CDA as a multidisciplinary research methodology has become increasingly popular in studies of texts and semiotic data (visual, spoken or written) in the public sphere (Wodak & Meyer, 2009; Huckin et al., 2012). In recent years in South Africa (Fru, 2012; Pillay, 2013; David, 2012) CDA has become an established field in the social sciences. Fairclough et al. (2011) advocated that CDA is a problem-oriented research discipline with an interest in issues of power, injustice and cultural or political-economic changes in society. Revealing ideologies implicitly rooted in texts, CDA also examines the implementation of power in the construction and interpretation of texts (Widdowson, 2000). Blommaert (2005) and Wodak (1996) maintain that power, especially institutional power, is central to CDA and that CDA analyses the structural relationship of power and control as portrayed by language.

A CDA of texts allows for a critical and constructive analysis which exposes “systematic asymmetries of power and resources between speakers and listeners and between readers and

writers [which] can be linked to the production and reproduction of stratified political and economic interests” (Luke, 1996, p. 12). Luke (1996) further elaborated that dominant discourses in society tend to replicate these anomalies, for example, in the gendered positions in work and homes, as natural and essential. Hence, CDA can be implemented as a tool to challenge these positionings and representations of institutional power.

Some of the beliefs of CDA can be traced back to Marx, who impacted social theorists Gramsci, Althusser and Habermas. An important part of CDA is that it has largely been influenced by Habermas’ critical theory. Frequent references are made to Habermas, a social theorist whose critical theory (1973) showed an interest in “ideology and the social subject” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 7). The critical theory of Habermas (1973) underlined the importance of the need to understand the social problems of ideology and power relationships reinforced in written texts. Habermas (1973) stated that utterances are never simply sentences that are disembodied from context but rather their meaning derives from the intersubjective contexts in which they are set. Because CDA intended to investigate critically the expression, constitution and legitimisation of social inequality in language usage (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), this ratified in Habermas’ view that language is ideological. This was so because, according to Habermas (1973), language legitimised power relations and was an instrument of social domination. Also seeing language as ideological, Hasan (2003, p. 439) comments

If language is viewed as a system of systems of choices, then, in a manner of speaking, all its use has to be seen as ideological: in the final analysis, the actual choice, albeit unconscious, lies with speakers, who in the nature of things are socially positioned, and thus ideology-specific.

Seminal critical linguistic works by Hodge and Kress (1979) and Fowler, Hodge, Kress and Trew (1979) were the forerunners and the roots of CDA. CDA’s current focus on language and discourse was seen to be introduced with the work of Fowler et al. (1979) which looked at issues such as how language perpetuated power and ideology, which, besides describing a discourse went further to analyse why and how a discourse is produced. Hodge and Kress (1979), who first used the phrase critical linguistics, believed that discourses mirror and reproduce established structures in society, thus playing an ideological role. Also serving as a foundation were Bakhtin’s work on literary analysis of voice and layers of social

communication (Bakhtin, 1981) as well as Foucault (1981), Bourdieu (1990), and Habermas's (1973) theories of language from a social point of view.

Social theorists like Foucault and Bourdieu addressed language from a social point of view and made suggestions for the analysis of sociolinguistic discourse (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough included some of Foucault's thoughts on analysing discourse in connection with knowledge, power and institutions in the formation of his framework. However, Foucault emphasised the historical aspects that impact on a discourse (Fairclough, 1992), for example, histories recording the development of discourses of pedagogy from the Reformation period to neo-Marxism (Luke, 1996). In addition, Foucault's work related to the semantic level of discourses and the creation of meaning and how institutional practices lead to specific statements occurring at a particular historical time and a particular place (Keller, 2013). Fairclough's point of departure from Foucault's work was that not enough attention was paid to the linguistic details and technical features of texts. Fairclough drew on a range of social theorists like Habermas and Althusser as well as his own research to present a form of language analysis.

The basis of CDA is thus grounded on the assumption that the analysis of linguistics can provide a useful perspective on social critique and sees language as incorporating relations of power and social practice. Fairclough's landmark publication *Language and Power* (1989) was an important milestone of this period. Of importance in the timeline of CDA is the discourse investigations in Europe in the 1980s led by CDA exponents Norman Fairclough (British professor of social linguistics), Ruth Wodak (Austrian professor of linguistics) and Teun van Dijk (Dutch linguistic researcher) among others (Keller, 2013). Thereafter a scholastic network developed after an organisational symposium in 1991 in Amsterdam, where the field's founders, Van Dijk, Fairclough, Kress, Van Leeuwen and Wodak, discussed and debated methods and theories of CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

In the next section I describe the notions of ideology and hegemony in relation to CDA.

3.2.2 Ideology and hegemony

A foremost concern of critical discourse analysts was how texts could be representations of ideologies and contribute to social relations of power and domination. Thus ideology has been

a key concept of investigation in CDA (Hodge & Kress, 1979; Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 2003; Wodak, 1989; Van Dijk, 1998, 2011; Pingle, 1999; Blommaert, 2005; Heros, 2009).

Ideology is largely associated with Marx, who viewed the concept as a vehicle through which dominant societal forces exert power over subordinate groups through resources like education (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The term ideology is thought to have first been used by Destutt de Tracey early in the 1800s, but has generally become linked with Karl Marx (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Ideology, according to Marx and Engels, denotes the body of particularly intellectual thoughts used to support the economic domination and subjugation of particular classes and serving a purpose in the exploitation and domination of the working class (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Van Dijk, 2011). Later Marxist theories, from theorists like Althusser, established explanations of how schooling transmits ideologies. Althusser (1971) highlighted the role of ideological state apparatuses such as schools, churches and the media in reinforcing ideologies. According to Althusser (1971) ideology first operates at an institutional level, that is, school or family, and then at the level of consciousness. Consequently Althusser theorised that schools can become ideal ideological apparatuses because of their presumed neutrality and naturalness. This is the point which my study will focus on: how schools and more importantly what is taught in schools, especially through the textbooks, play a role in the production of the ideological discourses of globalisation.

This presumed neutrality of textbooks can conceal a hidden curriculum in which ideology that constitutes dominant discourses is hidden from readers (Kumaravadivelu, 1999). Kumaravadivelu (1999) cautions that teachers are generally not trained critical linguists and may unknowingly pass on knowledge from textbooks that can contain hidden concepts perpetuated by the economic policies of the ruling class. Hsiao and Cheng (2006) point out that textbooks cannot be “value neutral” since the selection of teaching materials is influenced by value judgments that reflect the interests of the ruling class. Because students rely heavily on textbooks and believe that what textbooks depict is incontestable, there is a real danger in this power to legitimise the hidden curriculum (Tietz, 2007).

Furthermore, Gramsci (Blommaert, 2005) stressed the idea that the values of the bourgeoisie can become accepted and adopted as common-sense notions, and thus ideology plays a role in this hegemony. Hegemony is an important term in many studies on ideology, and although the term was not an invention of Gramsci's (1971), he identified hegemony as the middle class

(bourgeoisie) culturally and economically dominating the rest of society. Fairclough (1992) appropriated Gramsci's notion of hegemony underpinning a discourse, especially in the way a discourse is presented as common sense and natural. Thus this discourse then becomes hegemonic when it is "articulated, rearticulated and sometimes disarticulated" (Luke, 1995, p. 19). Consequently the discourse can become so embedded in the rearticulations of assumptions that they become taken-for-granted and common-sense notions, and in turn become lived realities. Readers are presented with implicit assumptions because these are seldom explicitly formulated or interrogated (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore CDA is useful as an analytical tool because of its focus on the observation of how language plays an important role in the construction of hegemonic ideologies. CDA can also be used to reveal and expose the ways in which text is used as an instrument of manipulation.

For this study I have appropriated a combination of views of ideology and hegemony as the beliefs, ideas and values entrenching the domination of the more powerful over the less powerful or a view of the world transmitted by language which influences what is written and how it is written (Giddens, 1993; Cross & Orminston-Smith, 1996; Knain, 2001; Blommaert, 2005).

3.2.3 Critical discourse analysis

Central to CDA is the term 'critical', which not only describes and explains linguistic features, but analyses the 'how' and 'why' these linguistic features work to serve ideological goals (Machin & Mayr, 2012). It is this critical analysis of social and political practices (Huckin, 1997) that separates the critical paradigm from the interpretive paradigm. An interpretive theory is oriented towards understanding and explaining society, in contrast to a critical theory which is oriented towards a social critique and possible ways of social change (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Critical linguists first used the term 'critical' in their approach to demystify social events which, through language as an ideological means, would otherwise conceal and hide (Fowler et al., 1979; Hodge & Kress, 1979; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Therefore, in order to reveal the hidden connotations, absences and assumptions in texts, language has to be critically "denaturalised" (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Language also needs to be critically analysed to expose the hidden links between language and ideology and power (Fairclough, 1989), because the reader may understand what concept is being communicated but may not

be aware why and how this is done. In exposing these linguistic stratagems, CDA analysts can better understand, expose and challenge these power relationships (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Unger, Wodak and KhosraviNik (2016), in their chapter on critical discourse studies and social media data, outlined their three postulations of the term ‘critical’. A critical analysis of language “means making explicit the implicit relationship between discourse, power and ideology, challenging surface meanings, and not taking anything for granted” (Unger et al., 2016, p. 3). They also opine that in the interrogation of data critical analysts are also simultaneously involved in self-reflection and self-criticism. Their third understanding of the term ‘critical’ is based on the distinction put forward by Reisigl and Wodak (2001), who distinguished between “text-immanent critique”, “socio-diagnostic critique”, and “prospective (retrospective) critique” (p. 32). This involves an initial transparent analysis of the selected text, then interpreting the textual analysis in the context of the socio-political structure, and finally building on the two prior levels to identify spheres of social concern which can then be addressed by wider audiences. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) conclude that ‘critical’ is being distant to the data, setting it in its social context, adopting an explicit political stance and focusing on scholarly self-reflection.

Discourse refers to the words we use to express something, and given the importance of what is transmitted in textbooks, CDA can be used to describe, interpret and analyse the grammar and semantics in a text to discover the concealed ideologies in discourses (Van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1989; Wodak, 2001; Machin & Mayr, 2012). Thus the grammatical and semantic structure of a text can foreground particular ideologies while backgrounding and suppressing others. Discourse (Machin & Mayr, 2012) is created when grammar and semantics are played out in various arenas of society, culture and politics. So the broader ideas transferred by language forms in the text, create the text. Marx also viewed language as a “product, producer, and reproducer of social consciousness” (Fairclough & Graham, 2002, p. 201).

Discourse can also be construed as a way of interaction which is representative of facets of life (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011), for example, globalisation versus protectionist discourses. Discourse, from the analytical viewpoint of CDA, is seen as a form of social practice. According to Fairclough et al. (2011) this infers that there is a dialectical relationship between a specific discursive occurrence and the social structures that surround it. This results in a mutual relationship: the discursive occurrence is formed by social structures, situations

and institutions, but it also shapes them. Discourse is “socially constitutive as well as socially shaped” (Fairclough et al., 2011, p. 358), and is constitutive in that it reproduces and sustains the status quo socially as well as in a sense transforming it.

However, in a dialectical realisation a particular construction of the social world is linguistically conceptualised because in language things are not merely named but conceptualised. It is through language that discourses, for example cultural or racial superiority/inferiority, are projected and through language that we in turn influence society (Fairclough, 2003). Discourse thus appears to be the use of language regarded as socially determined (Fairclough, 1989). Therefore discourse, because of its social significance (Unger et al., 2016), may give rise to issues of power, which in turn may have critical ideological effects – for example, the production and reproduction of unequal social class relations. Also, discursive practices can result in the transmission of ideologies. A neoliberal discourse may, for example, advance assumptions as common-sense notions.

Discourses differ in ways that they represent different perspectives or aspects of the world. This is so because the particular worldviews that people have are dependent on their world positions, individual and social identities and communal relationships with others (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore Fairclough (2003) sees discourses not only as representative of the world but also as being projective of potential worlds which can be linked to schemes which try to steer society in a particular direction (Luke, 1996). It is this functioning and the machinations of ideologies which interests scholars of critical studies (Unger et al., 2016). As such, ideology needs discourse as its expressive medium (Hodge & Kress, 1979). Because we cannot directly study ideology, we can study discourse, as discourse reifies and reveals ideologies (Hodge & Kress, 1979).

Luke (1996) corroborated this point by stating that in terms of representation, discourses encompass production, consumption, depiction and description. The subjectivity of texts then encompasses how one is positioned, described and referred to. Thus Fairclough (2003) reiterated that a discourse can be a resource used by people to relate to others, whether to cooperate, compete, keep separate or dominate. In so doing it develops into an instrument of ideology.

Of particular relevance to this study is Fairclough's (2009b, p. 321) identification of five general claims about discourse as a facet of globalisation:

- 1) Discourse can represent globalisation, giving people information about it and contributing to their understanding of it.
- 2) Discourse can misrepresent and mystify globalisation, giving a confusing and misleading impression of it.
- 3) Discourse can be used rhetorically to project a particular view of globalisation that can justify or legitimise the actions, policies or strategies of particular (usually powerful) social agencies and agents.
- 4) Discourse can contribute to the constitution, dissemination and reproduction of ideologies, which can also be seen as forms of mystification, but have a crucial systemic function in sustaining a particular form of globalisation and the (unequal and unjust) power relations which are built into it.
- 5) Discourse can generate imaginary representations of how the world will be or should be within strategies for change which, if they achieve hegemony, can be operationalised to transform these imaginaries into realities, i.e. particular actual forms of globalisation.

Although all these claims are relevant to a certain degree to this study, the fourth claim is particularly relevant to this study, as it more substantially focuses on how discourse constitutes, disseminates and reproduces a particular view of globalisation.

This is where a detailed textual analysis of linguistic and visual features can be used to identify aspects of the representations of the world, and to ascertain the distinct angles or perspectives from which these aspects derive. An important methodological point is that in this study, CDA uses a linguistic and visual analysis to provide not only a social critique of current social issues but also to provide recommendations for possible strategies for emancipation (Blommaert, 2005; Keller, 2013). The linguistic analysis emerged historically from Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL). Halliday's methodology was important for CDA as it provided a guideline to look at and analyse the relationship between discourse and society. Many CDA analysts have embraced SFL as an analytical tool because language is scrutinised in relation to its social functionality.

Meaning is construed as the result of the writer's choice of linguistic forms based on three functions of language (Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Heros, 2009):

- (a) representational - how language functions to interpret the world,

- (b) interpersonal - how relations are evinced in language in addition to feelings, attitudes and judgements of the writer, and
- (c) textual - how discourse is created through the linguistic selection and manipulation of words.

An important part in undertaking a CDA of a text is an understanding of Halliday's (1973) systemic functional grammar because grammar, according to this author, is the form of linguistics at the

level at which the various strands of meaning potential are woven into a fabric; or, to express this non-metaphorically, the level at which the different meaning selections are integrated so as to form structures. (p. 93)

Fairclough (1992) extended Halliday's three functions of textual analysis into four parts: vocabulary (mainly where meanings of words, wording and metaphors are dealt with), grammar (modality, transitivity and themes), cohesion (how clauses and sentences are linked), and textual structure (choice of topics and power relationships). Fairclough (2003, p. 129) theorised that the vocabulary of a text distinguishes the type of discourse as "discourses 'word' or 'lexicalise' the world in particular ways". He also reiterated that a discourse can be realised if the focus shows a link between words. This is particularly relevant to this study, as distinguishing of the discourses of globalisation was realised through the identification of words which lexicalised particular concepts. For example, the discourse of ethnoscares was identified through the usage of particular words and their synonyms which inferred the social arena, such as people, labour, labour force, and labour inputs.

Elaborating on the grammatical function, Machin and Mayr (2012) provided a tool to specifically draw out implied connotations from particular verb usage. They based their tool on the model offered by Caldas-Coulthard (1994), which systematically evaluated the implicit connotations in the use of verbs. The meaning potentials of quoting verbs (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994) were expanded on to include (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 59-60):

- neutral structuring verbs like ask, tell, say, reply, which either do not evaluate a remark or can represent the speaker as being less personalised;
- metapositional verbs like urge, counter, and grumble, which are directive, assertive and expressive. These signal the writer's intention of interpretation of a speaker;

- metalinguistic verbs like quote and narrate to specify the type of language a speaker uses;
- descriptive verbs like scream, mutter and whisper to signify attitude and classify the interaction; and
- transcript verbs which signal the development of the discourse, for example add, repeat, and amend.

According to Fairclough (1989) CDA makes a progression from description (where the formal properties of the text are described), to interpretation (the examination of the text and viewing the text as a product and as a resource in the interpretative process), and then to explanation (which focuses on the relationship between interaction and its social effect – how the text shapes and is shaped by social events). Fairclough (1989) designed a three-dimensional framework which is commonly used by critical discourse analysts in the concrete analysis.

The first dimension, the central part of the analysis, is an analysis of the text where use is made of Halliday's SFL (1973) and the three scopes of ideational (transitivity, types of verbs), interpersonal (mood and modality) and textual analysis (thematic structure) (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). This is the raw sample from the data corpus (Keller, 2013) wherein texts are analysed relating to their form, meaning and embedding in a context through strategic language usage. Fairclough's second dimension, discourse as discursive practice, focuses on the production, distribution or dissemination and consumption processes of the text, revealing the field, tenor and mode: how texts are written (created), read (interpreted) and reproduced and transformed (revealing concept of intertextuality). The third part, discourse as social practice, looks at the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which the discourse is seen to operate (the social context in which the text is produced and consumed) (Huckins, 1997).

On the premise that Halliday's (1973, 1978) SFL was deemed as occasionally difficult because of its highly technical linguistic terminology (Fairclough, 2003), Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2003) advocated a modified framework to guide the analysis procedure. This included defining the research problem, compiling the data and then selecting the sample from the corpus, analysis of the sample and interpretation of the textual context. Finally, the relationship between the micro-analysis (textual analysis) and the macro-analysis (social context) is explained. Also explained here are how identified power relations influence the social practice.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) further included the possible solutions to eliminate or challenge relationships of power and hegemony in likely routes for social change.

In this study I adopted and adapted the methodology of CDA as interpreted by the founders and practitioners mentioned above. The study leaned heavily on the traditional linguistic approach as envisaged by Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2003, 2011), Huckins (1997), Locke (2004), Machin and Mayr (2012) and Keller (2013).

Using the above theoretical concepts I also simultaneously approached the analysis of the data using the lens provided by Appadurai (1990, 1996), particularly with reference to the vocabulary he adopted to describe the various discourses of globalisation, namely, ethnoscaples, mediascaples, financescaples, ideoscapes and technoscapes. Of methodological significance is that data analysis informed by data is called inductive analysis whilst analysis informed from themes, patterns and categories emanating from the data sample is called deductive analysis (Luneta, 2013). According to Luneta (2013) deductive analysis authenticates theory, and therefore in this study this stage of the analysis is deductive in nature. Appadurai (1990; 1996) identified these as global flows and saw them as follows: **ethnoscaples** (the movement of people in the world, in particular immigrants, tourists and mobile workers; social arena), **financescaples** (trade and investment, capital and mobile money; economic arena), **technoscapes** (technology and technological flows), **mediascaples** (images and ideas; cultural arena) and **ideoscaples** (ideas and practices of governments and institutions; political arena). Appadurai used these terms to emphasise the vital role that these subjective concepts have in the process of globalisation, emphasising that people are just as important as the objective dimensions of finance and economy.

However, Heyman and Campbell (2009) disagreed with Appadurai's concept of multiple flows as being disjunctive and causally equal when they argued that Appadurai undervalued the magnitude of finance and capital. They contended that finance and capital, more than the other concepts, have a greater impact on inequality globally (Heyman & Campbell, 2009). Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study Appadurai's emphasis that all discourses of globalisation are just as critical as the objective dimensions of finance and economy, was appropriated. The textual analysis was used to reveal the manner in which the different discourses of globalisation are communicated to the readers. Each type of discourse was identified through the use of a specific glossary relevant to that particular discourses arena. For

example, the identification of ‘financescapes’ was facilitated through the use of certain keywords, such as capital, trade, investment and profit.

3.2.4 Theoretical, conceptual and analytical framework of the study

Illustrated below is the theoretical and conceptual framework grounded in Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 2003, 2011) and incorporating the discursal flows as identified by Appadurai (1990, 1996):

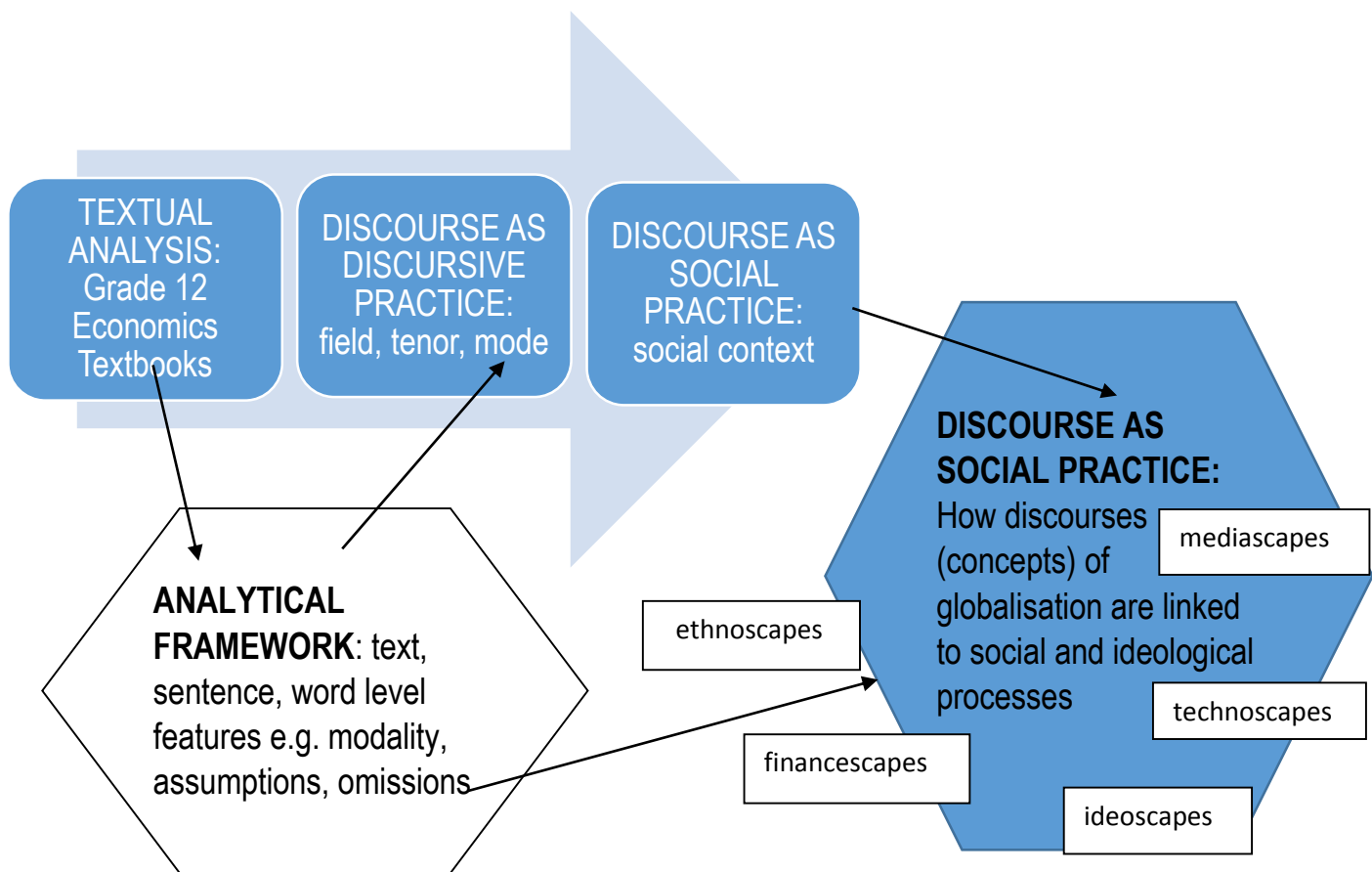


Figure 3.1: Theoretical and conceptual framework for this study (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 2003, 2011; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Appadurai, 1990, 1996).

In order to address the textual analysis of the theoretical framework in this study, an analytical framework was developed consisting of text, sentence and word level features (David, 2012; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 2003, 2011; Halliday, 1973, 1978; Huckin, 1997; Machin & Mayr, 2012; McGregor, 2003). This framework for analysis of the selected Grade 12 Economics textbooks in this study was adapted from David (2012), as seen below in Table 3.1. In the column on the left the feature is identified, and in the column on the right, an explanation of the feature is given. Of methodological importance is that some features are used interchangeably in the analysis of the data, for example, grammatical metaphors and metaphors. The features are numbered for ease of reference.

Feature	Explanation
1. Foregrounding, backgrounding and topicalisation	Using keywords to emphasise or foreground certain concepts; giving importance to parts of a text, either by their physical placement or size or by the emphasis given them through word choice or syntactic structure (Foucault, 2000). Topicalisation occurs when a sentence element is prominently positioned at the beginning of the sentence. The backgrounding of a concept occurs when linguistic features like passive agency are used to suppress certain ideas.
2. Embellishments and over-lexicalisations	Using diagrams, graphs, brackets and sketches to imply that content is credible, factual and scientific, to add weight to the claims or to get the reader's attention; excessive descriptions with the use of an abundance of synonyms; over-persuasion intuiting that something is contentious or ideologically problematic (Machin & Mayr, 2012); likewise, over-wording can be use of a number of words with similar meanings that can be classed as synonyms, and through the preoccupation with a particular meaning can be the work of ideology (Fairclough, 1989).
3. 'Taken-for-granted' words and assumptions	A word or phrase assumed to be a common-sense notion; the reader is therefore unlikely to question what is known to be common knowledge; presented as having no alternative and concealing what could have been stated; assigning meaning without exploring any other implication because people are products of their cultures, experiences and society; statements implying truth although there is no factual proof. Three types of assumptions identified by Fairclough (2003): existential assumptions which assume what exists, propositional assumptions which assume what can be, and value assumptions which assume that something is good.
4. Insinuations and connotations	Selected words that have double meanings or that can be misleading; lexical choices which positively or negatively position events into specific discourses or frameworks of reference (Machin & Mayr, 2012); can also be in the form of metaphors (McGregor, 2003) providing persuasive thinking models to shape understanding; a metaphor which is a representation of an experience as another experience or a part of the world being represented as another (Fairclough, 1989). Often metaphors are used to explain events or things to others and ourselves.
5. Omissions, suppressions or lexical absences	Leaving out or selecting out of certain things; a silence on pertinent issues; where certain terms we would expect to see have been left out of texts. Thus it is important to question how this changes the discourse and what ideological work this omission is doing. In some cases such textual silences are ideological (McGregor, 2003); in others they are more deliberate. The unsaid is sometimes more important than what is said.
6. Nominalisation	Evidenced when a verb is adapted to a noun and often used to oversimplify an issue, often resulting in the exclusion of an agent from the represented event; also can be in the form of grammatical metaphors (Fairclough, 2003) where processes are represented as entities to connote

	an implicit meaning; drawing attention to some phenomenon but obfuscating others (Sleeter, 2003).
7. Modality and hedging	The tone of the text (Fairclough, 2003), conveyed by the use of modal verbs (might, should, will, we think), modal adverbs (evidently, obviously, certainly, probably, possibly and usually) and modal adjectives (possible and probable, which can also show differing levels of truth). Modality, according to Halliday (1994), is the determination of the writer of the likelihood of what is being said; Hodge and Kress (1988) also include hedges like ‘sort of’ or ‘kind of’ to assert or deny something, and label this as a stance signalling the grade of certainty or uncertainty.
8. Connectors	These are conjunctions which fall into two groups: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conjunctions showing semantic relations between clauses, e.g. <i>in order to</i> marks a causal relation (Fairclough, 2003). Other markers of semantic relations are <i>if, because, so, so that, and, when</i> and <i>but</i>. Fairclough (2003) maintains that these can be used in an attempt to establish legitimation. • Conjunctions like <i>while, although, nonetheless</i> and <i>moreover</i> convey the likelihood that the text is cautiously covering all options (Machin & Mayr, 2012) and so these can be examples of hedges. I also add the conjunction <i>however</i> to this second category.
9. Register	Writers can deceive readers by affecting a phony register, one that induces a certain misplaced trust so that readers can be influenced or manipulated by certain opinions that appear to be more correct or legitimate (McGregor, 2003); the message conveyed by the writer is that only this point of view is legitimate; words can suggest the text’s level of in/formality and degree of technicality of its subject field and if it rings true. Register can also be triggered by pronouns (choice of person, McGregor, 2003): I, we, us (first person); your, you (second person); they, them (third person); ‘us’, ‘them ’and ‘we’ are used to align us alongside or against particular ideas. Texts can evoke their own ideas as being ours, or create a collective ‘other’ that is in opposition to these shared ideas.

Table 3.1: Analytical framework of the study

By adopting the tools of CDA in this study, the conceptual framework focused on the concepts or discourses of globalisation. Using this conceptual framework I explored the ways in which the social structure (the Economics textbooks) play a role in the production of ideological discourses of globalisation. This study also sought to delve further than just being a description and explanatory study of texts; rather it aimed, through an in-depth CDA, to challenge the dominant ideologies portrayed in the discourses of globalisation.

Also included in this study was an analysis of visual images, as these reinforced meanings portrayed in the texts, strategically appearing conventionally neutral but in the process shaping the presentation of knowledge with a particular ideological slant (Machin & Mayr, 2012). From about the 1990s writers who were focusing on linguistic analyses realised that meaning could also be communicated through visual images (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) observed that discourses were not only text and talk, but also other modes of communication such as images and diagrams. Machin and Mayr (2012) point out that like CDA, multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) perceives other genres of communication as also shaped by and shaping society and doing ideological work.

Theoreticians and researchers like Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) noted that a toolkit based on Halliday's (1973, 1978) SFL would allow for an accurate analysis of visual images. Tools from SFL, the basis of which is used to a significant degree in CDA, would permit a close scrutiny of visual images similar to how CDA scrutinises language usage. Therefore, these theorists drew up a toolkit termed 'multimodal analysis' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001; Kress, 2010). This allows for the study of visual images mainly by employing the tenets of the linguistic analysis, for example, connotation and denotation. The tools of MCDA, as envisaged by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2001) and Kress (2010) can assist researchers to reveal how visual images (which could also be graphs and diagrams), whilst appearing neutral and factual, can shape the representation of information for ideological purposes. For the purpose of this study I draw on the toolkit of Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen as it is relevant for my analysis of how the selected visual images contribute to the texts' representation of events. The tools that I appropriate for the iconographical analysis (the analysis of visual elements) are:

- **Denotation:** A literal description of what is depicted without any subjective evaluation (Machin & Mayr, 2012), for example, a picture of an airborne aeroplane denotes an aeroplane; and
- **Connotation:** An association that is conveyed by a visual element; an association that is influenced by a subjective evaluation, for example, the picture of the airborne aeroplane can connote upward mobility and progress; important connotators (Machin & Mayr, 2012) are setting (the kind of space shown in an image) and salience (features like size, foregrounding and backgrounding to draw attention to or to obscure something).

Together with use of the above analytical protocols, I adopted a qualitative approach in this study as it focused on the representations of discourses of globalisation. I also think that the manner in which I framed my research questions could best be answered by qualitative research. Corbin and Strauss (2008, p. 13) described qualitative researchers as leaning towards “qualitative work because they are drawn to the fluid, evolving, and dynamic nature of this approach in contrast to the more rigid and structured format of quantitative methods”. This qualitative study leaned heavily on providing a rich and broad meaning of the data, exploring several critical discourses and examining different possible interpretations as influenced by social factors and economic phenomena. A qualitative study also allowed for an examination of how ideologies are formed through the social experience of the writers and for greater flexibility in the exploration of discourses in the selected chapters.

3.2.5 A critique of CDA

There are researchers (Blommaert, 2005; Breeze, 2011; Schegloff, 1997; Stubbs, 1997; Widdowson, 1995) who have levelled criticisms against CDA. One of the concerns raised was that the concepts and analytical design of CDA are vague and not clearly distinguished. No clear distinctions can be seen between concepts and methodologies (Widdowson, 1995). I counter this criticism by, in the description of the analytical and conceptual frameworks of my study, pointing to where there are clear distinctions between the analytical framework and concepts. In fact, my research combined Fairclough’s (1989, 1992, 2003, 2011) three-dimensional model of CDA, Appadurai’s, (1990, 1996) conceptual framework of ‘scapes’, as well as Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (1996, 2001) and Kress’s (2010) iconographical framework, creating a unique CDA protocol which offers an intensive analysis.

Another criticism is that the text analysis can be biased, as CDA does not examine the circumstances under which the text is designed and used (Widdowson, 1998), and that texts can also be read and interpreted in many ways. Similarly, a concern levelled at CDA is that the social contexts in which discourse is embedded have often been ignored (Breeze, 2011). However, this study disproves this contention as it continually refers to the social contexts which impact and are impacted upon by the representation of the discourses of globalisation. Furthermore, Fairclough (1996, pp. 49-50) in response to Widdowson (1995) countered this criticism of interpretation with the definition of two types of interpretations (1 and 2):

Interpretation-1 is an inherent part of ordinary language use, which analysts, like anyone else, necessarily do: make meaning from/with spoken and written texts. People make meanings through an interplay between features of a text and the varying resources which they bring to the process of interpretation-1. Interpretation-2 is a matter of analysts seeking to show connections between both properties of texts and practices of interpretation-1 in a particular social space, and wider social and cultural properties of that particular social space. Notice that interpretation-1 is part of the domain of interpretation-2; one concern of interpretation-2 is to investigate how different practices of interpretation-1 are socially, culturally and ideologically shaped.

Reinforcing this response, Gouveia (2003, p. 57) stressed that providing a partial interpretation is not erroneous, as there are “no static structures in discourse and that one cannot ascribe it a definite reading because its potentiality is what lies in between readings, or observations and measurements”.

In addition to the criticisms pointed out above, another criticism is that CDA analysts (Blommaert, 2005) use standards of the First World to explain discourse in the world, for example, the concept of globalisation. Other societies may have different notions of this concept and may not view it in the same way that a First World analyst would. In answer to this criticism I counter that the research site of this study is not in a First World country, and in my view the concerns raised in this study are true for many countries, irrespective of development levels. Blommaert (2005) also criticised the linguistic bias in CDA where the analyst places great importance on one type of linguistic detail, namely that of Halliday’s SFL. He reiterated that there are other models that offer critical potential (Blommaert, 2005). However, as can be seen in recent CDA studies (Barbosa & Ferreira, 2015; Fonseca & Ferreira, 2015; Montessori & Lopez, 2015), there is a wide-ranging selection of linguistic analyses not necessarily based on Halliday’s SFL. To counter this criticism I therefore aver that studies like these provide evidence that CDA encourages new ideas and new methodologies to enrich its work.

Finally, Widdowson (1998) contends that many discourse analysts focus only on one of the linguistic features described in the CDA linguistic toolkit, for example on nominalisation. Related to this is a particular concern of critics of CDA (Billig, 2002; Breeze, 2011; Widdowson, 1998) that the linguistic analysis lacks scholarly rigour because it omits a detailed

discussion of the linguistic evidence. However, as can be seen in the analysis of the data in my study, where all eight features of the linguistic toolkit are widely appropriated, a detailed discussion throughout the analysis phase of the study ensures that the linguistic and visual analysis is academically rigorous.

These criticisms therefore should not distract from the fact that CDA is an effective critical research tool in Social Science studies, as there is a continual need for the critique of ideology, especially in school textbooks. As such, CDA strengthens critical research studies as it utilises methods which are germane to a variety of texts and communicative events.

3.3 The textbook sample

Sampling is generally the selection of a small representative part of a whole potential area of study, which is referred to as a population (Kumar, 2005). It is also a set of randomly selected items from a population to test a particular hypothesis about the population (David, 2012). This research study used purposive sampling. Henning (2007, p. 71) described purposive sampling as sampling which “looks for factors which fit the criteria of desirable”. The purposive sampling approach is used when samples are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics that will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central questions that the researcher intends to study (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Accordingly, I selected the textbooks to be included in my sample on the basis of their possessing particularly sought characteristics (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). The books selected for this study were handpicked based on their accessibility and relevance to my study. Furthermore, these textbooks have been approved by the South African Department of Education and were chosen because they are the primary resource used in the cluster area in which the research site is located. All of the textbooks were published in South Africa.

The study was limited to four textbooks in order to keep the study manageable. The sample size may pose limitations, as a wider sample could have added more value to this study. However, in qualitative research estimating a correct sample size can be a challenging activity, and therefore I limited the sample size to four Grade 12 Economics textbooks. Although textbooks are public documents, the selected textbooks were given pseudonyms and then labelled as textbooks A, B, C and D to avoid any ethical issues that could arise. The textbooks are:

TITLE	TEXT
Charles Economics Grade 12 Learner's Book	A
Zama Economics Grade 12 Learner's Book	B
Elijah Economics Grade 12 Learner's Book	C
Denva Economics Grade 12 Learner's Book	D

3.4 Trustworthiness of the study

In assessing the rigour of this qualitative study, the usual criteria of reliability and validity used to evaluate positivist research were not wholly appropriate for a qualitative study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Rule & John, 2011). The concepts of reliability, validity and rigour were therefore referred to as trustworthiness, credibility, transferability and confirmability in this study, as a qualitative study does not lend itself to these concepts as easily as a quantitative study would. Guba (1981) emphasized trustworthiness as the overarching criterion, which in the interpretive paradigm comprises the constructs credibility and transferability. Credibility is the ability of the researcher to take full account of complex data patterns and produce plausible findings (Guba 1981, p. 84). Confidence can thus be placed in the authenticity and plausibility of the data and analysis (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Koul, 2008). Credibility can also be enhanced through the confirmation of conclusions by the participants and there should be congruency between the findings and observations (Merriam, 1991). Koul (2008) reiterated that the credibility of the study is also heightened when other researchers and readers, because of the accurate description, encounter and recognise the same experience.

Transferability can be achieved in detailed descriptions of the data as well as the context, so that the reader can make comparisons to other contexts (Rule & John, 2011). My use of purposive sampling can also serve to promote transferability (Guba, 1981). Confirmability centres on the minimisation of bias on the part of the researcher to ensure that the data are presented in an objective and neutral manner (Guba, 1981). In terms of confirmability I undertook to act in good faith throughout the research process and did not intentionally allow my background, experience and personal values to influence the way in which the research was undertaken and the results thereof. This also ensured that I was able to distance myself and

ensured that my personal experience did not influence my ability to see all the possibilities presented by the data.

To ensure the trustworthiness of this study the process of open coding was used to analyse the selected textbooks. The process of open coding involves dismantling, examination, identification of concepts and the categorisation of data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Line by line coding forces the analyst to verify and saturate categories, thus minimising the chance of missing important categories and ensuring the grounding of data categories beyond mere impressionism (Glaser & Barney, 1992). This also facilitates the breaking down of large sections of textual data into themes and relationships (Mouton, 2001), allowing for the categorisation of data and identification of the discourses, which formed part of the objectives of this study. The result should be a rich, dense theory assuring that nothing had been omitted. Henning (2007) suggested that the process of open coding should follow two broad principles.

First the researcher should read the chapters to get an overall impression of the content. Price (2005) called this “reading with the text” to try and understand the writers’ positioning. Then the chapters should be re-read in a critical manner to identify “units of meaning” (Henning, 2007), raising questions about these meanings and establishing how they could be constructed differently. In the second reading Price (2005, p. 7) advised the analyst to read ‘against’ the text using CDA to oppose the “text’s apparent naturalness”. In this reading the analyst asks questions on the positioning of the text, whose interests are being promoted, whose interests are being ignored, and the possible consequences of this positioning. Here analysts are actually asking how these texts are used to reproduce or transform the status quo in society (Janks, 1997).

During the process of open coding I allocated codes to the different ‘units of meaning’, which in this study revealed two major units: the first was the inward-looking economic policies of protectionism and import substitution; and the second was the outward-looking economic policies comprising globalisation, free trade, international trade and export promotion. On a methodological note I must add that often the textbooks combined the policies of free trade and globalisation, for example, on page 95 of textbook D the section begins with these words:

Protectionism and free trade (globalisation)

These codes were then categorised into the discourses to be discussed as the findings of this study. It is at this point that the discourses of globalisation were identified. This process was

facilitated through the use of particular words and phrases relevant to that discourse. For example, in the analysis of data the identification of ‘financescapes’ was facilitated through the use of certain keywords, such as capital, trade, investment and profit. Lastly the discourses were then identified into the two themes showing the text’s stance, whether in favour of or biased against the economic policies. This process of open coding facilitated the generation of meanings and ideas and also deepened my understanding of the data that yielded multiple meanings. I used the analytical framework to guide this process.

The use of the analytical framework was labour-intensive. Even though the data sample involved a limited amount of extracts dealing with outward-looking economic policies and inward-looking economic policies, the detailed examination of words, clauses, sentences and paragraphs was intense because of utilisation of the tools of the framework. This was because, in order to explore the representation of globalisation, I had to compare the representation of other economic policies (inward-looking economic policies) against the representation of globalisation and economic policies linked to globalisation (outward-looking economic policies). Subsequently, within each major discourse the data analysis is separated into two themes, that of the romanticising of outward-looking economic policies (free trade, globalisation and export promotion) and that of the inward-looking policies (protectionism and import substitution) being portrayed as deficient. However, these themes often overlapped within each discourse because of the comparative nature of the presentation in the textbooks. Moreover, the interconnectedness of the discourses sometimes did not allow for an easy separation and for them to be treated as discrete discourses.

To add further trustworthiness, ‘member checks’ in the persons of independent coders, my supervisor and the PhD cohort programme were undertaken. I also presented a paper based on this study at the SAERA (South African Education Research Association) conference in Cape Town in 2016, where my presentation was interrogated by other CDA scholars. In addition, during the time period of this study two attempts were made to publish articles based on this study. This required intense scrutiny to ensure that the literature review, research methodology and findings of the papers were rigorous and that the data samples were not misinterpreted to serve a particular political bias.

3.5 Ethical considerations

All ethical considerations required by the University of KwaZulu-Natal regarding this kind of research were observed. In keeping with the research policy of the university, ethical clearance was applied for and granted by the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Reference No. HSS/1705/015D. See Appendix 1 for copy). Furthermore, detailed records of all of the steps in the research process will be kept secure for at least five years and will be available for scrutiny on request of the supervisor or members of the university research committees.

3.6 Limitations of the study

Cooper and Schindler (2006) advise that for a study to be academically rigorous, the researcher should be frank in revealing its limitations. These limitations can arise from various aspects of the research process, such as in the sampling, analysis, description, interpretation or explanation of the data. The researcher has identified the following potential limitations of this proposed study:

- How textbooks are actually used by teachers and received by pupils may have a significant bearing on how the ideologies are transmitted, if they are at all. This prompts questions of whether what is in the textbook is taught to pupils, and is what is taught in reality is learned by pupils (Apple, 1988).
- There is always the danger that researchers can be biased when analysing the data, as they draw on their own experiences which can influence the analysis. Analysts can easily impose their biases and ideological prejudices onto the data (Schegloff, 1997). However, Finlay (2002) saw this as a valuable tool, and Corbin and Strauss (2008) agreed. They said that objectivity in any qualitative study cannot be realised totally, as a researcher approaches the study from a particular perspective which has been influenced by his or her social and cultural experiences. That said, the analytical framework of this study enables the researcher to do a step-by-step analysis whilst continually reflexively questioning observations and conclusions. Author bias is also limited as the framework allows researchers to distance themselves from the description, interpretation and explanation of the data.
- The sample size may also pose limitations, as a wider sample could have added more value to this study. However, in qualitative research estimating a correct sample size

can be a challenging activity, and therefore I limited the sample size to four Grade 12 Economics textbooks. As a result of the sample size, the findings of this study may not be suitable for generalisation since only four Grade 12 Economic textbooks were examined. Larger-scale studies including more textbooks from different grades could broaden our understanding of the representation of economic policies in school textbooks.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter defined the research design and methodology for this critical, qualitative study which examined the representation of discourses of globalisation in Grade 12 South African Economics textbooks. The ethical considerations and limitations of this study were also discussed. The following three chapters will analyse, describe and interpret the data sample.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSES OF FINANCESCAPES AND ETHNOSCAPES

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter undertook an in-depth explanation of the methodology chosen for this research study. The use of CDA in this study focused on a semantic, grammatical and visual analysis, thus a multimodal CDA based on Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL) (1978). The analytical framework is based on Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2003, 2011), Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, Huckin (1997), Machin & Mayr (2012) and McGregor (2003) whilst the visual analysis is grounded in the toolkit facilitated by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2001), Kress (2010) and Machin and Mayr (2012). Working with the framework in a qualitative paradigm allowed me to explore the relationship between language and the social aspects of the selected texts.

I used the CDA framework envisioned by Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2003, 2011) and McGregor (2003), which I adapted to suit the needs of this study, to help me unearth the ideologies manifested in selected Grade 12 Economics textbooks. The use of CDA offered a useful framework for organising my thinking, as this framework of linguistic tools examines power relations and ideologies embedded in the texts. This model is particularly well suited to the study of ideology in Economics because of its focus, simplicity and flexibility. Together with the framework I adopted a qualitative analysis, because this allowed me to examine how ideologies are formed through the social experience of the writers. The choice of qualitative analysis best allowed a rich description of data that could have many possible meanings.

In this chapter and the subsequent two chapters I present the findings of the textual analysis. As indicated in the previous chapter, the four Grade 12 Economics learner textbooks analysed are referred to as textbooks A, B, C, and D. The analysis of data is set out in the five major ideological discourses that were identified during the process of open coding. These discourses, in order of appearance, are financescapes, ethnoscapes, ideoscapes, mediascapes and technoscapes (Appadurai, 1990, 1996). Within each major discourse the data analysis is separated into two themes: the romanticising of outward-looking economic policies (free trade, globalisation and export promotion); and the inward-looking policies (protectionism and import substitution) portrayed as deficient. However, these themes often overlap within each

discourse because of the comparative nature of the presentation in the textbooks. At the end of each discourse a summary is given to conclude the analysis.

4.2 Discourse 1: Financescapes

4.2.1 Introduction

The identification of the discourse of ‘financescapes’ (Appadurai, 1990, 1996) was facilitated through the use of certain keywords, namely capital, trade, international trade, business, industry, investment, profit, mobile money, foreign exchange, world markets, revenue and cost of production, which in this study infers the arena of economics. The globalised discourse of finance and capital was clearly evidenced in all four Grade 12 Economics textbooks, portrayed pictorially as well as in the written text.

4.2.2 Romanticising of outward-looking economic policies

In Textbook C, in the section detailing the supply reasons for the foreign exchange market, the text employs the technique of over-lexicalisation and over-wording (use of a number of words with similar meanings that can be classed as synonyms). This excessive description suggests the preoccupation of the text with the notion that foreign trade leads to efficiency (pages 76 and 79, emphasis added):

*Supply also depends on the **efficiency** with which goods and services are produced. Businesses that are efficient in production supply goods at lower prices and this reduces the opportunity cost of acquiring them. Factors that impact on **efficiency** include the quality of the labour force, the availability of capital and natural resources, the use of technology, specialization, physical infrastructure, economic freedom, competitiveness, capital and stable government (p. 76).*

The text portrays efficiency as a valuable and splendid phenomenon and aspiration, yet efficiency can lead to the reality of redundancy of human capital, poverty through job losses and other kinds of trauma like deprivation and humiliation. There is a pointed silence and omission of facts describing the negative effects of efficiency, including the fact that efficiency warrants the manufacturing of a product at the lowest cost to ensure the maximisation of profit. This suppression of pertinent issues reveals ideology at work as inclusion of the above implications of efficiency would change the tangent of the discourse. What is left unsaid is

notable by its absence. Also strengthening the impression of this extract appearing as factual is the uncritical manner in which the factors are listed, which is unlikely to be challenged because the text is seen as an uncontested source of knowledge, thus reinforcing ideological assumptions. The use of the technical terms in this list (*opportunity cost, availability of capital, physical infrastructure*) suggests an expertise, precision and wide knowledge. Yet these are presuppositions that these factors impact efficiency.

Furthermore, the absence of hedging, use of the present tense and the lack of modality imply an absolute certainty of facts. Also notable is use of the phrase *economic freedom* to insinuate something appealing as it is a concept that people desire and would strive for, especially in the light of the poverty that many people in South Africa face. The phrase also implies the conflation of economic growth with the liberal doctrine of freedom, which in present-day South Africa is a highly desirable attribute. Economically choice is good, and aligned with political freedom. This particular ideological concept relates to the prevailing South African Constitution, which is legitimate, desirable and good. Herein lies the successful use of a presupposition – an implied meaning, inferred from the text and not overtly asserted. Thus this lexical selection legitimates this noble value of efficiency.

On page 79 of textbook C is a further example of the text's preoccupation with the concept of efficiency. Described as an effect of international trade, the elaboration reads:

1.4.3. Efficiency

Unrestricted international trade increases competition. Competition increases efficiency because it demands the elimination of unnecessary costs and all wastage. Increases in efficiency result in lower prices. Lower prices mean that income can buy more goods and services. The standard of living therefore increases.

Clearly evident in this extract are the features of foregrounding and topicalisation, used to give prominence to the notion that international trade leads to efficiency. Through the physical placement of the keywords (*unrestricted international trade*) the text prominently positions this particular word choice to emphasise that free and open markets will lead to efficiency, in the process insinuating that any other economic system will not result in an increased standard of living. The text also employs the stratagem of nominalisation to further amplify this concept. This is evidenced in the use of the verbs being adapted into nouns (*Competition*). Instead of being represented as a verb process (to compete), this particular usage represents competition as a personified entity. A consequence of this is the exclusion of agents: people who are

responsible for the initiation or the action of such a process. Not only does this nominalisation obfuscate agency, the use of the passive verb (*can buy*) also presents *income* and *competition* as personified entities replacing actual agents. Fairclough (2003) iterates that these linguistic features are typical of the narrative of the ‘new global economy’, where human agency and responsibility is removed. Yet international trade (globalisation) is fundamentally a result of unhampered free trade, unlimited by trade tariffs and government policies (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Furthermore with the removal of agents the text makes it seem as though increased living standards just happen because of competition and efficiency. Added to this is the fact that these nominalisations are in danger of becoming ‘common-sense’ notions that can become a part of the discourse of improved living standards. Through the suppression of and silence around the negative consequences of international trade, the text deliberately misrepresents this discourse – and this textual silence is ideological. Textbook D portrays free trade as increasing efficiency on page 107:

4.2. Arguments in favour of free trade

Arguments for participation in free trade are as follows:

4.2.2 Free trade allows specialisation in industries in which countries have a comparative advantage. These industries will have a lower opportunity cost. Specialisation will increase economic efficiency and prevent wasting of resources. Each country that is best suited for specific goods and services will engage in producing more of those goods or services.

The lexical choice of words *allows*, *lower opportunity cost*, *will increase economic efficiency* and *engage in producing more* involves a register of positive value connotations which portrays a positive representation of free trade. The use of the high-commitment auxiliary modal *will* in three instances in this short paragraph (*will have a lower opportunity cost*, *will increase economic efficiency* and *will engage in producing more*) signals the text’s strong certainty about these benefits of free trade and firm alignment to the policy of free trade.

Textbook D then goes on to detail another argument for free trade being an efficient trade policy on page 107:

4.2.3 Economic efficiency

Free trade allows industries to maximise economies of scale, reduce costs and become competitive in world markets. It benefits the global economy by distributing labour effectively and creating economic efficiency. World production and economic welfare increase and markets grow. Producers compete to find the best production methods that cut costs and improve the quality of goods. This boosts innovation.

Of significance is that there is not a single instance of modal verbs, modal adverbs or modal adjectives. This signals the belief of the writers that this is the absolute truth and a certainty which will result from free trade. In addition, the use of the present tense authoritatively states that *economic efficiency* benefits the economy globally – but suppressed is the actuality that this *economic efficiency* has resulted in the subordination of economic equality and a compromising of the quality of life of the poor. The nominalisation in the third sentence (*world production*) represents a process as an entity through transformation of the possible verb clause (*employees in the world produce*) into the noun clause *world production*. This results in the exclusion of agency in who exactly produces, what is produced, whose welfare increases and which markets grow. Fairclough (2003) notes that nominalisation is useful when generalising about an event without factual evidence to support the argument, as can be seen in this representation of free trade. *Innovation* is also portrayed as a valued goal and processes which boost this concept are presented as highly desirable, thus rationalising and legitimating the policy of free trade. Thus the use of the verbs in the present tense and the lack of modalities reinforce this portrayal of free trade as the categorical truth, and these linguistic devices once again position the textbooks as factual and knowledgeable.

Efficiency is also an attribute that is alluded to in Textbook A on page 93, in the demand and supply reasons for international trade:

Demand reasons

The country may not be able to produce required goods and services as efficiently as another country, meaning that the cost of production would be higher for the country than if these goods and services could be bought from a country that can produce them at a reasonable price

The country's climate may not be suitable for producing certain goods and services

Supply reasons

The country may be able to produce required goods and services very efficiently compared with another country, meaning that the cost of production would be lower for this country and it would be possible to meet both local and foreign demand

The country's climate may be suitable for producing large quantities of certain goods and services to satisfy both local and foreign markets

The concept of efficiency is raised through the use of words *as efficiently as another country* and *to produce required goods and services very efficiently*. These articulations show that this is an existential and propositional assumption (something exists, leading to what can be) which assumes that a foreign exchange market (what exists) is responsible for efficiently produced goods and services (what can be). The use of the value assumption (something that is desirable and good) assumes is that this efficiency is required for the improved economic welfare of a country. What is suppressed and omitted are the consequences of this movement away from the local country, and the fact that large international companies that have the ability to move and establish themselves around the globe in search of greater profits through lower labour costs are those who benefit from increased foreign trade.

The second aspect of concern is the taken for granted notion that the climate (the environment is inferred) of a country is also subservient to the needs of the foreign market. Readers are not presented with the perspective that the satisfaction of the markets has an impact on the environment which can result in increased levels of pollution, placing the environment under great pressure. Furthermore it is the marginalised and the poor of the country who are adversely affected by increasing levels of pollution, soil erosion and depletion of natural resources (Forstater, 2004). Indications also point to the fact that this exploitation of the environment is a major contributor to climate change, leading to unimaginably negative consequences for food production, causing increased despair and poverty (Lawrence et al., 2012; Chun, 2009).

Textbook B, on page 67, draws upon the authorial, messianic voice of the father of economics to reinforce the notion that trade is good for both the country selling the product and the country demanding the product:

Adam Smith, regarded as the father of economics, said, 'if a country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, we better buy it off them with some

part of our own industry [that is, with income from our exports]' --- This theory of Smith is a common-sense reason for trade for both the country selling the product and the country demanding (buying) the product ---

This is stated to be a common-sense reason and portrayed as factual, right and unarguable. Common sense thus becomes a tool to emphasise the benefits of foreign trade. The suppression and omission of salient facts like the cheap labour and poor labour practices often used to produce these cheaper goods give weight to the projection of this practice as common sense and universal. Also omitted is the fact that the moving of an industry to another part of the globe where there is cheaper labour results in loss of employment for those previously employed. In addition, the message gains its power from who is being cited, Adam Smith, the patriarchal being, thus legitimising this theory by making reference to the famous economist. This reference also insinuates an expertise because he is a historical figure, giving credence to this theory and in the process making it all the more persuasive.

On the next page (p. 68) of the same textbook (textbook B) three effects of international trade are given:

1.4. Effects of international trade

- *International trade is an important stimulant for economic growth of a country. Demand for certain products will increase as trade increases, leading to increased production, more job opportunities, increased income and increased expenditure. This will result in a higher economic growth rate.*
- *Being able to import also gives citizens access to a variety of goods.*
- *Infrastructure, such as harbour and transport networks, will be developed in order to move the high volumes of goods.*

Industries in countries that do not have the ability to compete on global markets may fail. These industries will not be able to compete with the lower prices of imported goods on local markets.

The first effect makes use of a nominalisation (*international trade*) to create a metaphorical animate entity. The development of a metaphorical dynamic being is enhanced by the words *stimulant, growth, high volume* and *growth rate*. The absence of agency, signified by the nominalisation, suppresses who or what is responsible for international trade. In addition, a tone of certainty and factuality is invoked with the use of verbs in the present tense (*is, gives*)

and the high-commitment auxiliary modal *will*. The writers' authoritative stance thus presents these effects as inevitable and certain. In the subsequent paragraph a juxtaposition is set up between *Countries that have the ability to compete on global markets* and *industries in countries that do not have the ability to compete on global markets*. Foregrounded is the benefit of international trade – that these countries are winners and the losers are those industries which do not engage in international trade. The insinuation is that good things (*will gain*) will inevitably happen if international trade is encouraged and bad things (*industries may fail*) will happen if countries do not compete and engage in international trade. Moreover, inclusion of the word *compete* invokes the mantra of neoliberalism (Fairclough, 2003), which favours the powerful in society. The rationalisation of international trade is legitimated by a clear specification in the form of the connector, the conjunction *in order to*. The development of infrastructure is foregrounded and emphasised to show that this is an effect of international trade. Thus the writers' legitimation of the ideology of international trade is clearly evident in this section.

Textbook D describes increased production as a consequence of large-scale production in the section on the effects of international trade on page 72, which is also accompanied by an illustration:

1.3.3 Large-scale production

Producers have access to larger markets than before, so they can increase production. They can employ more domestic factors of production, which means a higher standard of living. Without international trade, countries would be limited to the goods and services produced within their own borders.

Linguistic strategies used to represent international trade favourably in this excerpt are assumptions, modality, insinuation and grammatical positioning of actions. The use of the high-probability modals of *can* (*can increase production*; *can employ more*) and *would* (past tense of the authoritative 'will' in the phrase *would be limited*) with the present-tense verb *have* (*have access to larger markets*) reveals the strong level of certainty that the text places on the value of international trade. Use of the comparative adjectives *larger*, *more* and *higher* in the phrases *larger markets than before*, *more domestic factors of production* and *a higher standard of living* give rise to a critical issue. An implicit comparison is created between the increased markets, employment of production factors and the higher standard of living experienced in international trade, as opposed to the implicit decreased experiences of local trade. So an image of a deficient

economic system is initiated. This portrayal is reinforced in the sentence *Producers have access to larger markets than before, so they can increase production.*

Instead of the subordinate phrase *Without international trade* being embedded in the sentence as commonly positioned (Van Dijk, 1991), the clause is placed at the beginning of the sentence to give extra prominence to the dire consequence which would befall countries without international trade. The consequence is that *countries would be limited to the goods and services produced within their own borders*. The insinuation is that local goods and services are deficient when compared to international goods and services. There are also noteworthy assumptions in this excerpt, including the propositional assumptions (which assume what can be) that producers *can increase production* and they *can employ more domestic factors of production*. There are also value assumptions which assume that *a higher standard of living* resulting from international trade is desirable, and that countries *limited to the goods and services produced within their own borders* is undesirable. These assumptions serve to present the contestable notion of international trade as highly beneficial, which is taken for granted to persuade readers without an overt declaration.

4.2.3 Portrayal of inward-looking economic policies as deficient

Initial evidence for the argument that the text positions itself against the inward-looking policies of protectionism and import substitution is found in this final paragraph on import substitution (textbook C, page 110):

2.5 Scepticism

Many people are sceptical of import substitution for the following reasons:

- *Protection means high profits for the owners of the protected industries while isolating them from the rigours of competition. Hence efficiency is lowered and the protected industries never develop.*
- *Protection does not advance industrialisation. The goal may be for industrialisation to start with simple final assembly and packaging operations and from there proceed to the production of consumer goods, intermediate products and eventually basic materials and capital goods. However, these backward linkages often do not materialise, leaving the countries concerned*

with a thin layer of industries providing only the finishing touches to imported goods.

- *Protection often results in consumers having to pay higher prices for goods of inferior quality, sometimes from non-essential industries.*

No other trade policy includes a scepticism of its practices, so the choice to include this aspect of protectionist policies signals that the text is not impartial and neutral. Rather, this choice reveals the biased stance of the text against inward-looking policies. An analysis of this subdivision of import substitution reveals a register of word choices which appears to shape perception of this policy negatively. Phrases with negative value connotations are *sceptical of import substitution, isolating them from the rigours of competition, efficiency is lowered, industries never develop, does not advance, pay higher prices and inferior quality*. These lexical choices represent import substitution as flawed and inadequate in the economy of a country.

The first reason given for scepticism is a strong assertion achieved through a lack of modals and the use of the verbs in the present tense (*means, isolating, is and develop*). However, in the subsequent reasons and the introductory sentence the use of hedges (*Many, often, sometimes*) strategically create an ambiguity within these declarations. The use of hedges signals the text's avoidance of a direct commitment while simultaneously creating an impression of this representation being factual and precise (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Sunoo (1998) explains that hedges can conceal a lack of tangible evidence, while Machin and Mayr (2012) add that they assist in dilution of the force of the claims made. Also of note is that the lack of tangible evidence leads to questions of the validity of the information presented in the text.

4.2.4 Biased representations of images denoting outward- and inward-looking economic policies

In the same manner in which linguistic strategies were analysed to reveal the covert subtext of this extract, so too an analysis of the accompanying image reveals the text's (text D, p. 72) preoccupation with a biased representation of international trade.

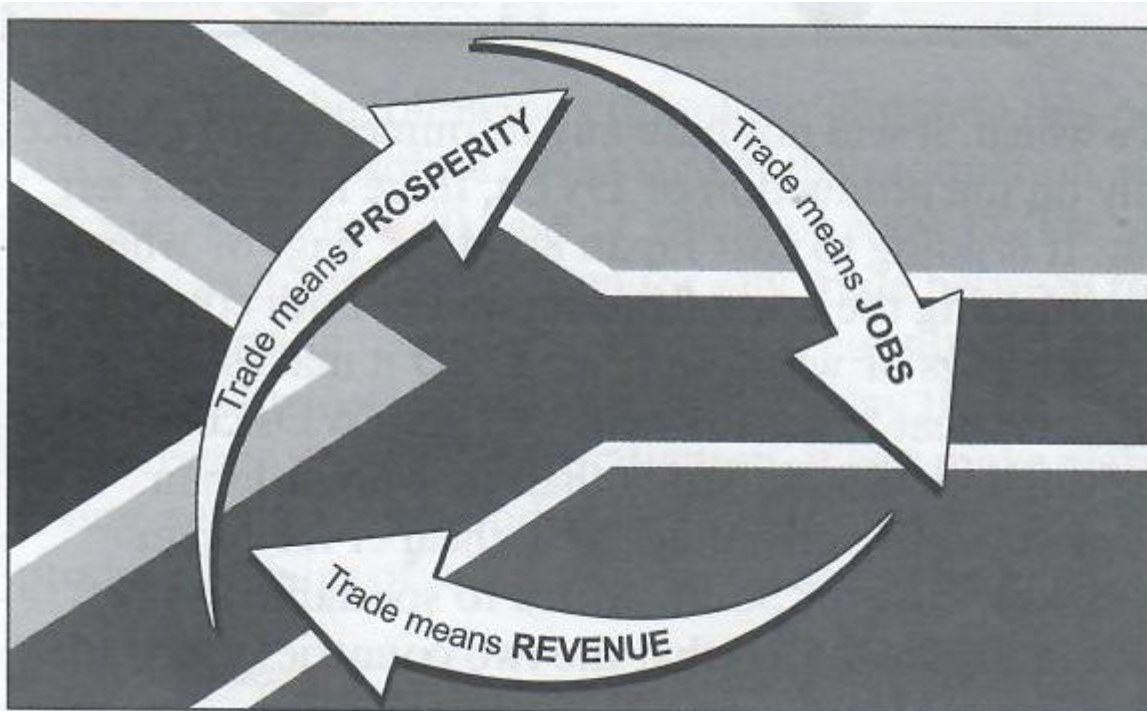


Figure 4.1 *Large scale production means more jobs, revenue and prosperity.*

Of interest is that this is the only illustration in the section detailing the effects of international trade, and it illustrates the benefits of international trade. This image accompanying the text contributes to the meaning that the text wishes to foreground, whilst concealing the negative aspects of international trade. Machin and Mayr (2012) describe the initial iconographic analysis as exploring the way in which visual features reveal hidden power relations. The three arrows denote a cycle in which international trade is seen as resulting in prosperity, jobs and revenue, expressing the positive economic values which are highly desirable. The large arrows stand out against the backdrop of the South African flag which is a cultural symbol. This is one way to draw the reader's attention, which Machin and Mayr (2012) label as salience. The foregrounding of the arrows connotes importance, an association generated by the visual element. The South African flag is placed in the background, also connoting that the country is subordinate to international trade. Of significance too is the flag of the country inferring official legitimacy being conferred to international trade.

Another way in which this diagram achieves salience is the change in the size of the font, ranging from the smaller lower-case print to the larger capitalised benefits of prosperity, jobs and revenue. The connotation communicated through this representation is that international

trade will benefit South Africa, the implication being that the country won't enjoy these benefits if international trade is not encouraged. Also of significance is that the text chooses to visually exclude the negative impact that international trade has on a country. It is ideologically significant that a conscious choice is made to highlight the benefits of international trade while omitting the negative impacts.

4.2.5 Conclusion

Analysis of the selected data referring to the discourse of financescapes appears to favour the outward-looking economic policies over the inward-looking economic policies. This bias was revealed through the linguistic and pictorial strategies of over-lexicalisation, insinuations, foregrounding, nominalisation, omissions, lexical register, assumptions and connotations.

4.3 Discourse 2: Ethnoscapes

4.3.1 Introduction

This discourse was identified through the usage of particular words and their synonyms, which inferred that these words categorised the social arena, namely people, labour, labour force, labour inputs, job creation and job opportunities, job security, economic well-being, low wage, rich and poor, citizens, living standards, employment, unemployment, immigrants, workers, tourists and mobile workers.

4.3.2 Romanticising of outward-looking economic policies

The first example analysed in detail is from textbook A, page 93, which expounds on the reasons for international trade. Using verbs in the present tense, modal adverbs, assumptions and over-lexicalisations the writers present the main reasons for international trade as being factual and authoritative:

Foreign trade is becoming increasingly important for the economic well-being of a country. The more open and integrated a country is with the rest of the world, the better its chances of improving the economic welfare of its citizens.

You might have heard the argument, usually from politicians, that South Africans should be self-sufficient. This means we must produce the goods and services we need and want ourselves, in order to decrease our dependency on foreign countries.

Economists tend to disagree with this view. They argue for increased integration with the world economy and an expansion of foreign trade to improve the economic well-being of South Africans.

The first statement makes a claim that foreign trade (*Foreign trade is becoming increasingly important*) is necessary, without evidence to back this. The second statement with the use of the present tense authoritatively asserts that an improved economy depends on foreign trade. Use of the verbs in the present tense and lack of modality serve to portray this assumption as a categorical truth and position the textbook as factual and knowledgeable. Textbooks are also regarded as authentic sources of knowledge imparted as intended by the curriculum through information and explanation (Muspratt, 2005). The employment of the persuasive comparative adverb and adjective (*more, better*) gives rise to two scenarios: an improved economic welfare in an open market versus the implied inferior economic welfare of citizens in a protected market. This serves to reinforce the implicit claim that foreign trade is good for a country, and the use of the comparatives creates a sense of evidential precision (Machin & Mayr, 2012). However, there is silence on the extent of the ‘openness’ and ‘integration’ of a country and also the cost to citizens and country as a result of this embracing of foreign trade.

Furthermore, inclusion of the existential assumption (Fairclough, 2003) regarding the collective ‘citizens’ (*the better its chances of improving the economic welfare of its citizens*) presupposes that all wealth simply gets distributed in some egalitarian fashion to all citizens. Moreover, the register of the technical terms *economic welfare* and *economic well-being* is used arbitrarily and does not distinguish whether this includes GDP per capita, the Gini coefficient, life expectancy, infant mortality, mental health, the quality of life of the whole population, etc. There is suppression of the actuality that a focus on economic well-being does not necessarily achieve a stable and well-functioning society, as the citizenry may still be disadvantaged by the lack of a clean environment, an efficient health system and a noteworthy system of education. The focus here is only on achieving wealth, ignoring the fact that this may be to the detriment of other factors vital to a well-functioning society. As Bauman (2011b, p. 2) posits, “When the state of society is checked and evaluated, it is ‘averaged up’ indices --- that tend to be calculated”. The width of the divergence between the lowest and topmost segments is rarely viewed as a significant gauge (Bauman, 2011b). Through using assumptions which have become common-sense notions and naturalised, the writers position international trade and hence globalisation in a particular way. In so doing, readers are prompted to interpret their portrayal of globalisation in a particular way, these assumptions sustaining the hegemonic

idea that international trade is important for a flourishing economy. Fairclough (1989) maintains that when ideology works in invisible and implicit ways, it is at its most effective.

In addition there is an abundance of verbs in the present tense in the first two sentences and the last sentence which are written in the simple present tense (*is, disagree, argue, improve*). The effect this creates is to convey the writers' categorical assurance that this is a truth. The use of verbs in the present tense (a form of modality) entrenches the assumption that improved economic welfare is dependent on foreign trade. Sandwiched between the categorical assertions is a sentence with three modal verbs (*might, usually, should*). The tone of this extract of text conveyed by the use of modal verbs illustrates the idea that there is a degree of uncertainty about this claim by politicians and serves to advance the unlikelihood of what is being claimed. These modal markers also reveal a cautious commitment to the level of truth. What is more interesting is the switch in the use of pronouns, from *its, you* and *we* to *they*, which implies that the writers deem these as differing levels of truth: 'you', 'we' (if we heed the argument from politicians) and the '*politicians*' pitted against '*they*' (knowledgeable economists). The writers of the text therefore appear to package the advantages of foreign trade (globalisation) in a particular and powerful way that prescribes that improved economic welfare for citizens is dependent on foreign trade. This is clearly an ideological tool.

Analysis of the language in two particular examples from textbook D reveals how modality is used by the writers to commit to a greater extent to employment, welfare and labour under the policy of free trade (globalisation) than the practice of protectionism. The paragraph on the arguments for protectionism on page 104 states:

*Countries with high levels of unemployment are constantly under strain to create employment opportunities. They **often** consider protectionist policies to stimulate industrialisation. Import restrictions **could** increase the demand for local products, which **may** lead to an increase in the demand for labour. Countries **should** remember that imposing import restrictions **may** reduce other countries' capacity to buy their exports. This **may** provoke retaliation from exporting countries against the lower-priced goods, in the form of increased tariffs and quotas, which **could** trigger a costly trade war. (emphasis added)*

Use of the highlighted lowered modal verbs indicates a reduced degree of commitment to the policy of protectionism and its role in the protection of jobs. It appears as if the writers are uncertain as to the exact benefit of this policy for workers and therefore portray these arguments

as probabilities. Together with the modal verbs the writers also use the word *often* (a modal adverb or a hedging device) to create an ambiguous claim, as if unwilling to commit to a certainty that the result could be increased industrialised stimulation. Machin and Mayr (2012) aptly describe language as either revealing or obscuring information and that the device of hedging can be employed to also create an impression that the opposite of what is stated is actually happening, which seems to be evident in this statement. The lexical choice (*under strain, restrictions, provoke retaliation, increased tariffs, trigger a costly trade war*) has negative connotations usually associated with undesirable events. Because of this negative association, the ideological slant of the text is evident – that of having a bias against this economic policy. In distinct contrast to this representation of events is the presentation of the description and arguments for free trade in the same text (textbook D) on pages 106 and 107:

4.1 Description of free trade

Free trade is a policy in which the government does not interfere with imports or exports by applying import tariffs, export subsidies or quotas. There is a total lack of barriers. It involves trade deregulation to reduce government interference in the economy. For example, the deregulation of agricultural markets led to the dissolution of Marketing Control Boards that used to administer and control imports and exports. Prices of agricultural products were regulated through state determination of ceiling and floor prices. Deregulation is the reduction or elimination of laws or regulations that restrict competition or trade in the supply of goods and services - thus allowing the market forces to drive the economy.

Free trade results in greater overall production. This is because each producer is free to specialise in the industry in which it has a natural advantage. Free trade opens markets and economic opportunities.

However, not all countries benefit from free trade. Countries that are not competitive benefit less from free trade than countries that are competitive. A country participating in free trade will most likely want to introduce some form of import control or protectionism if it believes that it is not benefiting enough from free trade.

Unlike in the description of protectionism, no modal verbs are used in this description of free trade; together with verbs in the present tense (*is, does, are*) this reveals a greater commitment towards the policy of free trade. Hence the text signals its commitment to the truth that free trade is a more desirable economic policy than protectionism. The propositional assumption in

the phrase *Free trade opens markets and economic opportunities* further legitimises the benefits of free trade, which is reinforced by the positive value connotations of the terms *opens* and *opportunities*. Hence the value assumption which assumes that access to markets (opens markets) is highly desirable. Fairclough (2003) maintains that assumed meanings like these are ideologically significant, because meanings which are taken for granted become unavoidable and uncontested realities.

The first paragraph of this extract describes the procedures involved in the implementation of free trade. The second paragraph details all the benefits, and it is only in the last paragraph beginning with the contrastive conjunction *However*, that the text admits that *not all countries benefit from free trade*. Use of the linguistic strategy of backgrounding serves to downplay the fact that there are countries which do not enjoy the benefits of free trade. However, the reason given for this is that these countries are to blame as they are *not competitive*. The text is silent on the reality that despite all of the trumpeted promises of free trade, both developing and developed countries continue to be harmed by the practices of free trade as only the opportunistic elite of corporate producers and stockholders benefit from the capital accumulation (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2001).

The use of grammatical metaphors also entrenches assumptions about globalisation. On pages 93 and 95 of textbook A, in the section outlining the demand and supply reasons for international trade, the writers assert:

Demand reasons

- *the country may not have a big enough labour force, or the labour force may not be skilled enough to produce the required goods and services*

Supply reasons

- *the country may have a large and/or skilled labour force to produce the required goods and services (p. 93)*

1.4 Labour force

Not all countries have an educated, skilled and productive workforce. This is an extremely important asset for any country. The more skilled, educated and productive the labour force, the more competitive the country can be (p. 95)

The grammatical metaphor represents the people of the country (*labour*) as an entity (*an asset*), thereby drawing attention to the fact that this comparison of an educated workforce is highly desirable. The term *asset* is part of accounting discourse – not human, but instead a resource to be exploited and used for economic gain. On closer examination there is an obvious claim by implication: the uneducated and unskilled are a liability to a country, and this is a phenomenon that is obfuscated. There is also the acknowledgement of unevenness (*the country may not have a big enough labour force, or the labour force may not be skilled enough; Not all countries have an educated, skilled and productive workforce*) but no explanation is given as to why this has come to be.

An in-depth examination of the term *competitive* reveals that this concept seems to be accepted as a common-sense, generally accepted value. The concept of competition is also ideological in that it becomes a common-sense notion that if a country wants to survive economically, it needs to be competitive in this global era (Ar, 2015). Yet critics of neoliberal capitalism argue that competition is wasteful and favours the powerful that have the different kinds of capital required to succeed (Bourdieu, 1998). In fact, competition and exploitation are the results of the imperatives of market capitalism “which compel all producers to compete, accumulate, and maximize profits in order to remain competitive and survive” (Fridell, 2006, p. 22). The propositional assumption, assuming what can be (*The more skilled, educated and productive the labour force, the more competitive the country can be*) is a strong declaration and appears to position this textual content as a universal truth. Since the textbook is seen as an authoritative source of knowledge and its readers as potential receivers, it is also a powerful ideological tool as it legitimates the competitive nature of international trade as desirable and necessary for economic survival.

Textbook A also makes reference to the labour force in the section discussing the supply-side approach (versus the demand-side Keynesian policies) of economic growth and development. The introduction to this on page 233 states:

In contrast to Keynesian economists, who believe that demand should be stimulated to encourage growth, supply-side economists put more emphasis on the factors that affect the production capacity of the economy (the factors of production). In Grade 11 we discussed these factors of production and how they affect wealth creation. Supply-side economists’ approach to economic growth is that it can be encouraged by increasing

the quality and quantity of the factors of production (natural resources, labour, capital and entrepreneurial skills).

The first sentence employs the word *believe* to describe the *Keynesian economists*, thus giving rise to an insinuation that this is a mental process, registering a belief or an opinion and therefore not a fact. The paragraph preceding this section expounded on Keynesian economics and there too the text refers to Keynesian economics as *Keynes, however, believed* --- (p. 233). So it appears that the text reinforces and builds on the theme of portraying the demand-side approach as an emotional belief. With the use of the connecting phrase, *In contrast to*, the text subtly places the subordinate clause at the beginning of the sentence to foreground the implicit claim that growth stimulated by demand is not a logical theory. On the other hand, the register of the phrases describing the supply-side economists' approach (*supply-side economists put more emphasis, Supply-side economists' approach to economic growth is that*) insinuates that these are not opinions but rather are facts. Additionally, the connecting phrase is strategically placed to imply that there may be a problem with the Keynesian economists' belief and consequently a solution is presented in the supply-side economists' approach. Use of the lexical register of *quantity* and *quality* serve to commodify and objectify *labour*, removing the human element from this process of economic growth and development. This theme continues on page 234, when the labour force as a factor of production is elaborated upon:

2.2. Labour force

The quantity and quality of labour will affect economic growth:

- *If a country has a large quantity of labour available, and specialises in products that can be manufactured using these labourers, such production can contribute to economic growth.*
- *The quality of the labour force will also affect economic growth. Sometimes production is limited due to a lack of available trained labour.*

Economic growth theories often assume an unlimited supply of labour in developing countries. Although it is true that unemployment is high in developing countries, we have to remember that the quality of the labour force is important. It is possible that a large number of the unemployed people in a country may not be employable at all in a modern economy because they do not have the necessary skills. The education system of the country will have to address the problem of improving the quality of the labour force to enhance economic growth.

Generally the lexical register of the terms *quantity* and *quality* are used to describe goods, as in a large or small quantity of goods and as goods being of poor or good quality. Of course the term *quality* can also refer to a particular characteristic in a person. In this instance the text speaks about the quality of the labour force, which clearly does not refer to a human attribute. In this manner the text quantifies, objectifies and dehumanises the labour force, callously portraying only its the roles and functionality as factors in the creation and pursuit of wealth. Together with use of the high-commitment modals (*will, can*) and present tense verbs (*has, is*) these sentences come across as categorical assertions strongly committed to truth. Of significance is employment of the conjunction ‘although’ (*Although it is true that unemployment is high in developing countries, we have to remember that ---*). There is an admission that there is high unemployment in developing countries, but usage of the strategically placed conjunction transfers the blame for this situation to the quality of the labour force.

The text also uses the inclusive pronoun *we* seemingly to contrast ‘us’ from ‘them’ (*the labour force*). Moreover the pronoun (*we*) may also align the text alongside the supply-side economists. The labour force is also represented in a manner as having no agency over themselves, thus having little or no power over their circumstances, and is implicitly portrayed as either useful (*employable*) or of no use (*not be employable at all in a modern economy*).

The first bullet point illustrates how a large quantity of available labour contributes to the economic growth of a country. Ar (2015, p. 69) sees this as a constituent of neoliberal global capitalism where labour ‘is seen as a commodity’. The last sentence in this extract is highly contentious in that it asserts that the *education system of the country will have to address the problem of improving the quality of the labour force to enhance economic growth*. Use of the high-commitment auxiliary verb (*will*) attests to the text’s strong commitment to the truth of this proposition that an objective of education should be to prepare for improved *quality of the labour force* for a country’s *enhanced economic growth*. Interestingly, Maistry (2014) demonstrates that there is a neoliberal influence on education when it is considered common sense that the education system of a country has to engage in a curriculum that legitimates the value of wealth creation as advancing the cause of economic growth. Stressing the complex nature of the neoliberal influence on education, Maistry (2014, p. 63) comments that “In an overt, unchallenged (‘common sense’) way, it legitimates an instrumental agenda for education: namely, to serve the economic growth needs of the nation.”

Another factor of production discussed in the same section of textbook A on page 233 is that of natural resources:

2.1 Natural resources

*The quantity and quality of the natural resources available to a country depend on the natural endowment --- **Although** availability of natural resources is determined by natural endowment, the way in which these are used and managed will have important implications for economic growth.*

*Some natural resources have a limited supply, for example, mineral resources such as coal and gold. **Although** mineral resources can be used to a country's advantage and contribute to economic growth, the limited supply means that care should be taken to ensure that maximum value is derived from them when they are mined. In addition, the mining should be done in a way that does not harm the environment and other factors of production. It should not affect the long-term growth potential of the region negatively. For example, imagine a situation where coal is discovered in a region that earns a lot of income from tourism. Mining in the area may harm the environment and may decrease the potential to earn income from tourism. **If** the coal is mined, economic growth may be enhanced temporarily by the mining activity, but in the long run, growth may be affected negatively due to the tourism potential of the region being destroyed.*

*Some natural resources are renewable and can be used over and over again. The way in which these resources are managed is very important. Water and arable land are examples of such resources. **If** water and land resources are managed correctly, they can continue to contribute to economic growth indefinitely. **However**, if care is not taken to protect such resources, their lack may eventually place severe constraints on economic growth. (added emphasis)*

The lexical selection and placement of conjunctions and connectors (highlighted for ease of reference) in this extract suggests a particular linguistic strategy which serves to background certain information. When sentences begin with conjunctions these are usually followed by subordinate clauses, with the main clause thus placed in the latter part of the sentence. There are five instances of conjunctions or connectors, and in each case the strategic placement of the main clause in a less prominent position serves to downplay its real significance (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Two examples serve to illustrate this linguistic strategy:

Although availability of natural resources is determined by natural endowment, the way in which these are used and managed will have important implications for economic growth.

However, if care is not taken to protect such resources, their lack may eventually place severe constraints on economic growth.

These sentences begin with a conjunction and thus the first parts are the subordinate clauses; hence the facts of *availability of natural resources is determined by natural endowment* and *if care is not taken to protect such resources* may seem to be foregrounded, but this is really not so. The importance of natural resources for economic growth is therefore the focal point of these sentences. This creates the impression that the text wants to background this particular stance. This can also be seen in the prepositional phrase which initiates the sentence: *In addition, the mining should be done in a way that does not harm the environment and other factors of production*. Even though the first part of the sentence shows an overt concern for the environment, this is immediately followed by the embedded clause that other factors of production (labour, capital and entrepreneurial skills) should not be harmed.

An initial, superficial reading of this extract conveys the impression that care needs to be taken of the natural resources. However, a deeper analysis reveals a disturbing dichotomy: care for the environment is not considered because of a moral responsibility, but more for its impact on economic growth. Ironically, the continuing depletion of the natural resources together with pollution of the environment through industrial activity will most likely have an impact on people's lives. This in turn may impede the objective of economic growth because of the likelihood of increased health and social problems.

In terms of modality, there are strong unmodalised assertions (*availability of natural resources is determined by natural endowment, the way in which these are used; If water and land resources are managed correctly*), high-commitment modalised phrases (*will have important implications for economic growth; can be used over and over again*) and low-commitment modalised phrases (*mining should be done in a way that does not harm the environment and other factors of production; It should not affect the long-term*). However, there are also sentences in this extract which contain a mixture between strong truth commitments and low-commitment modalised statements. An example is the sentence *However, if care is not taken to protect such resources, their lack may eventually place severe constraints on economic*

growth. This slippage from strong predictions to lowered truth commitments appears to strengthen the ambiguity of the message, giving rise to a sense that the text is deliberately creating an ambiguity in this extract. The text also seems to be evading a direct commitment to the fact that care needs to be taken to protect the natural resources and not only for the purpose of wealth creation. Furthermore the use of conjunctions such as *Although* and *However* signals the text's ambiguous stance as these connectors allow for creation of the dichotomies mentioned in the previous paragraph.

The last paragraph of this extract incorporates several noteworthy assumptions. This includes the existential assumptions *Some natural resources are renewable*, *The way in which these resources are managed is very important* and *Water and arable land are examples of such resources*. These are taken for granted: that there are such things as natural resources, that these resources are manageable and that water and arable land are renewable resources. The propositional assumptions include the notions that these resources *can be used over and over again* and *can continue to contribute to economic growth indefinitely*. There are also value assumptions that *resources used over and over again* for economic growth is desirable and that the *severe constraints* placed on economic growth through *their lack* is undesirable. However, this representation of an indefinite supply of natural resources is highly contentious as there are writers (Bauman, 2011b; Chun, 2009; Fioramonti, 2017; Forstater, 2004; Lawrence et al., 2012) who argue that the planet's resources are finite and limited, and that the exploitation and depletion of natural resources results in negative consequences, especially for the poor and vulnerable in a country. Therefore these assumptions can be regarded as ideological, as they are generally seen as taken for granted notions. Because these seemingly factual statements appear in a credible source of information, the Grade 12 Economics textbook, the reader is likely to accept them readily as truths and is unlikely to challenge these notions. For this reason Fairclough (2003) argues that in assuming and taking these notions as unquestioned factual realities, texts are seen as undertaking ideological work.

The section on the demand-side and supply-side approaches in textbook A concludes with a summary on page 235:

In summary, we can say that the supply-side approach to economic growth is a more long-term approach. It aims to ensure that the quality and quantity of factors of

production are such that the country's production capacity is enhanced and that there are no supply-constraints on economic growth.

The demand-side approach that aims to stimulate aggregate demand can only be successful if supply factors will not constrain production. If production capacity is a constraint, stimulation of demand will only be inflationary. On the other hand, if there is no demand for production, an increase in production will not be profitable and thus not sustainable. So, a combination of the demand- and supply-side approaches will be the best tactic.

At the beginning of this chapter on economic growth and development the text presents the demand-side approach and then discusses the supply-side approach. However, in this summary the supply-side approach is mentioned first, subtly pointing the reader towards this foregrounded economic approach through employment of particular linguistic features. The lexical register in the phrase *a more long-term approach* is suggestive of a considered, insightful approach involving much forethought. Use of the comparative determiner *more* also insinuates evidential precision, and also serves as a hedging device that allows the phrase to appear more persuasive and authoritative (Machin & Mayr, 2012). An implicit comparison is also generated with the implication that the demand-side approach is a short-term approach. The brief summary of the supply-side approach also uses the conjunction *and*, which Fairclough (2003) distinguishes as an additive relation that results in portrayal of the supply-side approach as unquestionable, crucial and inevitable. On the other hand, in the brief summary of the demand-side approach the text utilises the conditional conjunction *if* three times. Thus the success of the demand-side approach is conditional upon certain factors, unlike the supply-side approach which unconditionally ensures *that the country's production capacity is enhanced*.

In textbook C on page 76 in the section entitled *The main reasons for international trade*, the text gives a brief description of the demand and supply reasons for trade between countries. This is followed by an unequivocal highlighted statement:

Note

This explanation proves that international trade is beneficial to all involved.

The absence here of modality and use of the simple present tense (*is, proves*) conveys the categorical assurance that this is a truth. The use of verbs in the present tense, and without modalities, entrenches the assumption that improved economic welfare is dependent on international trade which benefits all. In addition, the use of an embellishment (highlighted word in this case) also serves to draw attention and to give prominence to this assertion. However, Nussbaum (2011) argues that revenue from international trade does not even raise the income of the poorer households as the elite are usually the main beneficiaries, except where there is a commitment to wealth distribution. This has become an overarching assumption projected as common sense and natural, and signals the embedding of a particular ideology which serves to legitimise power relations. Discoursal practices as naturalised as these are built on the foundations of assumptions which become common sense because they are implicit, taken for granted and backgrounded, and not ideas which readers are consciously aware of and therefore are not commonly questioned or analysed. Thus readers may relate to the text without critical thought and therefore ideologies become rooted and embedded through these ‘common-sense’ notions (Fairclough, 1989).

Textbook D makes a highly contentious claim in its description of globalisation. This is found on page 71 in the section which details the effects of international trade:

International trade is the core of globalisation. It brings the countries of the world closer to one another. As countries become involved in international trade, this trade spills over to other elements of globalisation, such as transport, communication, information technology (IT), --- and multinational enterprises (MNEs). India is a good example of this. As these elements develop and improve, they stimulate more international trade, which leads to economic growth and an increase in living standards.

In point of fact India, which here is upheld as testimony to the benefits of international trade, is in reality an example of the unglorified consequences of globalisation. It is in this country that “a handful of thriving billionaires coexist with about 250 million people forced to live on less than 1 dollar a day; 42.5 per cent of children under five suffer from malnutrition; --- leaving them physically and mentally stunted” (Bauman, 2011b). Thus the exclusion of and silence on the economic reality in India signals an ideological silence, and it is essential to question what is deliberately left unsaid in order to uncover the covert message. In fact, aspects of knowledge which the text deliberately omits is significant, as this results in a skewed representation of the

outward-looking policies. The inclusion of the negative aspects of India's economic reality could impact the implicit textual message of glorified international trade. Furthermore, the choice of vocabulary insinuates that international trade is a dynamic and organic entity, and this personification of international trade envisages an image of a positive and vigorous being.

Textbook C also upholds India and China as examples of positively benefit from globalisation. This is what is stated on page 79:

1.4.4 Globalisation

International trade is at the heart of globalisation. Other elements are information technology (IT), transport, communication, multinational enterprises (MNEs), capital liberalisation and standardisation. As countries become involved in international trade, it spills over into the other elements of globalisation. India and China, for example, are experiencing this. As these elements are expanded and improved, they stimulate more international trade. Domestic economic growth follows with further increases in the standard of living.

Use of nominalisation with replacement of a verb process (to grow) by the noun construction (*Domestic economic growth*) represents the economy as a metaphorical living entity and conveys the sense that it is flourishing. Agency for this action is concealed, as who is responsible for this is not specified. Also concealed through this nominalisation is who is actually affected by and benefits from the increased standard of living. The text thus displays a preoccupation with the assumption that globalisation equates to economic growth, without stating how this happens.

What is also noteworthy is that in the section describing the effects of international trade in textbook D there are four paragraphs serving as a testimonial to the achievements of international trade. Only at the end of the fourth paragraph on page 72 is mention made of a negative impact of international trade:

1.3.4 Specialisation

Countries that specialise in the production of a product that they are good at making will have the most competitive price. International trade can also have a negative impact on some industries and on the people in some countries. For example, China has developed a comparative advantage in the production of textiles. They produce high-quality textiles at comparatively low prices. South African textile producers

cannot compete with Chinese producers and have had to close down, causing many workers to lose their jobs.

Prominence is given to the seemingly positive benefits of international trade, and deliberate backgrounding of the negative effects of international trade signposts the problematic positioning of the textbook writers' stance on globalisation. The strategic placement of the brief acknowledgement of the negative impact backgrounds and downplays the unpalatable effects of international trade (*International trade can also have a negative impact on some industries and on the people in some countries*). In this way only a particular side of the positive experiences of international trade is highlighted. Use of the determiner *some* also enables the writers to avoid an exact specification, which would otherwise present a valid and factual argument. The reference to an unknown and unspecified number of people and industries alludes to the insignificance of such a trivial negative impact, thus insinuating that there is no substantial weight to this argument. The lack of specification of who exactly is the *some industries* and *some people* anonymises and detracts from what the negative impacts are.

Concerning the modality of this extract, the use of the high-commitment modal *will* reveals the text's commitment to the assertion that *Countries that specialise in the production of a product that they are good at making will have the most competitive price*. The tone of strong certainty is further reinforced by use of the modal verbs in the present tense, namely *they are good*, *have the most* and *has developed*. In addition, in the example of China's production of textiles the text glibly asserts that *They produce high-quality textiles at comparatively low prices*, with no evidence given to support the claim that China produces textiles of a high quality.

4.3.3 Portrayal of inward-looking economic policies as deficient

In textbook A the arguments for protectionism are advanced on p 141, in the section of economic systems:

Trade restrictions and unemployment: Countries with high levels of unemployment are always under political pressure to impose trade restrictions in order to protect local jobs. However this protection only protects certain industries, so it cannot prevent unemployment. Protection could also lead to retaliation from other countries that refuse to buy our export goods, which could also lead to an increase in unemployment.

Even though this paragraph falls under the arguments for protectionism, the use of nominalisation transforms the verb clause (to protect) into a noun (*protection*). This serves to

conceal the agents responsible for the high levels of unemployment, and instead draws attention to the phenomenon that protectionism leads to an increase in unemployment. This use of nominalisation is ideologically significant and used to great effect to exclude the agents of negative actions and to oversimplify complex processes (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Ambivalence (*to protect local jobs* as against *lead to an increase in unemployment*) is created by a lexical choice which positions the writers' implicit claim that protectionism does not in reality protect local jobs. The conjunction *in order to* presents a causal relation with a purpose (Fairclough, 2003) between the two clauses in the sentence: *Countries with high levels of unemployment are always under political pressure to impose trade restrictions in order to protect local jobs.* This serves to point to the link between politics and protectionist policies, foregrounding the explanation that it is politics that drives the implementation of protectionist policies. Adding to this negative slant to protectionism is use of the adverb *always*, which denotes that this is what happens without exception, all the time. This is an effective use of hedging to camouflage the absence of tangible evidence in making this claim. In the same section on the same page the use of another adverb also glosses over the lack of evidence when it details:

Stable wage levels and standards of living: *Countries with relatively low wage levels are able to export their goods to other countries at low prices because their costs of production are low. This threatens the existence of the industries in the countries to which the goods are exported because these businesses cannot compete with the low price of the imports. Workers' salaries and jobs are also threatened and consequently their standard of living. It is often argued that trade policies must be used to protect local workers and businesses from such competition.*

In this instance the adverb *relatively* is a hedging device which the text uses to avoid a direct commitment, while creating an impression of a factual and precise statement. In fact this is a questionable claim, as countries with higher wage levels also export their goods, thus showing the text's lack of commitment in giving valid and sound reasons to put forward the case for protectionism. A further example of hedging is found in the phrase *It is often argued*, intensifying the vagueness of the argument without stating who is arguing, thus creating a sense that this is a weakened argument. Furthermore, use of the phrases *threatens the existence of the industries* and *workers' salaries and jobs are also threatened* are connotations of a negative value, which entrenches the biased portrayal of this economic policy.

The North/South divide was referred to in some of the textbooks in the section on economic growth and development. This is a concept used to categorise countries on the basis of their socio-economic development levels. I included this in my analysis because of the impact of trade between wealthy countries (the North) and the economically poorer countries (the South), thus inferring globalisation. The first extract is taken from page 190 of textbook B:

At the time of the report, most of the countries of the North were located in the Northern hemisphere. As nations in the South developed, they actually became part of the North. Now, after 20 years, the concept 'North/South divide' has become somewhat outdated as the gap between the rich and poor countries is closing. Opportunities for more equal trade and flow of capital have allowed for some developing countries to develop faster. The United Nations has also played a role in diminishing the divide through its Millennium Development Goals. Unfortunately, the number of very poor people in sub-Saharan Africa increased. Certain countries regressed in terms of investment and GDP per capita.

With the use of modality, hedging, backgrounding and assumptions the text appears to contradict itself on this representation of socio-economic development levels. The report that is alluded to is the Brandt report of 1980 (<http://www.treasury.gov.za>). Modality and hedging are components of language which express the text's commitment to what is being said (Fairclough, 2003) and can conceal, reveal, deceive or inform (Fairclough, 2003; Machin & Mayr, 2012). In this description of the gap between rich and poor countries rather vague evidence is given through the hedges *most, actually, somewhat, have allowed for some* and *certain countries*, which enables this paragraph to sound authoritative, precise and credible without any factual evidence. Such terms are effectively employed to conceal the lack of concrete evidence, as they give the impression of factual information whilst concealing the reality of the impact of globalisation on all citizens of affected countries.

Machin and Mayr (2012) point out that the use of hedging often generates an ambiguity within a claim, and is used to create distance from the truth of the claim. This is clearly evident in this extract, as the first part (*the gap between the rich and the poor countries is closing*) seems to contradict what is stated in the final two statements (*poor people in sub-Saharan Africa increased, Certain countries in Africa regressed*). Furthermore, the lexical term *faster* in the implicit comparison that some developed countries have developed *faster*, reinforces the vagueness as it is not clear which countries they are being compared against. Also of note is

that the negative impact of this *trade and flow of capital* is backgrounded while the benefits are foregrounded.

Fairclough (2003) emphasises that implicit assumptions can exert hegemony through their nature of having shared ‘common ground’ meanings, and thus become an important tool in ideology. In the above extract the existential assumptions (about what exists) lie in the phrases that there is a *North/South divide* and that there are *developing countries*. The classification categories of *North/South divide* and *developing countries* (Fairclough, 2003) are contentious, but have become a taken for granted classification. They are contentious because many parts of the undeveloped (or underdeveloped) world are not significantly ‘developing’ and the South has come to replace the largely discredited ‘Third World’. The propositional assumptions (what is, can be or will be) assume that there are *opportunities for more equal trade and flow of capital have allowed for some developing countries to develop faster* and that the *North/South divide has become somewhat outdated*. Two value assumptions assume that the diminishing of the divide is desirable and that the regression in terms of investment and GDP is undesirable. Through the use of these assumptions, modality, hedging, foregrounding and backgrounding the text clearly positions itself as advancing the value system of globalisation.

The second extract is taken from page 191 of the same textbook (B):

Closing the North/South divide

Thirty years later the following changes have diminished the divide between North and South:

*Countries of the South, originally regarded as less developed, **have** become industrialised and show rapid growth, for example, South Korea, Singapore, China and India.*

*The share of the developing countries in world trade **has** grown from a third to over half in just fifteen years. The overall trend **is** towards growing trade between South-South regions: China **has** become the world’s second biggest economy and the top exporter.*

More and more countries in the south provide South-South aid.

Power relations in global markets changed as China and India became new economic powers.

*North/South relations **are** influenced by the formation of trade groups. Groupings in the South include **G20**, the **OPEC** countries and the **Non-aligned Movement**, whereas the **G8** countries **are** representative of the North.*

*Environment: developed nations such as the US **are** prone to generate the highest levels of CO2 emissions and **are** thus the biggest contributors to global warming. Developing nations **are** guilty of deforestation as they strive to industrialise. (added emphasis)*

The use of high-modality present-tense verbs (*have, has, is, are*) creates the impression that the text has an authoritative grasp over these seemingly knowledgeable assertions that *the divide between North and South has diminished, Countries of the South --- show rapid growth, More and more countries in the South provide South-South aid* and that *Power relations in global markets change as China and India became new economic powers*. The text makes these assertions without an acknowledgement of citation of facts and in so doing demonstrates a position of power over this representation, as school pupils are unlikely to contest this knowledge because the textbook is often uncritically accepted as a trustworthy source of knowledge. In addition, in South Africa many teachers have limited recourse to subject knowledge and other media and school textbooks are the only textual artifacts in many classrooms (Morgan, 2010; Morgan & Henning, 2011; Akincioglu, 2012). A register of positive connotation modifiers in phrases like *rapid growth, growing trade, second biggest economy, top exporter* and *more and more* develops the favourable portrayal of foreign trade and globalisation. *Rapid growth* which is synonymous with progress is discursively constructed to show the benefits of world trade. Hence the progress (*rapid growth*) of South Korea, Singapore, China and India is universalised as the success story of globalisation, but this generalisation may not be true for all citizens of the aforementioned countries. In fact, globalisation is responsible for the disproportional gap between the rich and poor in these countries (Fairclough, 2009b).

Increased market share in world trade is represented as desirable and natural if countries in the ‘South’ want economic growth like countries in the ‘North’. Furthermore, the reference to the

eminent organisations of *G20*, *OPEC*, *Non-aligned Movement* and *G8* serves as a legitimisation of the policy of globalisation, as these are recognised as institutions of authority. These trade groups are also credited with influencing *North/South relations*, and this representation in this particular position is likely to shape the way that readers will perceive their roles. This may result in the hegemony of the common-sense character of this notion of world trade in the economic development of a country, and can develop into a legitimate common-sense belief, thus maintaining power relations (Fairclough, 2012). Of interest is the information in the last bullet point, almost as if it is an addendum – that the environment is negatively affected by developed and developing nations. By backgrounding the environmental concerns the text diminishes the importance of the environmental impact of increased world trade. This appears to favour the value system of neoliberalism as this system justifies the scrapping of environmental regulations in the pursuit of economic growth (Munasinghe, 1999).

The section concludes on page 193 with a content summary:

Unit 5

The North/South divide is a division between the rich and the poorer countries.

The gap has diminished as countries in the South became more industrialised.

South Africa gained access to world markets but does not attract adequate FDI to sustain economic growth.

Membership of trade blocs such as the WTO, G20 and the recent entry to BRICS provides for new opportunities.

This section provides a description of the North/South divide by detailing the gap between the rich and poor countries and the diminishing of the divide. It then goes on to discuss the effect of North/South global relations on South Africa by elaborating on the positive and negative aspects of globalisation. However, through the features of foregrounding, backgrounding, omission, connotations and modality the content summary glosses over the negative aspects of globalisation (for example, *the number of poor people in sub-Saharan Africa increased and Certain countries in Africa regressed in terms of investment and GDP per capita*). Also, in the third bullet point the lack of sustained economic growth in South Africa (*does not attract*

adequate FDI to sustain economic growth) has been placed at the end of the sentence in a subordinate clause after the main clause. This is an example where information which the text wishes to detract attention from is backgrounded. The positive connotation phrase *gained access to* in the main clause juxtaposed against the negative connotation phrase *does not attract* further reinforces the text's position on the economic policy of globalisation. Knitting together this representation of global trade is the use of verbs in the present tense (*is, has diminished, does not attract* and *provides for*), which indicates the text's strong commitment to global trade and signals its bias.

The assessment activity on the economic policy of free trade on page 145 of the same text (B) comprises the following excerpts on the international organisation Fairtrade:

Fairtrade

Fairtrade is an international organisation that certifies goods that have been produced by fair and sustainable business and farming methods. Fairtrade assists producers in less developed countries in the following ways:

- *Fairtrade means fair pay and working conditions for farmers and producers.*
- *Fairtrade supports sustainable practices that minimise our environmental footprint.*
- *Farmers are involved in the entire production process, and crops are grown and harvested in smaller quantities. As a result, Fairtrade food is fresher and tastier.*
- *Fairtrade actively promotes integrated farm management systems that improve soil fertility, preserve valuable ecosystems and limit the use of harmful agrochemicals that present dangers to farmers' health.*
- *By working through cooperative structures, Fairtrade artisans and small farmers are able to invest Fairtrade earnings in their communities, improving housing, healthcare and schools.*
- *Fairtrade is committed to strengthening direct partnerships between buyers and producers.*

By using positive connotation terms and phrases the text portrays an affirmative and constructive representation of this aspect of international trade. There is evidence of positive terms and phrases in every sentence in this first excerpt (*fair and sustainable business and farming methods, Fairtrade assists producers, fair pay and working conditions, supports*

sustainable practices, food is fresher and tastier, Fairtrade actively promotes, invest, committed to strengthening). With this abundance of positive connotation terms the text appears to over-lexicalise the workings of this international non-governmental organisation. In fact, six of the nine sentences in this excerpt begin with the term *Fairtrade*. This over-lexicalisation gives rise to a sense of an excessively persuasive text, almost as if it is an advertisement for this international organisation. In addition, as Machin and Mayr (2012) encapsulate this feature, this points to an issue of ideological contention as it exposes the text's preoccupation with a particular meaning, as if over-persuading the readers to the notion of this international non-governmental organisation.

The use of three assumptions in the first sentence also serves to foreground this portrayal of Fairtrade as a taken for granted acceptance that an international organisation steps in to provide assistance. However, this notion, presented as given, can also be contentious. The existential assumption (assumes what exists) assumes that there is such an international organisation, *Fairtrade*, and the propositional assumption (assumes what is the case) assumes that Fairtrade *certifies goods that have been produced by fair and sustainable business and farming methods*. The value assumption is that Fairtrade-certified goods are more desirable than those not certified by *Fairtrade*. *Fairtrade* is represented here in a particular way which is likely to shape the perceptions of the readers; the text thus serves to implement and advance a particular hegemony of business. This is so since implicit assumptions through shared commonality can exert hegemony, thus developing into ideological tools (Fairclough, 2003). There are no modals employed in this excerpt, which signals that the text, through strong unmodalised assertions and use of verbs in the present tense (*is, have, are*), demonstrates a strong commitment to the truth of this representation.

From this introductory description in praise of Fairtrade the text moves from the general to a specific intervention by this international organization:

Fairtrade empowers coffee producers in Tanzania

*The Kagera region of north-west Tanzania is a remote and isolated location --
-, In recent decades, the people there have had their share of adversity.*

In the 1980s, a well-intentioned project to increase fish stocks in Lake Victoria ruined the lake's delicate ecological balance and led to insect plagues, which had serious consequences for agriculture in the region. Since then, over a

quarter of the population has contracted HIV. In 1995, the ferry from Kagera, the region's main lifeline to the outside world, capsized, killing over 500 people. And in the ensuing years, world market prices for coffee, Kagera's only cash crop, plunged to record lows, reducing farmers' income to less than a dollar a day.

It is in this difficult environment that the Kagera Co-operative Union (KCU) operates. Founded in the 1930s, it currently comprises some 90 000 small-scale coffee farmers ---. In total, there are upwards of 130 000 small-holder coffee farmers in the region. Most of those who are not members of KCU are affiliated to the Karagwe District Co-operative Union in Kagera, which is also Fairtrade certified --- which must feed a family of six and generate sufficient cash income, through the sales of coffee, to pay for school fees, clothing, healthcare and all the daily necessities. Early on, it became obvious that the best way to increase farmers' share of the coffee's value was for the Union to start doing its own exporting, which is why in the first years the extra income generated through Fairtrade was used to set up and equip an export office.

(Source: Fairtrade Foundation. (February 2005). Available from: http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/producers/coffee/a_better_life_at_the_source_of_the_nile.aspx (Accessed: February 2012).)

- 1) Classroom discussion: Can you think of any Fairtrade goods that you have seen in your local supermarket? If you look in the tea, coffee and chocolate sections you should be able to find some.*
- 2) List five ways in which Fairtrade helps to overcome the negative aspects of international trade for less developed countries.*

Moving from the positive affirmation of the international organisation, the text now details a specific successful intervention by Fairtrade. The first paragraph sets out the problem in the sentence *In recent decades, the people there have had their share of adversity*. The text uses this sentence to foreground and emphasise the predicament that the people of Kagera were in. An insinuation also arises in that the text appears to normalise the notion that it is fine for the people to have adversity, as the text does not state the people have had MORE than their fair share of adversity. This further reinforces the impression of a poor community, lacking the

necessities for an adequate existence. In the second paragraph the use of a nominalisation replaces a possible verb phrase (a project intended to increase fish stocks) with a noun-like construct (*a well-intentioned project to increase fish stocks*). This representation not only suppresses the agent responsible for this action but also hides those affected by this disaster. This serves to channel the reader's attention (Machin & Mayr, 2012) towards recognition of the problems faced by the people, and to create an awareness of the seemingly successful intervention of Fairtrade in the region.

Also observed in the first three paragraphs is a predominance of words regarded as hedges or terms or phrases used to tone down the effect of what is being said (Machin & Mayr, 2012). This signals a difference between the portrayal of the description of the international organisation Fairtrade and its objectives in the first excerpt, in comparison to the portrayal of the *small-scale coffee farmers* in Tanzania. The first excerpt is characterised by a higher modality through the use of the present-tense assertions, unlike the second excerpt with its abundant instances of hedging terms and phrases (*over a quarter, over 500 people, less than a dollar a day, some 90 000 small-scale coffee farmers, upwards of 130 000 small-holder coffee farmers*). These aggregations add a sense of vagueness, even though the text (with the inclusion of dates and figures) gives the impression of providing a factual account. In fact these hedges contribute to the text's strategic concealment of the lack of precise and concrete evidence.

In the last paragraph the text reverts to a tone of strong commitment, signalled by unambiguous assertions without the components of grammar that facilitated the vagueness created in the first part of the extract. What this does is to imply a connotation of deficiency when describing *their share of adversity* and difficult *challenges* of the small-scale coffee farmers in Tanzania juxtaposed against the sagacious international organisation, Fairtrade.

Continuing with the connotation of the deficiency of the small-scale farmers, there is also evidence of an existential assumption in the fourth paragraph, which assumes that all small-scale farmers in Kagera are *a family of six*. Because this phrase is included with the challenges that the farmers face, this triggers a value assumption that this may be an undesirable state of affairs. Furthermore, an implicit disparagement is created with the lexical register in the main clause: *Early on, it became obvious that the best way to increase farmers' share of the coffee's value was for the Union to start doing its own exporting*. The insinuation is that the farmers themselves had failed to realise the *obvious* benefits of exporting, in contrast to Fairtrade which

was able to promptly identify a solution to the farmers' challenges of *sufficient cash income, - - clothing, healthcare and all the daily necessities*. Also of significance is that the subordinate clause beginning with the relative pronoun 'which' appears to be strategically embedded in the second part of the sentence, *which is why in the first years the extra income generated through Fairtrade was used to set up and equip an export office*. This serves to background the startling fact that Fairtrade used the extra income in the first years not to benefit the small-scale farmers in increasing their *share of the coffee's value*, but to set up an export office.

Cementing the affirmation of Fairtrade is the requirement in the second item for classroom discussion: *List five ways in which Fairtrade helps to overcome the negative aspects of international trade for less developed countries*. The lexical register of positive connotation terms affirms the taken for granted notion of Fairtrade in the role of helper, saviour and protector. What is also taken for granted is the existential assumption in the first item for discussion that Fairtrade goods should be seen *in the tea, coffee and chocolate sections* of local supermarkets. This romanticised portrayal of an international organisation providing access to international trade, as opposed to the deficient small-scale farmer in a developing country, is likely to become an embedded and common-sense notion which is unlikely to be questioned, because it appears in a textbook and is thus in danger of becoming legitimate.

4.3.4 Biased representations of images denoting outward- and inward-looking economic policies

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter on the analysis of data, meaning is also communicated through the semiotic mode of illustrations; that is, illustrations and images can be used to reinforce the message which writers convey linguistically. On page 192 of textbook B in the section on the effect of North/South relations on South Africa, a cartoon is used to illustrate a concern about foreign direct investments. The cartoon depicts a negative aspect of globalisation on South Africa. The text alongside the illustration details South Africa's failure to attract foreign direct investments because of political and economic uncertainty which in turn impacts on high economic growth and employment.



Figure 4.2 *Concerns about foreign direct investments.*

The central figure in this illustration is an unkempt man who appears to be a survivor of a shipwreck and seems to be stranded on an island. He desperately tries to get the attention of two different airborne men piloting aircrafts. They are seen as possible ‘saviours’ and in positions of power, in stark contrast to the desperate survivor. One possible rescuer is projected with a smile and the other is represented with a contemplative expression. It is significant that the two possible ‘saviours’ seem oblivious to the man’s obvious distress and are projected as concerned only with the possibility of investment. Thus a parallel is drawn between this selfish concern and the objectives of globalisation, which is a profit-seeking economic policy which seems to be disinterested in the plight of the poor and the marginalised in the countries in which they choose to invest.

Also of significance is that this cartoon appears under the negative aspects of globalisation, yet ironically foreign direct investment is still portrayed as a solution for economic distress. In fact, globalisation is largely responsible for the distressed plight in which the man finds himself, because he is a victim of a ‘shipwrecked economy’, as globalisation functions as a neoliberal vehicle to empower the powerful economic elites through the amassing of capital by dispossession (Harvey, 2007). Of interest too is the excerpt alongside the illustration, which explains that uncertain economic and political conditions are responsible for low foreign investments, and so the blame for the apparent dispossession is placed on economic and political uncertainty with the role that globalisation plays being backgrounded. Moreover, with

the depiction of all three figures as male there is a subtext that males are represented as requesting assistance and as ‘saviours’ in positions of authority who are empowered to make decisions resulting in a rescue or further abandonment. The role of women is completely omitted.

Page 234 of textbook A reinforces the message about the role that the education system of the country will have to play to enhance economic growth, with the non-linguistic component of the accompanying photograph (Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3 *A country’s education system plays an important role in ensuring the quality of the labour force.*

Images (Barthes, 1973, 1977; Machin & Mayr, 2012) feature distinct people, occurrences, places and objects, and this is referred to as “what an image denotes” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 49). However, this depiction communicates certain ideas, values and concepts and this is how the text uses these concrete signifiers to ‘connote’ distinctive ideas, values and concepts (Machin & Mayr, 2012). As noted in the chapter detailing the methodology employed for this study, MCDA explores the way that the distinct features of the image imply discourses which are not apparent at an initial and casual glance. Therefore we can ask what features in this image are foregrounded, backgrounded or excluded, and how this image contributes to the message being implicitly communicated. This image denotes a classroom consisting of a female teacher pointing to notes written on a board, uniform-clad pupils with raised hands and textbooks on desks. However, these concrete elements connote several ideas. Firstly, the furniture, classroom arrangement and traditional ‘blackboard’ indicate that this is an under-

resourced classroom. So this image connotes that this representation is characteristic of an existing education system which is responsible for the *large number of the unemployed people in a country may not be employable at all in a modern economy because they do not have the necessary skills*.

Secondly, even though the teacher is facing the viewer and appears to be the central figure, what seems to be foregrounded is the image of the pupils facing away from the viewer. The way in which this image draws the attention of the viewer to the foregrounded features is referred to as salience (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Although the teacher is facing the viewer, she appears to be smaller than the pupils because she is backgrounded. This can indicate that she is ranked as less important than the pupils, and she becomes subordinate in this image. The fact that the pupils have their backs towards the viewer connotes that they are not represented as individuals, but rather as faceless and anonymous, functioning only as the *quantity and quality of labour*. The uniforms also serve to anonymise and suppress the individuality of the pupils. This connotation underscores the manner in which the text callously portrays the functionality of these pupils, who are only seen as one of the factors necessary for economic growth. Also significant is that even though the section discusses the labour force as a factor in production, only a photograph of a classroom with a teacher and pupils accompanies the section. The manner in which the pupils are given salience signals the neoliberal influence, where the education system is seen as a mechanism functioning to enhance economic growth (Maistry, 2014).

4.3.5 Conclusion

The findings from the above analysis of data show that there is evidence that all four textbooks are favourably biased towards the outward-looking economic policies, and they clearly favour these systems over the inward-looking economic policies. With the use of assumptions, modality, hedging, omissions, connotations, nominalisations, register, foregrounding and backgrounding, the texts clearly position themselves as advancing the value system of outward-looking economic policies.

Chapter four focused on the analysis of data pertaining to the discourses of financescapes and ethnoscapes. The next chapter centres on the analysis of data regarding the discourse of ideoscapes.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE THREE: IDEOSCAPES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter continues to describe the findings of the analysis of the selected Grade 12 Economics textbooks. The previous chapter detailed the data on the discourses of financescapes (trade and investment, capital and mobile money; economic arena) and ethnoscapes (the movement of people in the world, in particular immigrants, tourists and mobile workers; social arena). This chapter focuses on the discourse of ideoscapes.

The identification of the discourse of ideoscapes drew on Appadurai's (1990, 1996) description which emphasised the political arena of ideas and practices of governments, governmental organisations and governmental policies. I also include intergovernmental organisations (for example, the WTO, trade protocols and non-governmental organisations (for example, Fairtrade) as the policies of these entities also impact on the economic development of countries.

This chapter continues in the pattern of analysis as used in Chapter Four, which divides the chapter into the following two sub-themes: the romanticising of outward-looking economic policies, and the portrayal of inward-looking strategies as deficient. Here too the sub-themes occasionally overlap as they are not mutually exclusive.

5.2 Romanticising of outward-looking economic policies

An anomalous rendering of the strategies of export promotion and import substitution that countries can follow to create economic growth is found in textbook A. The description of export promotion on page 134 of textbook A begins with this paragraph:

Today, we are able to buy many goods that we need but may not be able to produce locally. We buy them from other countries, and we also sell our own surplus goods abroad. Countries try to find markets in which they can successfully exploit their comparative advantages and sell their goods to buyers elsewhere in the world. Export promotion means that the government actively helps and encourages local firms to sell goods and services in international markets. This gives firms an opportunity to produce and sell more goods than they could if they only had a local home market. Being able

to produce and sell more goods helps to create economic growth. The South African government provides various incentives to South African firms to export their goods. These include the Export Marketing and Investment Assistance (EMIA) scheme, which compensates exporters for the costs involved in developing export markets for South African goods.

The linguistic tool of modality in this paragraph reveals the text's commitment to the economic strategy of export promotion. The use of verbs in the present tense (*are, buy, sell, helps, encourages, produce, provides, export, compensates*) renders this description as strong assertions, since a tone of certainty and factuality is created with the use of verbs in the present tense. The lexical register of the term *exploit* in the phrase *Countries try to find markets in which they can successfully exploit the comparative advantages* gives rise to the sense that the opportunistic and predatory characteristics of exploitation are presented as normal and natural. The normalisation and affirmation of exploitation is a signal that this is an ideological stratagem, as it makes a contentious representation appear as a taken-for-granted, common-sense notion (Fairclough, 2003). Of concern is the manner in which the mass production of goods is portrayed as desirable in the phrase *to produce and sell more goods than they could if they only had a local home market* and in the sentence *Being able to produce and sell more goods helps to create economic growth*. Mass production may be a highly sought attribute in the acquisition of wealth, but there is a silence on the negative impact of this strategy – an increase in waste which then becomes socially problematic.

Pronouns can be used to align the text to particular ideas (Fairclough, 2003; Machin & Mayr, 2012), and in this extract this is evident in the use of the inclusive pronoun *we*. In this instance the text makes a particular lexical choice to represent the economic strategy of export promotion in a manner that is not overtly communicated. In addition, there is an embedded implication that the text has the power to speak on behalf of the readers. Also implicit in this usage is that there is an assumption that this is a “shared familiarity with (not necessarily acceptance of) implicit value systems between author and interpreter” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 173). Van Leeuwen (2012) also points out that use of the first-person pronoun presents ideas as facts, in contrast to the presentation of the views of others (they) as perspectives, thus reducing the likelihood of consideration of alternate policies.

Textbook A discusses an economic policy which implements both free trade and protectionism on page 147:

5. A *desirable mix*

Most countries use a mixture of both free trade and protectionism. With globalisation, no country is excluded from international trade. Countries have now started signing agreements that establish trade protocols dictating how international trade will occur. These protocols lead to greater economic integration and cooperation but can also restrict trade.

Examples of trade protocols that have been established include the:

- *African Union (AU)*
- *European Union (EU)*
- *North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)*
- *World Trade Organization (WTO)*

The WTO is the only international global organisation that deals with the rules of trade between countries. The WTO replaced the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) in 1995. It seeks to reduce worldwide trade barriers so that more countries can benefit from international trade.

The functions of the WTO include:

- *facilitating trade negotiations between countries*
- *implementing trade agreements*
- *resolving trade disputes.*

South Africa has been a WTO member since January 1995.

The topic of this section suggests that the discussion will focus on a mixture of economic systems that will best suit a country's economic needs. However, as the section unfolds it is apparent that the registered topic is deceptive, since only trade protocols involving international trade are elaborated upon. This lexical register insinuates that this discussion will be positioned within a specific framework, but is misleading as other economic systems are not dwelt on. The third sentence contains a grammatical metaphor in use of the phrase *trade protocols dictating how international trade will occur*. The grammatical metaphor is evidence of a verb clause phrase (to trade) transformed into compound nouns (*trade protocols*) and is thus represented as an organic entity (Fairclough, 2003). This draws attention to the phenomenon of international trade but obfuscates all agency and those affected by these trade protocols

(Sleeter, 2003). An insinuation is also created of a dictatorial entity, controlling and influencing trade. The use of the high-commitment modal *will* signals the text's strong commitment to this proposition whilst intensifying the image of a powerful and controlling dictator. Throughout this excerpt the use of the verbs in the present tense (for example, *is* and *have*) contributes to the text's strong commitment to the economic system of international trade.

The last sentence in the first paragraph successfully employs the features of foregrounding and backgrounding to reveal the text's stance on international trade: *These protocols lead to greater economic integration and cooperation but can also restrict trade*. The text foregrounds the positive aspects of international trade through the positive value connotations of *greater economic integration and cooperation*. The prominently positioned phrase draws attention away from the backgrounded negative reality that trade protocols *can also restrict trade*. Also noteworthy is the suppression and omission of the negative impacts of international trade on the poor and marginalised people of the affected countries. The second paragraph lists examples of four trade protocols, but only one of these, that of the *World Trade Organization*, is described in great detail.

The register of positive value phrases attached to this description (*seeks to reduce worldwide trade barriers, facilitating, implementing, resolving*) presents a favourable and idealised portrayal of the WTO. The text endorses this positive portrayal modally through use of the verbs in the present tense (*is, has*) and the high-probability modal *can*, which reveals the text's strong commitment to the truth of this glorified description.

Textbook A concludes the chapter on economic systems with this summary on pages 156 and 157:

Summary

- *Countries need to trade with one another for the following reasons:*
 - *to obtain goods that they cannot produce themselves or can import at a cheaper price*
 - *to increase choice*
 - *to make more revenues and profits*
 - *to be able to specialise.*
- *South Africa provides several forms of assistance to encourage export promotion.*

- *Import substitution occurs when the government of a country encourages the use of local goods and services rather than imported ones.*
- *Protectionism means the implementation of trade policies aimed at restricting the importing of certain goods and services.*
- *Tariffs increase the price and reduce the quantity of imported goods.*
- *Industry protection can have a negative effect because the protected industry may have no incentive to become competitive and efficient.*
- *Free trade occurs when there is trade without any protectionist activities or trade barriers between countries.*
- *The World Trade Organisation is the only international organisation that deals with the rules of trade between countries.*
- *Trade protocols exist between many countries to encourage trade.*
- *Most countries employ a mix of free trade with some restrictions.*
- *South Africa's trade policy is based on trade liberalisation and export promotion.*

A critical analysis of the linguistic elements of this summary reveal the text's bias towards certain economic systems through the foregrounding of these, highlighting a register of positive value connotations of these systems and negative value connotations of others. These linguistic elements allow the text to subtly convey its bias towards the economic systems of export promotion and free trade.

In the first instance, the text foregrounds and prominently positions the reasons for trade between countries. The register of positive value connotations (*cheaper price, increase choice, more revenues and profit, able to specialise*) highlights the desirability of foreign trade. Furthermore, the lexical choice of the comparative determiner *more* insinuates that trade between countries is more profitable when compared against the economic systems of protectionism and import substitution. In addition, this summary only elaborates on the benefits of trade between countries. Following on from this affirmation the text then represents protectionism with a lexical register which has negative value connotations, namely *restricting, reduce, a negative effect* and *no incentive*. Notable too is that the text highlights the negative effects only of protected industries. Consolidating this finding in the analysis of data is this definition of free trade given on page 113 of textbook C:

Free trade

Free trade occurs when there are no barriers to trade, such as taxes on imported goods or bans on imports. Free trade is beneficial for a number of reasons ---

The text does not deem it necessary in this instance to insert the embellishment of brackets (unlike the definition of protectionism on page 111, which pointedly declares *according to proponents*) to indicate that this is the view of proponents of free trade. This gives rise to the insinuation that this is the more desirable trade policy and more beneficial, further propagating the desirability of an advantageous free trade policy. Use of present-tense verbs (*are, is*) also reveals the commitment of the text to this trade policy. Five arguments in favour of free trade are then outlined, namely *specialisation, economies of scale, choices/increased welfare, innovations/best practice* and *improved international relations*. Of note is that unlike the arguments in favour of protectionism which contained the negative consequences of protectionism, none of these arguments favouring free trade embrace negative consequences. For example (textbook C, p. 113):

Innovations/best practice. Free trade implies competition. A lack of free trade often leads to domestic markets being dominated by a few enterprises who avoid competition among themselves. Competition provides a powerful incentive to innovate. Not only are new goods and services made available on the market, but enterprises compete to find production methods that cut costs and improve the quality and reliability of goods. Best practice is pursued.

Not only are there no negative consequences of free trade detailed, but also evident in this paragraph are two chains of consequences. The absence of modality and hedging in these chains of consequence coupled with the verbs in the present tense imply absolute certainty and factual declarations. The first one trumpets the praise of free trade and the second gives a clarion call warning of the outcome that comes from a lack of free trade:

free trade → competition → powerful incentive to innovate → improved quality, reliability and best practice

lack of free trade → dominated by a few enterprises → implicit stagnation and poor practice.

Linguistic analysis of the first chain reveals an over-lexicalisation of words (*innovation, best practice, powerful incentive, quality, reliability*), described by Chiapello and Fairclough (2002) as business rhetoric and the jargon of neoliberalism which conceals relations of unequal power. There seems to be an overemphasis on words seeking to persuade the reader of the taken-for-granted benefits of free trade, in the process implying to the analyst that this issue is ideologically contentious (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Use of nominalisations of the verb processes into entities (*innovation, best practice, competition*) conceals and backgrounds exactly who is responsible for these actions and what exactly is changing. Were the previous production methods not in pursuit of good practice, and does newer mean better? This then leads to the implied assumption that protectionism is stagnant and not in pursuit of good practice, which is evident in the second chain of consequences. So in this paragraph the use of over-lexicalisation, lack of modality, nominalisations and assumption results in the writers appearing to persuade readers to favour a particular economic policy without this intention being overtly stated.

The chapter on protection and free trade follows, with a description of a desirable mix of economic policies (textbook C, pp. 114, 115):

5.1 Import substitution and export promotion

The strategies of import substitution and export promotion should not be regarded as unavoidable opposites. Many industrialised countries started out by protecting their domestic industries and then applied export-orientated policies only after a considerable length of time. Import substitution almost inevitably leads to export promotion.

Some economies were not successful in starting with import substitution, such as Pakistan, India and Argentina. They moved on to export-orientated policies. Some other developing countries may follow this route ---.

However, it is a fact that in recent decades outward-orientated countries (such as Mexico, China and South Korea) outperformed countries that adopted inward-orientated development strategies (for example most African countries) ---.

The world's countries have progressed beyond the point where they argue if free trade or protection needs to be chosen. Globalisation is taking effect in all countries.

The lexical register of the phrase *A desirable mix*, creates an expectation that a mixture of the policies can be desirable, and the opening paragraph alludes to this. However, this expectation is soon dispelled with the first sentence in the second paragraph: *Some economies were not successful in starting with import substitution, such as Pakistan, India and Argentina*. The negative value connotation of the phrase *not successful* introduces doubt as to the success of the policy of import substitution. Then with the third sentence of the paragraph, *However, it is a fact that in recent decades outward-orientated countries --- outperformed countries that adopted inward-orientated development strategies*, all expectations as to the success of import substitution are dispelled. The use of hedging with the term *Some* in two sentences in the second paragraph signals ambiguity; an impression of precision is created with the naming of specific countries, but use of the hedge *Some* dilutes the force of the argument (Machin & Mayr, 2012). However, in the third paragraph the text strongly commits itself to the proposition of export promotion with the strong present-tense assertion *it is a fact*.

The strong commitment follows through to the last paragraph, which includes two existential assumptions (assuming that something exists): the first assumes that *countries have progressed beyond the point where they argue if free trade or protection needs to be chosen* and the second is that *Globalisation is taking effect in all countries*. Both are strong assertions, using the present-tense verbs *have* and *is*, and are presented as known facts and therefore taken as given. However, these are highly contentious notions and become ideological because they can be promoted as common-sense notions which advance particular interests and ideologies.

Textbook C then continues the description of globalisation on page 115:

Globalisation incorporates the dismantling and lowering of tariffs and non-tariff barriers, growth in international trade, increased international financial flows, and the exchange of knowledge and technology across boundaries. Since 1995, between the members of the WTO, it had the desired effect from the perspective of trade. While the average tariff on manufactured goods in 1947 was more than 40%, this has decreased to less than 4%. The volume of world exports has increased 22-fold in real terms since 1947. Only 8% of goods and services produced in 1950 were exported. This figure was more than 27% in 2009.

The inclusion of figures (an embellishment absent in the definition of protectionism) is a deliberate strategy to support the endorsement of free trade. The subtext of this projection is that there is an unwritten credibility when figures are quoted, portraying a factual and

authoritative claim. However, construction of these figures is a result of human endeavour. This embellishment also has the effect of pitting the outcomes of *Restrictive practices* (implying import substitution and protectionism) against *international trade* (globalisation). The result of the comparisons of *average tariffs* and *volume of world exports* clearly favours globalisation, with *Restrictive practices* portrayed as deficient. However, the second sentence seems to concede that there may be something problematic in the phrase *it had the desired effect from the perspective of trade*. An insinuation is raised that from other perspectives, globalisation may not have the desired effect. The text could have developed this idea and elaborated on the negative consequences of globalisation. Rather, the text chooses to expound in great detail (five paragraphs) on the role of the WTO and then uses another embellishment to highlight the role of the WTO in a sidebar (p. 116, textbook C):

<i>Examination tip</i>
<i>The WTO, by its very nature, is a very important institution.</i>

Figure 5.1 Sidebar used to further highlight the role of the WTO.

This unmodalised assertion with the present-tense verb *is* makes a strong commitment to the notion of the WTO as a *very important institution*. Use of the box as an embellishment draws attention to the information contained therein. Therefore the text foregrounds the importance of the WTO. It is only in the last paragraph that criticisms of the role of the WTO are mentioned (p. 116, Textbook C):

The role of the WTO has been criticised by developing countries [italicised in the text] who argue that the rounds have benefited mainly industrialised countries by devoting more attention to reducing the tariffs imposed mainly by developing countries. They also claim that the WTO, by allowing industrialised countries in certain circumstances to impose restrictions to prevent dumping, is often merely enabling these countries to protect jobs in sensitive industries which it would prove politically unpopular to allow to decline.

These criticisms of the WTO have been backgrounded and placed at the end of the description of globalisation, revealing that the text has strategically attempted to play down these criticisms whilst foregrounding and drawing attention to the role that the WTO plays as a facilitator of

global trade. The words *developing countries* has also been highlighted by a change in font (another embellishment to draw attention) to give extra prominence to the fact that the critics of the WTO are from developing countries and not from the *mainly industrialised countries*. In addition, use of the pronoun *They* in the phrase *They also claim* emphasises the difference between the industrialised and developing countries, appearing to align the text against the criticisms of the developing countries. Furthermore, the lexical selection of the term *claim* highlights the fact that this is not based on factual evidence. This also corroborates what Van Leeuwen (2012) pointed out, that the presentations of views of others are viewed as perspectives which prevent a consideration of significant alternate observations. Also of note is that there is no criticism of globalisation as such, only criticisms of the WTO.

What reinforces this stance of the text is that of all the trade policies mentioned in this section on protection and free trade (globalisation), there is omission of their disadvantages. Through this linguistic feature of suppression the text selects out the ‘pertinent issues’ by overtly leaving out the disadvantages of these trade policies. In fact there is an expectation on the part of the analyst that the disadvantages should immediately follow the listed advantages, as suggested by the treatment of the other policies in this section – but this does not materialise. The validity of the information presented is called into question in view of this absence of the disadvantageous effects of these trade policies.

Textbook B makes reference to the WTO on page 108:

Unit 6: Evaluation

6.1 World Trade

There is no doubt that there are more wealthy countries in the world today than there were at the end of World War II (1945). This is mostly due to the explosion of international trade since the formation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1948. This agreement was signed by 23 countries including South Africa and led to a total of 45 000 tariff reductions. This led to an average increase of 6% per year in trade from 1950 – 2000. GATT operated through a series of trade rounds whereby more and more countries began to sit down and negotiate more favourable trade agreements. In 1994, 125 countries signed the Marrakesh Agreement following the Uruguay round of trade talks. This led to the creation of the World trade Organisation

(WTO). World trade as a percentage of world GDP has grown substantially over the years.

With more than 140 members, the WTO strives to reduce all trade barriers and promotes a 'most favour nations status' between member countries, free of any trade discrimination. Being a member of the WTO brings with it many advantages and opportunities. It has accelerated the growth of globalisation.

The text foregrounds the presence today of more wealthy countries existed at the end of World War II, and then builds up to the reason behind this – the WTO. Use of embellishments in the form of dates, percentages and precise numbers (45 000 / 6%) lends an air of authority to this presentation of data; greater integrity is attached to information when figures are cited, as this represents an authoritative declaration. There is also a register of positive value terms, for example *increase, sit down and negotiate, favourable trade agreements, grown substantially*. This connotes a high level of desirability and portrays the pioneering *GATT* and its successor the *World Trade Organisation* in an extremely favourable light. Unlike textbook C, this text does not use the term facilitator to describe the WTO, but through the lexical choice of *sit down and negotiate, strives to reduce* and *promotes* there is an implicit link to the metaphor of a facilitator. Metaphors are useful as resources to produce a resemblance between two concepts (Fairclough, 2003), and Machin and Mayr (2012) explain that metaphors can be persuasive and therefore ideologically significant as they can shape and conceal perceptions. When the WTO is predominantly portrayed as a facilitator it consequently becomes difficult to challenge this perception, as this portrayal becomes embedded as natural and inevitable. Textbook D implicitly portrays the WTO as a facilitator in this section on globalisation on page 111:

The purpose of the WTO is to ensure that global trade runs smoothly, freely and predictably. It strives to persuade countries to abolish trade barriers, such as import tariffs, to create trade and investment through increasingly open markets. Each of the almost 150 members must abide by its rulings.

The contrast in levels of modality within this paragraph reveal the text's perception of this global body. The first sentence contains a strong assertion with the present-tense verb *is*, which exposes the authoritative nature of the WTO. With the register of the term *strive* (signalling a lower-commitment modality) in the second sentence, the WTO is deceptively portrayed as a negotiator as *It strives to persuade countries*. The text then reverts to the use of a strong modal in the third sentence *Each of the almost 150 members must abide by its rulings*, which betrays

its true nature as a powerful and authoritative institution. Again, this particular positioning of the WTO as a powerful institution is likely to shape readers' perceptions.

Textbook B includes a description of globalisation in the chapter on economic growth and development. On pages 191 and 192 the positive aspects of globalisation and South Africa's integration into the global markets are given:

Positive aspects for South Africa due to globalisation

Although competition has increased, globalisation has resulted in more access for South Africa to world markets and international forums. Certain companies have benefited greatly from the increased trade.

The well-developed financial institutions put South Africa in a favourable position when global crises affect other developing countries.

In addition to being a member of the World Trade Organisation, the G20 countries and other regional groupings, South Africa has recently become a member of BRICS, opening up huge trade opportunities. From 2001 to 2010, trade among the BRICS member countries grew at a yearly rate of 28% to reach nearly \$230 billion. South Africa mostly exports raw mineral resources to China while it imports manufactured goods such as mobile phones. Huge trade exhibitions are currently being held to promote exports of manufactured goods to China as well as other BRICS countries. South Africa, and the rest of Africa, stand to benefit from additional investment from BRICS members.

With the use of the verbs in the present tense (*has, have, being, opening, are, etc.*) categorical assertions of what the text deems as truth are created, which shows the text's stance towards this representation of globalisation. Positive connotation terms and phrases, namely *has resulted in more access, benefited greatly from the increased trade, a favourable position, opening up huge trade opportunities* and *stand to benefit*, portray this representation of globalisation as desirable and good. There is also evidence of over-lexicalisation, with a seemingly excessive description of the above-mentioned positive aspects of global trade integration. The use of the synonyms *more access* and *opening up* signals an over-persuasion, creating an impression that this is a contentious or ideologically problematic issue (Machin &

Mayr, 2012). Likewise, this feature of over-lexicalisation can signal a preoccupation with a particular depiction and can be an ideological tool (Fairclough, 1989).

Existential, propositional and value assumptions are pervasive throughout this subsection, which may serve as manipulative claims to strengthen this line of reasoning of the desirability of globalisation. The existential assumptions include the taken-for-granted notions that *competition* is a necessary component of globalisation, that *financial institutions* are *well-developed*, that there is a *focus on knowledge* and that there is *increased trade*. Propositional assumptions are elicited by the presuppositions that *globalisation has resulted in more access for South Africa to world markets*, that *certain companies have benefited greatly*, that becoming a member of BRICS has opened up *huge trade opportunities* and that the increased demand for skilled and professional labour *has resulted in increased salaries*. The value assumptions are triggered (Fairclough, 2003) by the verbs *access*, *opening*, *promote* and *benefit*, thus assuming that greater access to world markets, huge trade opportunities, export promotion and the benefits of being a BRICS member are desirable. These value assumptions also insinuate several implicit undesirable consequences, reduced access and diminished benefits from not being a member of these groups. Thus the text appears to be biased towards the economic policy of globalisation, given that it presents contested notions as taken-for-granted and common-sense notions. This favourable portrayal of globalisation can serve to legitimise these assumptions, as readers are likely to accept this as factual and incontestable because the textbook is seen as an authoritative source of information (Akincioglu, 2012).

The reference to the network of august and renowned trade institutions of authority (*World Trade Organisation, G20 countries, BRICS*) further gives legitimacy to these claims of globalisation. In addition, the insinuation is that being a member of these exclusive clubs is a privilege. However, what is omitted is that these international institutions regulate international trade not for the economic benefit of the people, but primarily for the increase in profits and wealth for multinational companies (Ar, 2015) and the *well-developed financial institutions*. There is a lexical absence of the actuality that these are profit-seeking institutions (Sleeter, 2003) complicit in a form of economic colonialism (Bigelow & Peterson, 2002) as globalisation serves the interests of *certain companies*. Although there is *increased trade*, the reality is that the poor do not benefit as the gap between the poor and rich is widening continuously. The lexical register in the third positive aspect notes that with export promotion *South Africa, and the rest of Africa, stand to benefit from additional investment from BRICS*

members – but will these *Huge trade exhibitions* really be mutually beneficial to all the citizens of the countries, or only benefit *certain companies*? Comparing South Africa's acceptance to the BRIC club as an enjoyable gift, textbook A concludes the evaluation of South African international trade policies with this assessment activity on page 152:

South Africa gains entry to BRIC club

Jacob Zuma had to wait four months before really enjoying his Christmas gift. Last Thursday, on China's Hainan Island, the South African president joined his counterparts from Brazil, Russia, India and China ---.

Initially the decision to bring South Africa into the club prompted surprise, even incomprehension. How could this economic dwarf be a member ---? South Africa's gross domestic product only amounts to one-sixteenth of China's output, it only has 50 million inhabitants and annual growth barely exceeds 3,5%, far behind China's (10,3% last year).

Of course South African membership of this select club is connected to the race to grab the mineral resources emerging nations so badly need ---. China became its top trading partner in 2009.

The lexical register within the title (*gains entry to BRIC club*) topicalises and foregrounds the idea of a club which includes certain members and excludes others. The first paragraph compares this acceptance to the enjoyment of a desirable Christmas gift. The image of the beaming president denotes his pleasure, but there is a notable silence on how the entry to this exclusive club benefits the citizens of South Africa. The lexical selection of negative value connotation terms *prompted surprise, incomprehension, economic dwarf* and the adverbs in *only amounts to, only has* and *barely exceeds* creates an image of an undeserving country lacking the desirable qualities (*gross domestic product, inhabitants, output, annual growth*) needed for acceptance into this club. The implicit comparison with the rhetorical question of other countries *still left out in the cold* gives rise to the metaphor of a competition with winners and losers. There is also a metaphor where South Africa is compared to an economic dwarf, so it is a puzzle as to how the dwarf is the winner in the competition between countries.

Comprehension materialises in the last paragraph with the revelation that the supposed Christmas gift was actually a *race to grab the mineral resources*. So the invitation was not for humanitarian reasons, but a strategy to grab and exploit the mineral resources of South Africa.

In addition, an invitation implies that there will be something desirable for the recipient, but in this instance the reward goes to the countries who extended the invitation. None of the questions that follow draw attention to the obvious misanthropic intentions of the BRIC countries, so with this omission the textbook appears to legitimise the notion in the metaphor *the race to grab the mineral resources* that competition is an acceptable and desirable value. The presentation of information can thus instil the notion of the “social-Darwinist survival of the fittest” (Ar, 2015, p. 63).

The negative aspects of South Africa’s integration into the global markets are elaborated upon on page 192 of textbook B:

Negative aspects for South Africa due to globalisation

South Africa ranks high in economic potential and other investment indicators but does not attract adequate foreign direct investments (FDIs) to sustain high economic growth and increase employment. After a sharp drop to \$1.2 billion in 2010, FDI increased to \$4.5 billion in 2011 due to the Wal-Mart Stores investment. Reasons for low FDI are mainly the uncertain economic and political conditions in South Africa.

The demand for less-skilled workers has decreased, causing the gap between the rich and poor to widen.

Countries in the North continue to subsidise agricultural production. In addition, their implementation of trade barriers, such as sanitary measures and packaging standards, makes it difficult for countries in the South, including South Africa, to compete on their markets.

Even though the positive aspects of globalisation were authoritatively pronounced in the same textbook, an insinuation embedded in these negative aspects is that South Africa is disadvantaged not because of the exploitative nature of globalisation which benefits the profit-seeking multinational companies (Klein, 2000). Rather, South Africa is disadvantaged *mainly* because of *the uncertain economic and political conditions*. The modal adverb *mainly* creates an abstruseness in this claim as it is a form of hedging used to create an impression that this is an accurate fact; however, its use signals the avoidance of a direct commitment to this claim.

Of significance is the fact that this aspect supports the value system of neoliberalism, as the implicit claim is that the negatives are manifested because of political and economic uncertainty. This would not occur if, as proponents of neoliberalism advocate, markets are free of State interference and if markets have minimal State intervention (Aguirre, Eick & Reese, 2006). Also of significance is that in these negative aspects there is a glossing over of the impact of globalisation on the poor, with only a slight reference in *causing the gap between the rich and poor to widen*. There is a suppression of the manner in which global corporations exploit workers in developing countries in their relentless ambition for profit-making (Klein,2000).

At the end of this chapter, on page 195 in textbook B, a revision activity gives a summarised extract of the Finance Minister's 2012 Budget Speech from a South African web page (source: <http://www.southafrica.info/business/economy/policies/budget2012a.htm#.UZ4m-6NKnQ>, News24, 22 February 2012) for pupils to examine:

He noted that while 365 000 jobs were added in 2011, unemployment remained high.

He calls on the corporate sector to take advantage of new opportunities in emerging markets. A manufacturing competitiveness enhancement programme will provide funding to boost productivity - businesses that invest in capital formation will qualify for incentives. ---

He said South Africa had to seize the opportunities presented by the changing world – which has seen massive economic growth in emerging countries, particularly India and China.

“As a major mining economy, we should be benefiting more from the continued buoyancy in commodity markets internationally. We also need to take advantage of rising demand for agricultural and manufacturing goods.” He pointed out that about 85 million manufacturing jobs in China were expected to shift to other countries over the next few years.

The lexical register of positive connotation terms throughout this excerpt (*new opportunities, massive economic growth, continued buoyancy and rising demand*) positions global trade as a solution to South Africa's economic problems. The problem of high unemployment is identified at the beginning of this excerpt, and in the next sentence a solution is given: *the corporate sector to take advantage of new opportunities in emerging markets*. The role of

corporate industry is foregrounded and seen as essential to economic growth, while the role of government has been backgrounded as providing *funding to boost productivity*. In the next sentence a metaphorical image is created of South Africa as a living entity positioned to grab opportunities, in the process obscuring the agency responsible for this action. Should it be the corporate sector mentioned at the beginning of the extract, or should it be government policy, considering that this was part of the Budget Speech?

Reinforcing the perception of ambiguity is the lexical register of economic terms (*corporate sector, economic growth, buoyancy in commodity markets and rising demand for agricultural and manufacturing goods*), suggesting precision and expert knowledge – but juxtaposed against the vague nature of what actually needs to be done. The hegemony of the positive connotation of global trade is universalised through the use of assumptions in the fourth sentence, which is ideological in that it is presented as an incontestable reality (Fairclough, 2003). An existential assumption is created with the presupposition that South Africa is *a major mining economy*, and a propositional assumption is that there will be *continued buoyancy in commodity markets internationally*. The value assumption is triggered by the word *benefit* which implies that this is desirable. This portrayal of benefiting from globalisation becomes ideological when it becomes a common-sense notion.

There is also an implicit comparison in the third sentence: *massive economic growth in emerging countries, particularly India and China* compared to high unemployment in South Africa. The implication is that these countries have seen massive economic growth because they have seized *the opportunities presented by the changing world*, unlike South Africa. The change of tense in the third sentence from the past (*had to seize the opportunities presented by the changing world*) to the present (*which has seen massive economic growth in emerging countries*) insinuates that there has to be continuous awareness of change in order to exploit opportunities when they become available. The change to the present tense also signals the text's strong commitment to the truth of the *massive economic growth in emerging countries*. As Bauman (2011b) points out, the reality is in stark contrast to what is assertively and authoritatively claimed here, as the Indian economic reality is that the masses are impoverished compared to the few billionaires who benefit from the exploitation of opportunities. Therefore only one version of globalisation is presented, and that which is omitted and excluded again signals an ideological silence. A critical analysis of the passage reveals that although opportunities have opened up, this does not necessarily mean that the unemployed will benefit.

In the opening paragraph introducing the section on globalisation on page 66, textbook D states:

Trading activities are directly related to an improved quality of life (economic development) for the citizens of nations involved in international trade. Nearly every person on earth has benefited from international trading activities in some way.

Use of the modal adverb *directly* clearly points to the writers' absolute certainty and confidence about the nexus between *trading activities* and *an improved quality of life*. The adverb characterises a high degree of modality and signals an intention to convince the reader that enhanced quality of life is the result of international trade. What is omitted and left unsaid are the indirect consequences of globalisation, and it is revealing that the negative consequences are excluded from this introductory paragraph. Once again, with merely the positive message being presented, the readers are being nudged towards a particular position on globalisation. The second sentence also uses a modal adverb, but in this instance the adverb *nearly* indicates a lowered modality, signalling the use of hedging to present a rather vague claim and to gloss over the fact that there is no concrete evidence illustrating how *Nearly every person on earth has benefited*. With the use of these phrases readers are also exposed to an unquestioned propositional assumption which surfaces as a seemingly factual reality – that globalisation is beneficial and improves the quality of life of citizens of participating nations. Therefore the assumption that globalisation is beneficial is an ideological device employed in this text, as readers are unlikely to question what is regarded as a common-sense notion.

The section entitled *Protectionism and free trade (globalisation)* in textbook D on page 95 begins with these two paragraphs:

Internationally, open economics with an export base have much better economic growth than closed economics. Production is becoming increasingly globally integrated and South Africa forms a vital part of international supply chains.

Globalisation is leading to an increased decline in trade and investment barriers across the world. This supports economic growth and poverty reduction. An important feature of trade policy in South Africa today is that it is used as a tool of industrial policy. It is no longer a key driver of growth.

With the use of topicalisation and foregrounding the writers clearly allude to their stance on globalisation. Despite the fact that this section is presumed to discuss the trade policies of protectionism and free trade (globalisation), right at the outset the positive features of

globalisation are proclaimed, emphasising and foregrounding the positive features of globalisation. The topicalisation of the sentences prominently positioned at the beginning of this section and textual silence on any aspect of protectionism embeds the ideological assumption that globalisation results in *better economic growth*. The use of the double positive and comparative adjectives (*much better*) strengthens the message that the writers wish to convey. Readers are not explicitly told that one trade policy is better than the other, but through the lexical choices and register a clear impression is created: that free trade (globalisation) is the better driver of economic growth.

Utilisation of the oxymoron *increased decline* is a significant semiotic choice. Identifying this as a structural opposition, Machin and Mayr (2012) explain that this is significant because words not only give meaning on their own, but also imply a meaning network. Its use here allows the writers to link in with the ideology that globalisation is related to an increase in economic growth, while trade and investment barriers are linked to a decline in economic growth. The text does not overtly communicate this message, but this implicit meaning is portrayed through use of the above linguistic devices.

Continuing with the imagery of growth and increase is this description of export promotion on the next page (p. 96 of textbook D):

Export promotion is when a government implements measures such as incentives to increase the quantity and variety of exported goods --- to achieve significant export-led economic growth to improve the country's well-being.

Export markets are much bigger than domestic markets and have more trading opportunities. In an export market, many more goods need to be produced and more workers need to be employed. Exports enlarge the production capacity of a country and bigger industries are established. Exports also reduce domestic prices because the country produces larger volumes of goods. Increased exports have a positive effect on the balance of payments and enable South Africa to pay for its imports.

The linguistic tool of over-lexicalisation is realised through the copious use of synonyms to describe the export markets (*bigger, enlarge, increase, larger, growth*). This exposes the text's preoccupation with a particular meaning, as if over-persuading readers on the contentious or problematic issue of export promotion. The positioning of double positive and comparative adjectives (*much bigger, many more*) reinforces the message that the text wishes to depict, that

an export promotion policy improves a country's well-being. The absence of modality and the use of verbs in the present tense reifies the authoritative message of the text, that a country's well-being is improved by the policy of export promotion. However, the text remains silent on the negative consequences of unrestrained greater production of goods, with the enlarged production capacity exploiting the resources of a country and compromising the sustainability of resources in the long term. Furthermore, this *positive effect* is largely motivated by a profit-driven objective, not a social or humanitarian one. Thus the register in this phrase appears to deceive readers, who may be influenced or manipulated by this seemingly legitimate message of a beneficial economic policy (McGregor, 2003).

5.3 Portrayal of inward-looking strategies as deficient

The first example analysed in this section is from page 101 of textbook B:

*Protectionism is the use of trade policy to restrict the import of goods and services with a view to protecting the domestic economy. Despite the obvious benefits of **free trade** to economies, all governments intervene in trade to some extent. This is partly to protect national independence and partly due to political ignorance about the benefits of free trade. The government may make decisions on trade policy as a result of pressure put on them by domestic workers and trade unions who are only interested in job security and wages as opposed to other economic objectives.*

Even though this section focuses on protectionism as an economic system, the writers foreground the fact that free trade has obvious benefits as opposed to protectionism. Use of the connectives *despite* and *as opposed to* in particular signals the link or relationship between political ignorance, domestic workers and trade unions. Contrasted against this are the *obvious benefits of free trade* and *other economic objectives*. The register of the choice of words appears to manipulate the readers into adopting a certain position, namely that protectionism is not as beneficial as free trade. The words which evoke this register are *obvious benefits*, *political ignorance*, *decisions on trade policy made as a result of pressure* and *trade unions who are only interested in job security and wages*. The use of the patronising and disparaging adjective *obvious* signals that these benefits are easy for all to see and understand, except for those who implement the practice of State intervention. The adjective also legitimises the notion that free trade is beneficial, as it appears to rationalise the notion by alluding to it as a fact of life (Van

Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). There is an assumption that *other economic objectives* should be the focus of trade policy, and opposing viewpoints are portrayed as ignorant and simplistic, and are trivialised and viewed almost with ridicule. It has thus become a taken-for-granted, common-sense notion that free trade is the essence of human survival, and so alternatives are almost ridiculed. Critical analysis thus reveals a subtext which is not overtly explicit. On the same page of textbook B, in the argument for protectionism, the text goes on to state:

It promotes employment

Trade protection is a measure to control unemployment. South Africa has a very high unemployment rate. As this causes much social and economic hardship, it is a major objective of government to reduce unemployment. One way of doing this is to protect the jobs of workers who are currently working. This can only happen if the businesses that employ them can continue to produce and sell goods in the face of foreign competition. By restricting foreign goods entering the country, domestic businesses not only produce more and employ more people, but new businesses will be able to enter the market, thus creating more jobs. (p. 101)

In the second sentence the nominalisation (*unemployment rate*) of a verb phrase (to employ) obscures the agency as to what is responsible for the unemployment: is it business or is it the economic policies which have caused the problem? Also omitted is the human face – who are the victims? Use of the pronoun *them* to refer to the workers also creates a schism between the text (by implication ‘us’) and *them*. Also significant is use of existential and propositional assumptions to convey the text’s transmission of meaning of something which has become a common-sense notion. The existential assumption is that *it is the objective of government to reduce unemployment* and the propositional assumption that business is the solution to unemployment when foreign goods are restricted from entering the country. These assumptions are presented as facts, with no other alternatives being presented. That which becomes common-sense notions and common knowledge is unlikely to be questioned, and is thus naturalised in this solution to unemployment.

Also of note is the use of verbs in the present tense and high-level modals (*is, are, can, can, will*) and their impact on this paragraph. These indicate the text’s commitment to what is being stated, so this usage creates a significant ambivalence in that it indicates a tension that signals the ambiguity that is evident: the foregrounded *obvious benefits of free trade* (from the previous data sample) and the backgrounded protectionist solution to *social and economic hardship*

mentioned in the same section on protectionism. This observation becomes clearer when analysing the description of the economic strategy of import substitution on page 137 in textbook A:

Import Substitution

Import substitution occurs when the government of a country encourages the use of local goods and services rather than imported ones. This is done to promote the development of local industry (usually secondary industries) and create economic growth.

There are economically good reasons to produce goods domestically that were previously imported from elsewhere. This is because producing rather than importing saves valuable foreign exchange and eases the balance of payments deficit that most poor countries have.

In theory, import tariffs should remain in place only until the new industry has established itself. In reality, import tariffs usually remain in place, because producers are unprepared to face global competition and they have no incentive to become efficient and competitive.

The government encourages import substitution by means of import controls. Import controls can be tariffs (taxes) on imported goods or trade barriers.

Several linguistic features are employed to signal the text's biased stance. Firstly, the text removes the personal inclusive pronoun *we* as used in the description of export promotion; rather it employs the more impersonal definite article *the* and the determiners *this* and *that*. The description also contains the third person exclusive pronoun *they* in the phrase *they have no incentive to become efficient and competitive*. With this lexical choice of *we* (from the description of export promotion on page 134 of the same textbook) and *they*, a separation is created between the inclusive *we* who promote exports and the implicit 'other' (*they*) who are unprepared and inefficient producers. Secondly, there is evidence of the use of assumptions which are implicitly pervasive and taken-for-granted notions (Fairclough, 2003). In the third paragraph the existential assumption assumes that *import tariffs usually remain in place*, the propositional assumptions assume that *producers are unprepared to face global competition and they have no incentive to become efficient and competitive*. The value assumption is that involvement in *global competition* can only happen if producers have the desirable attributes

of being *efficient and competitive*, and therefore that being *efficient and competitive* is desirable and good. The negative connotation phrases *producers are unprepared* and *they have no incentive* in these assumptions reveal the text's value system, deeming as undesirable that producers are unwilling to face global competition.

An implicit value system is also manifest in the definition and description given of globalisation on page 115 of textbook C:

Globalisation

Restrictive practices, whether they relate to imports or to exports, have the same effect - they reduce the potential volume of world production that would be possible if there was complete free trade and only those goods for which countries have comparative cost advantage are produced. To pursue this objective of free trade, an independent facilitator was required. The WTO is such a facilitator.

Although a definition of globalisation is anticipated, through foregrounding, nominalisation and modality the text rather focuses on the consequences of protectionism (*restrictive practices*) which lead to reduced production. Nominalisation of the verb (practise) into a noun (*practice*) transforms the expected verb clause into a nominal entity, in the process excluding the agency of who or what is actually responsible for the reduced volume of production. The use of the nominal here is also a resource aiding the generalisation of consequences of a restrictive trade policy. In addition, the question of whether people or the environment benefit from this reduction is obfuscated. The use of the higher modal *would* expresses the level of commitment of the writers to what they are aligned towards: the certainty that reduced production will be the result of protectionism. Readers are thus explicitly exhorted as to the necessity for globalisation. Hence the use of these three linguistic features (foregrounding, nominalization and modality) legitimises the notion that protectionism is negatively restrictive. Such linguistic features contribute to a polarisation or a schism between globalisation and protectionism, while creating a biased representation of events.

Inclusion of the facilitator, the transnational organisation the WTO in this paragraph highlights a concern that even though the WTO is supposed to be independent, in reality it is not really. Reference to the WTO as an authoritative organisation also serves as a legitimisation of the policy of globalisation, as this body is recognised as an institution of authority. Readers of this extract may be manipulated into the neoliberal discourse promoted by the regulatory transnational WTO, which is seen as a legitimate body; in the process the implications of these

assumptions at the local level are excluded. The WTO is represented here in a particular position which shapes how readers are likely to perceive its role as a facilitator, as the paragraph begins with the negative *Restrictive practices* and ends with the resolution of such practices in the form of a *facilitator*. Van Dijk (1993) identifies this as ‘ideological squaring’ when texts use a referential choice in order to cause an association of ideas and values (Machin & Mayr, 2012) such as when labelling the WTO as a facilitator.

A facilitator is usually acknowledged as someone ensuring the smooth progress of an otherwise problematic process. Use of the value assumption of this powerful transnational corporation as a facilitator suppresses the reality that the WTO is largely responsible for the emergence of global trade (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Another instance of the biased representation of an inward-looking economic policy is found in the classroom activity assessing the trade policy of protectionism on page 142 of textbook A:

Zuma cautions against protectionism

15 April 2011

President Jacob Zuma, addressing the opening ceremony of the Boao Forum for Asia’s annual meeting on Friday, called on developing and developed countries not to move towards trade protectionism or to significantly devalue their currencies.

“If these occur, it would merely result in a race to the bottom and undermine all G20 efforts to achieve strong, sustainable and balanced growth,” Zuma told delegates to the conference in Boao on Hainan Island, China.

Read more: <http://www.southafrica.info/global/brics/boao-150411.htm#ixzz1lj3vMtMv>

(Source: BUA news. (Accessed: February 2012).)

With use of the linguistic features of topicalisation, negative connotation phrases, assumptions, modality and a metaphor, the text appears to influence and manipulate readers towards certain opinions which appear to be more legitimate. Topicalisation is evident in the prominent position of the sentence element *Zuma cautions against protectionism*, thus highlighting through this syntactic structure (Foucault, 2000) the fact that that which is about to appear is not a favourable portrayal of protectionism. Similarly, the negative connotation phrases (*not to move towards trade protectionism, devalue their currencies, undermine all G20 efforts*) point

the reader towards a negative impression of protectionism. A metaphorical connotation is also created in the phrase *it would merely result in a race to the bottom*. The metaphor is created when the economy is compared to a race, but in this scenario this is a race in reverse, a regression instead of the expected movement of progression. By means of this metaphor the text places the policy of protectionism into a particular framework of reference which portrays protectionism in a negative light. So the question arises: whose interests does this portrayal serve?

An insinuation is also created that foreign trade, and hence globalisation, is a progressive movement. Furthermore, through the use of the connector *If*, a problematic scenario of protectionist trade is juxtaposed against the implicit global trade providing the solution of *strong, sustainable and balanced growth*. Ironically, a 2018 Oxfam International report on wealth and inequality, contends that competing governments are involved in a race to the bottom, to provide labour at the lowest cost in order to attract global chains. As a result workers do not receive an equitable share of the monetary benefits experienced by the global chain parent, nor the rights experienced in the country where the head office is.

Assumptions are used in this extract to imply tacit meanings, where concepts are presented as taken for granted but in fact can be ideological contestations. The taken-for-granted notions are evident in the phrase *and undermine all G20 efforts to achieve strong, sustainable and balanced growth*. There is an existential assumption in the notion of the concept of G20 countries and a propositional assumption in the taken-for-granted notion that the *G20 efforts can achieve strong, sustainable and balanced growth*. Value assumptions are created in the common-sense notions that the *G20 efforts* to move away from protectionist measures are good and desirable and that protectionist policies are undesirable as they *undermine all G20 efforts*. Fairclough (2003, p. 55) reiterates that assumptions as these have “the capacity to exercise social power, domination and hegemony” and thus can influence and shape the nature of these shared meanings.

Concerning the issue of modality, the text quotes the president as saying *it would merely result in a race to the bottom*. The use of the past tense of ‘will’ (*would*), which is a high-commitment modal auxiliary, demonstrates that the president is making a strong truth prediction about what will happen if trade protectionism is put into practice. The choice of assessment activity focusing on the negative aspects of protectionism (unlike the assessment activities on export

promotion and free trade) appears to demonstrate a biased stance against protectionism. Also with regard to modality, this extract makes reference to *President Jacob Zuma*, the use of the honorific legitimising this view of protectionism and giving greater authority to the claim that *it would merely result in a race to the bottom*. This direct quote of part the president's speech is an example of a 'scare quote' (Fairclough, 1989, 2003) which prophesies a dire consequence of protectionism – an evaluative connotation of an undesirable consequence if developing and developed countries *move towards trade protectionism*.

At the end of this article an embellishment, in the form of acknowledgement of the source, with its attendant punctuation marks (*Source: BUA news. (Accessed: February 2012).*) is used, adding to the impression of authoritative factuality which the text wishes to impart.

Textbook C introduces protectionism with this definition on page 111:

Protectionism is the economic policy of restraining trade between countries through methods such as tariffs on imported goods, restrictive quotas, and a variety of other governmental regulations designed to allow (according to proponents) fair competition between imports and goods and services produced domestically.

The use of brackets suggests that this is not what the writers of the text believe, but is the viewpoint of advocates of protectionism. In this way the text distances itself from the view favoured by the proponents of protectionism. This is an example of the use of embellishments, when writers include an additional comment in a strategic position to manipulate the reader into a particular opinion. This clearly implies that this is not what they [the writers] believe, thereby adding weight to their stance on protectionism.

The choice of two negatively loaded terms (*restraining, restrictive*) reinforces the text's portrayal of protectionism as a deficient trade policy in the conscious choice of negative linguistic cues, as semantically they construe a negative impression. There has been deliberate omission of positive elements in this initial definition of protectionism. In addition, use of the verb in the present tense (*is*) further entrenches the text's certainty that protectionist policies are not as economically sound as free trade policies. At the beginning of this topic on protection and free trade (globalisation) readers are told that they need to discuss and evaluate South Africa's trade policies – so they are likely to base their knowledge on these negative impressions. The omission of information is deliberate, as the inclusion of all aspects could alter the reception of the information. The omitted knowledge is essential and relevant for

provision of an in-depth and balanced understanding of the concept, which could create a different mental representation in the reader.

On the same page of textbook C, in the detailing of arguments in favour of protectionism the focus falls on increased employment:

Countries with high levels of unemployment are continuously pressured (by political forces) to stimulate employment creation. Therefore, they often tend to resort to protectionist policies in order to stimulate industrialisation. It is thought that if a country imposes import restrictions, it would mean that its citizens would purchase more domestic products and thereby raise domestic employment. This concentration on domestic employment creation, at the expense of other countries, led to such measures being referred to as “beggar-thy-neighbour” policies. Countries making use of protectionist policies should keep in mind that imposing import restrictions is likely to result in a reduction in other countries’ ability to buy the country’s exports and may provoke retaliation. (pp. 111, 112)

The writers of textbook C again make use of an embellishment, a phrase within brackets, to suggest that protectionism is a political choice; in so doing they imply that this is not a sound economic policy and that it is one that they do not support. Here too the use of embellishments in a tactical position serves to manipulate the reader into a particular opinion. A definitive tone is sounded with use of the declarative *are*. The adverb of time *continuously* intensifies the feeling of coercion, which results in the introduction of protectionist policies and also insinuates that this is a perpetual and ongoing struggle. The negativity evoked in this paragraph is in stark contrast to the highly valued freedom of choice portrayed in the descriptions of globalisation and free trade, as seen later in this chapter.

In the next sentence the text uses the tool of hedging to create ambiguity in its claim *they often tend to resort*, as the adverb *often* alongside the verb *tend* exhibits the lack of concrete evidence and in the process bolsters the impression that resorting to this policy is an emotional response. With use of the pronoun *they* the text reinforces the impression that it distances itself from this argument for protectionism. This deliberate choice of pronoun positions the text against those who choose the policy of protectionism, thus serving to delegitimise the actions of the exclusive *they*. The text also employs the phrase *in order to* (a connector) to reinforce the clear specification that *they (political forces)* implement protectionist policies, thus legitimising the assumption that this policy is not for economic reasons but for political expedience. In addition,

use of the phrase *It is thought* implies that what follows in the rest of the sentence is just an opinion, not necessarily factual, and a mere idea without foundation, as this is politically motivated and not in the interests of the economy. Thus this strategic tool negates the objective of this section, which was to expound the arguments in favour of protectionism.

The reference to the *beggar-thy-neighbour* phrase employs use of a ‘scare quote’ (Fairclough, 1989, 2003) to further legitimise the text’s stance on a protectionist policy, as this phrase conjures up a dire consequence of protectionism. A ‘scare quote’ (Fairclough, 1989, 2003) refers to a quotation or a reference to a quotation that connotes an evaluative statement, and in this extract can be seen as outlining an undesirable outcome. This phrase was famously used by Adam Smith (introduced on page 67 of textbook B as the father of economics) to detail the fact that other countries suffer economically if a country employs certain protectionist policies. This supposed concern for the ‘neighbour’ suppresses the reality that the policies of free trade and globalisation are profit-seeking and may not benefit all of the citizens of a country. Ironically, here the poor and disadvantaged become ‘beggars’, as it were. In the subsequent sentence, shoring up this image of dreaded consequences the threat of retaliation is presented with the use of modal verbs (*should, may*) and the modal adverb *likely*.

The use of lowered levels of all three modals suggests that the writers are actually uncertain about the proposition; that is, this consequence is not an absolute reality. It appears to be a fact, but analysis of these low dynamic modals (*should, may, likely*) reveals that this sentence is speculative, giving rise to the argument that this is a scare-mongering tactic. The lexical choice at the end of this paragraph, *provoke*, is compelling and signals an emotional agitation which strengthens the insinuation of scare-mongering. In both sentences the explicit warning about the outcomes if countries choose to implement protectionist policies gives consent and legitimation to the ideology that protectionism is not a favourable policy. However, because of the uncritical manner in which this argument is presented and the use of verbs in the present tense (*is, are*), portraying these ideas as authoritative facts, the reader is unlikely to question its validity and consequently may treat it as a truth and a certainty.

With this lexical register, modality and embellishment, which connote an undesirable trade policy, ideological work is evident as readers are subtly nudged towards a particular preferable position. Simultaneously the particular portrayal of free trade in the same textbook can scaffold the readers’ ability to internalise the ideological underpinnings of this discourse.

South African trade policy is described on page 108 of textbook B:

6.2 South African trade policy

Up till 1920, the South African economy was driven mainly by farming and mining. The SA government followed a programme of industrialisation after 1920. Local industries were developed using import substitution policies. By 1970, this policy was considered to be outdated and export promotion policies were followed. The 1980s was a decade of supporting exporters. Despite a questionable impact on industries other than those in the primary sector, these definitely laid the foundation for the export initiatives of the 1990s. However, South Africa's commitment to GATT, now the World Trade Organisation (WTO) which replaced GATT, led to much freer trade towards the end of the 1990s --- South Africa is an active member of the WTO and has also entered into preferential trade agreements with countries in the southern African region and the rest of the world.

This segment rounds off the chapter on economic systems and is titled as an evaluation, but the text appears unclear whether this is an evaluation of the trade policies described in the chapter or just an evaluation of world trade and South African trade policy. Nevertheless the text explicitly shows a bias towards a particular trade policy. This is seen in the third and fourth sentences, when stating that after following a policy of import substitution to develop local industries after 1920, this policy was considered to be outdated by 1970. The phrasing in the sentences is particularly problematic, namely that *this policy was considered to be outdated and export promotion policies were followed*. Firstly, the text does not identify who it was who *considered* import substitution as inappropriate, so all sense of agency is obscured. Then the first part of the sentence insinuates that the policy of import substitution was not desirable so therefore it was a problem. With the use of the conjunction *and* the text then provides the solution of following *export promotion policies*. The word *considered* also implies that there was a problem and then after deliberation (denoted by the word *considered*) a decision in the form of a solution was made. Moreover the word *outdated* connotes something which is obsolete, redundant and antiquated, signalling a negative value connotation. This results in an implicit insinuation that export promotion policies are more relevant, necessary and appropriate. Through this lexical register the text promotes a particular view – that export promotion is the more advantageous policy.

The sentence placement of the paragraph thus serves to create a semantic relation in this paragraph, namely that of the relational problem-solution (Fairclough, 2003) mentioned above.

The problem lies in the outdated *import substitution policies* and the solution is in the *export promotion policies*. Furthermore, through the syntactic construction with the problem placed at the beginning of the paragraph, the text foregrounds and gives prominence to the problematic nature of the outdated import substitution policies, thereby signalling the bias of the text towards international trade. The phrase *Despite a questionable impact* also suggests that in spite of the negative consequences, there is a concession to the value of export policies. This is reinforced by the declarative modal adverb *definitely*, signalling a high degree of certainty and commitment to the truth of the proposition. The lexical register of two conjunctions (*Despite* and *However*) also signals that this is a problematic issue, but in spite of acknowledgement of this contention South Africa is committed to the *World Trade Organisation*. So while the phrase acknowledges that there is a questionable impact, the text simultaneously glosses over the reality of which industries are negatively impacted. The text is also silent on the impact on the marginalised and disadvantaged people in South Africa. The use of embellishments also contribute to the authoritative presentation of the information. The inclusion of dates (*1920, 1970, 1980, and 1990*) is an embellishment used to create greater authority and integrity in the evaluation of South African trade policy.

In contrast to the description of export promotion (p. 96 of textbook D), a different portrayal of protectionism emerges on page 103 of textbook D:

Protectionism is any measures that governments take to restrict trade in goods and services between countries. It is a policy in which governments do not allow goods and services to flow freely between countries. Regulations, tariffs, subsidies and quotas restrict this flow. The purpose is to protect domestic consumers against the effects of foreign competition. It is a defensive measure that countries use when they think that unfair competition from other countries is damaging their industries.

The register of terms denotes this policy in a negative light: *restrict trade, do not allow, restrict this flow, unfair and damaging*. This is in stark contrast to the description of export promotion in the same textbook, which was described in a constructive and affirmative manner. Also use of the word *think* implies an emotional and defensive response by countries based on what they think and not on facts and figures. In terms of modality, this short paragraph contains three unmodalised present-tense assertions (*Protectionism is any measures that governments take, It is a policy in which governments do not allow and It is a defensive measure*) which reveal a

strong commitment to the notion that protectionism restricts trade. Accompanying this text is a diagram on page 103 (textbook D), which is analysed in the next section of images.

What is also thought-provoking in the process of data analysis is the difference in the manner of presentation of the arguments and problems linked to protective policies and free trade. On page 105 of textbook D some of the problems linked to the implementation of protectionism are stated as follows:

Industries can become reliant on protectionism. They lose the ability to compete efficiently and insist on protective measures.

It is difficult to establish which industries have the potential to be competitive in the future and need protective measures. In many cases, the decision is influenced more by politics than economics.

Protected industries may not mature --- might delay ---

*Trade restrictions are **likely** to bring about retaliation by foreign countries --- **will** lead to a decrease in the volume of world trade [emphasis added]*

In the first problem, industries have been personified to appear as living entities having the ability to *compete* and to *insist*. There is also nominalisation of the verb process ‘to rely’ into an entity that is *reliant*. This collectively serves to obscure agency or responsibility, to conceal who actually is involved in becoming *reliant*. Industries are not agents which can lose an *ability*, but humanisation of an inanimate concept allows the writers to suppress the actual agents and causes of the problems experienced as a consequence of protective policies. Furthermore, the declaration in the second problem that protective measures are politically motivated insinuates that they are not economically justified as politics is pitted against economics. Of significance is the use of modality to indicate the vagueness of these claims. The modals used (*can, may, might*) are examples of a lowered modality, as if the writers do not want to commit themselves to the problems, which may be speculation. The hedging in the use of the modal adverb *likely* reinforces the sense of avoidance of committing to something, which creates an ambiguity in these claims. However, use of the modal auxiliary verb *will* indicates a high degree of certainty and commitment in order to persuade readers that protective measures lead to decreased trade volumes.

Conversely, the arguments against free trade in the same chapter of textbook D (p. 108) are presented in a different manner:

4.3.1 Concentration of wealth

Opponents of free trade believe that free trade concentrates wealth in fewer hands. They argue that free trade makes it possible for multinational corporations to buy out local corporations and absorb all their profits. This leads to the creation of market monopolies and the concentration of local wealth into foreign corporations.

4.3.3 Creation of trade dependencies

Opponents of free trade believe that it creates trade dependencies. It leaves countries more vulnerable to economic shocks. An economic shock affecting one country will affect others --- in the international trading system.

The register of the verbs *believe* and *argue* presupposes that these arguments are based on emotional responses and not factual evidence, as if these are opinions and therefore not a reliable gauge of the arguments against free trade. What is left unsaid is that with the *creation of market monopolies* production is concentrated in fewer centres, with larger multinational companies dominating the globalised world. By using the pronoun *They* the writers distance themselves from this viewpoint. This strategy appears to exclude and background the arguments of the opponents of free trade, and in the process the validity of the other economic policies is trivialised, backgrounded and marginalised. Also of interest is the use of *they* on page 105 (textbook D), to create a schism between the protected industries and the text, and the use of *they* in this example. A division between the opponents of free trade and the text is clearly set up, which insinuates that the text is not of the camp that opposes free trade and neither is it in the camp of protected industries.

A comparative analysis of the manner of presentation of the two economic strategies of export promotion and import substitution in textbook A also reveals discrepancies. The economic strategy of export promotion was analysed in detail earlier in this chapter under the discourse of ideoscapes, and the critical analysis revealed the text's biased stance towards this policy. No information on any negative consequences of this policy is given to the readers. Under the discussion of import substitution, this information appears on page 138 of textbook A:

2.2. Who benefits from tariffs?

The benefits of tariffs are not always even. Because a tariff is a tax, the government will have an increased revenue when imports enter the domestic market. Domestic industries also benefit from a reduction in competition because the prices of imported goods are artificially inflated. Unfortunately for consumers – both individual consumers and businesses – higher import prices mean higher prices for goods. If the price of steel is inflated due to tariffs, individual consumers pay more for goods containing steel and businesses pay more for steel that they use to make goods. So, tariffs and trade barriers tend to favour producers and not consumers.

The effect of tariffs and trade barriers on businesses, consumers and the government changes over time. In the short term, higher prices for goods can reduce consumption by individual consumers and by businesses. During this period, businesses will profit and the government will see an increase in revenue from duties. In the long term, businesses may have a decline in efficiency due to a lack of competition and may also see a reduction in profits because substitutes for their goods emerge.

The first sentence of this extract foregrounds and topicalises the problematic nature of tariffs imposed in the implementation of import substitution. The linguistic strategy of foregrounding is useful in giving prominence to an event which the text wishes to emphasise (Van Dijk, 1991), and in this instance it provides context for the issue which the text wants to highlight, namely that import substitution *in the long term* is not beneficial to industries as it decreases profits. The lexical choice of negative connotation terms and phrases (*not always even, artificially inflated, unfortunately, decline in efficiency, reduction in profits*), with not a single negative connotation term utilised in the extract on export promotion, shows the text's biased stance against the strategy of import substitution.

With regard to modality, the use of verbs in the present tense (*are, is, have*) render these statements as strong assertions to which the text is firmly aligned. In addition, the strong modal verb *will* and the high probability *can* are used to convey the text's certainty that import substitution is only beneficial in the short term, as seen in the phrases *In the short term, higher prices for goods can reduce consumption, businesses will profit and government will see an increase in revenue from duties*. The use of the lower commitment modal *may* in the phrase *In the long term, businesses may have a decline in efficiency due to a lack of competition and may also see a reduction in profits* betrays the fact that even though the text portrays the long-term consequences as negative, there is uncertainty about this proposition. The lowered modality is

also a way of hedging to avoid a direct commitment to the truth of this proposition. This is also evident in the phrasal verb *tend to* in the sentence *So, tariffs and trade barriers tend to favour producers and not consumers*, which creates a strategic ambiguity about this claim (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Then too, the lexical register of the phrases *In the short term* and *in the long term* imply differences between the traits of the opposites (*short, long*) attributed to particular meanings these terms are associated with. The presence of these opposing concepts is identified by Van Dijk (1998) as ‘ideological squaring’, where they (*in the short term, in the long term*) are not explicitly evaluated as desirable or undesirable, but this is insinuated through the structuring of the sentences. Even though the text appears as an impartial transmitter of knowledge, the lexical choice suggests that this is not so, as the phrase ‘in the short term’ is associated with a temporary and short-lived experience. This is in direct opposition to the phrase ‘in the long term’ which is associated with a more permanent reality. Therefore Machin and Mayr (2012) posit that the lexical register is important as it reveals the hidden and covert message. In addition, with reference to *competition* and *efficiency*, the text normalises the taken-for-granted, common-sense notion that competition and efficiency are at the heart of the desired goals of business, thus becoming an ideological tool when these concepts become naturalised and normal.

The introduction of the chapter on *Economic systems: Protection and free trade (Globalisation)* on page 93 of textbook B states:

Trade increases the size of markets available to businesses and export revenue can inject new life into economies that are struggling. Yet, this trade comes at a price. Too much exposure to international markets can result in unforeseen consequences. Small businesses struggle to compete with the price and quality of goods produced in places like China. --- Yet, open economies are here to stay.

The feature of topicalisation draws attention to trade and export revenue, thus foregrounding the policy of export promotion. The lexical register of *inject new life* in this sentence connotes a life-giving force, insinuating that export revenue is a positive life-force. The implication is that policies which do not promote export result in stagnation. The second sentence in this paragraph cautions the reader with a contradictory warning that this life-giving injection *comes at a price*, with small businesses facing the consequences. With the initial use of the connective *Yet* the text seems to be covering all options, and a contrastive relation is set up between the

foregrounded *export revenue can inject new life* and the backgrounded *this trade comes at a price*. This particular positioning of the sentences thus legitimates the desirability of free trade. In the second instance of the connective, the text clearly states its position: *Yet, open economies are here to stay*. This slippage from description to prediction is reinforced by the present tense verb *are*, asserting the text's certainty of the level of truth. Critical analysis of this paragraph unearths an ironic insinuation: export revenue can revive businesses that are struggling, but international markets also cause businesses to struggle. Reference to the *price and quality of goods produced in places like China* reveals an existential assumption that goods from China are cheaper and small businesses cannot compete with the quality of Chinese goods. What is presented as given and taken for granted can become an ideological tool and may foster the belief that businesses struggle or fail because of Chinese goods. Readers are unlikely to question these taken-for-granted notions and thus they become lived realities.

Consider too the ways in which the reasons for the two policies of export promotion and import substitution are presented in the same textbook (textbook B, p. 94):

Reasons for promoting exports

Government is very aware of the benefits of engaging in foreign trade. While importing goods increases living standards, there is no doubt that exporting has many advantages for a country --- While it may be difficult to convince people to stop buying imports, promoting exports has a long-term benefit for the country in general and the local business environment specifically.

It stimulates industrial development which is very important for economic growth of a developing country like South Africa.

It earns foreign exchange.

It optimises the utilisation of resources.

It improves our position in terms of international competitiveness.

Unlike the earlier description of a government implementing protectionist policies because of political ignorance, here in direct contrast is a description of a government which is cognizant of economic objectives and therefore engages in export promotion. By using the connective *while* in both instances, a causal relationship is set up. The first sentence implies that there is a problem with imports increasing living standards and therefore the solution lies in exporting

goods. Also implicit is that increased living standards are not as important as the unnamed *many advantages for a country*. In the second instance a problem is also alluded to, *convincing people to stop buying imports*; thus the solution lies in export promotion. In both sentences the implication is that desirable things will materialise if the government engages in *foreign trade*. Then the text elaborates on these *long-term benefits for the country* with the underlying insinuation that the implementation of other policies may not have long-term benefits. The lexical choice of positive-value connotations (*stimulates, development, growth, earns, optimises, improves*) legitimises the portrayal of export promotion as the more beneficial policy. Of interest too is the use of the inclusive first-person pronoun *our*, intimating the text's bias as opposed to the pronoun 'they'. In addition, the text reveals its strong commitment to this truth with the use of the authoritatively stated verbs in the present tense. The only use of a lowered modal verb is *may*, and then too it is used in the problem experienced in the curtailing of imports.

Further on in the same textbook (B), on page 98, there is distinct disparity in the manner in which the policy of import substitution is rendered:

Import Substitution

Most governments are in favour of removing trade barriers but have to implement certain restrictions for specific purposes.

Reasons for import substitution

The reasons for import substitution are very similar to those for export promotion:

- *It aims to increase the manufacturing capacity of local producers by reducing the demand for foreign goods.*
- *It can be said that import substitution is easier to achieve in the short run as it does not take as long to realise benefits for the country.*
- *Import substitution can be implemented very quickly by targeting imports with tariffs and quotas. This forces local consumers to purchase domestic produce, which benefits domestic businesses.*
- *Balance of payments problems may also require import restrictions, leading to the implementation of quotas and import substitution.*

The description of import substitution uses the conjunction *but* (in the first sentence), a lexical choice to show a contrastive relationship (Fairclough, 2003) between the clauses. 'But' is also

an adversative conjunction (Hart, 2011), which is then followed by the negative connotation clause *but have to implement certain restrictions for specific purposes*. However, the strategic placement of the clauses signals that the removal of trade barriers has been given more emphasis and prominence than the less prominent import restrictions. This has the effect of downplaying the role of import restrictions and consequently legitimating the policy of the removal of trade barriers. The use of lowered modality in the reasons given for import substitution (*aims to, may also require*) also reveals a lower commitment to the reasons for import substitution, where the text is seen to be avoiding a strong commitment to this proposition. Of interest is the use of the modal *can* which creates an ambiguity, as *can* indicates a strong probability of import substitution being successful. However, the phrase *It can be said* moderates the claim (Machin & Mayr, 2012). There is also a negative value connotation in the phrase *forces local consumers*, as opposed to the more desired *more choices in terms of quality and price* (p. 94). The lexical register of two adverbs placed together (*very quickly*) seems to give an exaggerated intensity to the implementation of this policy, giving rise to an impression that this economic policy has not been deliberated upon or thoroughly considered, and as if it has been implemented hurriedly with an insinuated lack of forethought. Strengthening this inference is the manner of presentation of the next paragraph on the methods by which import substitution is applied:

2.3 Methods

Once the government decides that it wants to pursue a policy of import substitution, it will put measures into place to prevent certain foreign goods from entering the country. This task of controlling, monitoring and reducing imports is the responsibility of the South African Revenue Service (SARS) through its customs and excise department.
(textbook B, p. 98)

The text makes use of a curious lexical choice with the verb phrase *it wants to pursue* thus creating an inference that this choice of policy is at the behest of a desire and not because of the need for a sound economic policy. The negative value terms of *prevent, controlling, monitoring* and *reducing* are usually employed to indicate a punitive measure. Consequently, through use of a selective linguistic register an impression is created that the text seeks to marginalise the validity of economic policies other than those involving free and international trade.

However, in the same section when detailing the advantages and disadvantages of import substitution, ambiguity arises when the text seems to make an about-turn on page 99:

*Reducing a country's reliance on imports is a good way to promote self-sufficiency and domestic production capacity. This **will** ensure the following advantages for the country:*

*Domestic businesses **will** capture a larger percentage of the domestic market. This **will** encourage the entry of new local businesses which **will** stimulate job creation and economic growth.*

*--- the balance of payments **will** experience fewer outflows --- the value of the currency **will** strengthen.*

*--- reducing the reliance on imports **will** make the country less vulnerable to international events that may cause shortages.*

*Local businesses **will** produce a wide range --- **will** increase the diversification of the economy as a wider variety of goods and services are produced. This reduces prices and increases the choice available to consumers. [Emphasis added]*

The text moves from its use of lowered modal verbs on page 98 (*aims to, may also require*) indicative of uncertainty about import substitution, to the use of the high-level auxiliary modal *will* (nine instances), showing a strong commitment to the truth of this proposition. The text makes these strong claims of truth predicting what *will* happen if the policy of import substitution is implemented. Use of the definitive present tense verbs (*ensure, capture, reduces, shrinks, produce, increase*) further strengthens this strong certainty. Therefore an ambivalence is created: is import substitution an unfavoured economic policy as insinuated in the reasons given on page 98, or is it a viable economic policy as strongly argued for in the advantages outlined? Also worth considering is the following thought that arises: Is this strong commitment to import substitution just of cosmetic significance? The second advantage authoritatively claims a chain of consequences with the following flows:

reduction in size of imports → fewer outflows of balance of payments → current account deficit shrinks → currency strengthens

The text asserts with strong commitment through the high-level modals that the currency will strengthen when imports are reduced. However, on the next page when the disadvantages of import substitution are outlined this is what is described:

If the currency strengthens due to reduced imports, it will once again impact on the competitiveness of export prices. (p. 100)

Firstly, the text makes use of the conditional conjunction *if*, which raises the uncertainty and doubt of the proposition that the currency will strengthen due to import substitution. This contradicts the position of strong commitment that the text took on the previous page when listing the advantages of import substitution. A tension is created with this abstruseness. Another disadvantage of import substitution on the same page states:

The cost of importing raw materials is higher due to tariffs and quotas imposed. This also contributes to the higher cost of producing local goods. This reduces the competitiveness of our export products and can reduce overall exports. (Textbook B, p. 100)

With use of the pronoun in the first person (*our*) a division is set up between the inclusive *we* (occurs in the first disadvantage discussed under technoscapes stating *we are a capital poor country* and *we rely very much on the import of capital goods*) and *our* against the implicit ‘other’ in the presentation of the advantages of import substitution. In addition, South Africa is specifically mentioned here, unlike the anonymous *a country* on page 99. A sense of community is now created with the inclusive *our* and *we* in contrast to the universal, general and anonymous *a country*. The significance of this lexical register is that it may manipulate the reader towards a particular ideology that the economic system of import substitution is not beneficial to *our* citizens. This reinforces the categorical assertion in the first disadvantage *Emerging economies like South Africa cannot afford to reduce imports of certain goods*. Also, both disadvantages end with the propositional assumption that import substitution has an impact on the *competitiveness of our export products* and *the competitiveness of export prices*. This leads to the value assumption that competitiveness is a valuable prerequisite for *our* country to survive economically. If not challenged, this notion can become a taken-for-granted, common-sense ideological notion and be accepted as reality. Fairclough (2003, p. 10) pronounces this claim as part of a neo-liberal discourse which “is the product of a particular economic order”. This notion thus becomes hegemonic when it becomes part of the economic narrative.

The North/South divide was referred to in all of the textbooks in the section on economic growth and development. This is a concept used to categorise countries on the basis of their socio-economic development levels. I include this divide in my analysis because of the impact of trade between wealthy countries (the North) and economically poorer countries (the South), thus inferring globalisation. The first extract is taken from page 190 of textbook B:

At the time of the report, most of the countries of the North were located in the Northern hemisphere. As nations in the South developed, they actually became part of the North. Now, after 20 years, the concept 'North/South divide' has become somewhat outdated as the gap between the rich and poor countries is closing. Opportunities for more equal trade and flow of capital have allowed for some developing countries to develop faster. The United Nations has also played a role in diminishing the divide through its Millennium Development Goals. Unfortunately, the number of very poor people in sub-Saharan Africa increased. Certain countries regressed in terms of investment and GDP per capita.

With the use of modality, hedging, backgrounding and assumptions, the text appears to contradict itself on this representation of socio-economic development levels. The report that is alluded to is the Brandt Report of 1980 (<http://www.treasury.gov.za>). Modality and hedging are components of language which express the text's commitment to what is being said (Fairclough, 2003) and can conceal, reveal, deceive or inform (Fairclough, 2003; Machin & Mayr, 2012). In this description of the gap between rich and poor countries rather vague evidence is demonstrated through the hedges *most, actually, somewhat, have allowed for some* and *certain countries*, which enables this paragraph to sound authoritative, precise and credible without any factual evidence. Such terms are effectively employed to conceal the lack of concrete evidence, as they give the impression of factual information whilst concealing the reality of the impact of globalisation on all citizens of affected countries. Machin and Mayr (2012) point out that the use of hedging often generates an ambiguity within a claim, and is used to create distance from the truth of a claim.

This is clearly evident in the first part of the extract (*the gap between the rich and the poor countries is closing*), which seems to contradict what is stated in the final two statements (*poor people in sub-Saharan Africa increased, Certain countries in Africa regressed*). Furthermore, the lexical term *faster* in the implicit comparison that some developed countries have developed *faster* reinforces the vagueness, as it is not clear which countries they are being compared

against. Also of note is that the negative impact of this *trade and flow of capital* is backgrounded while the benefits are foregrounded.

Fairclough (2003) emphasises that through their shared ‘common ground’ meanings, implicit assumptions can exert hegemony and thus become important tools regarding ideology. In the above extract the existential assumptions (about what exists) lie in the phrases that there is a *North/South divide* and that there are *developing countries*. The classification categories of the *North/South divide* and *developing countries* (Fairclough, 2003) are contentious, but have become taken for granted. They are contentious because “many parts of the undeveloped (or underdeveloped) world are not significantly ‘developing’ and the South has come to replace the largely discredited ‘Third World’” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 198). The propositional assumptions (what is, can be or will be) assume that there are *opportunities for more equal trade and flow of capital have allowed for some developing countries to develop faster* and that the *North/South divide has become somewhat outdated*. Two value assumptions assume that the diminishing of the divide is desirable and that the regression in terms of investment and GDP is undesirable. Therefore with the use of these assumptions, modality, hedging, foregrounding and backgrounding the text clearly positions itself as advancing the value system of globalisation.

The second extract is taken from page 191 of the same textbook (B):

Closing the North/South divide

Thirty years later the following changes have diminished the divide between North and South:

*Countries of the South, originally regarded as less developed, **have** become industrialised and show rapid growth, for example, South Korea, Singapore, China and India.*

*The share of the developing countries in world trade **has** grown from a third to over half in just fifteen years. The overall trend **is** towards growing trade between South-South regions: China **has** become the world’s second biggest economy and the top exporter.*

More and more countries in the south provide South-South aid.

Power relations in global markets changed as China and India became new economic powers.

*North/South relations **are** influenced by the formation of trade groups. Groupings in the South include **G20**, the **OPEC** countries and the **Non-aligned Movement**, whereas the **G8** countries **are** representative of the North.*

*Environment: developed nations such as the US **are** prone to generate the highest levels of CO2 emissions and **are** thus the biggest contributors to global warming. Developing nations **are** guilty of deforestation as they strive to industrialise. [Emphasis added]*

The use of high-modality present-tense verbs (*have, has, is, are*) creates the impression that the text has an authoritative grasp over these seemingly knowledgeable assertions that *the divide between North and South has diminished, Countries of the South --- show rapid growth, More and more countries in the South provide South-South aid* and that *Power relations in global markets change as China and India became new economic powers*. The text also omits an acknowledgement of citation of facts and in so doing presents the textbook as an official and trustworthy source of knowledge. A register of positive connotation modifiers in phrases like *rapid growth, growing trade, second biggest economy, top exporter* and *more and more* develops the favourable portrayal of foreign trade and globalisation. *Rapid growth*, which is synonymous with progress, is discursively constructed to show the benefits of world trade. Hence the progress (*rapid growth*) of South Korea, Singapore, China and India is universalised as the success story of globalisation, but this generalisation may not be true for all citizens of the aforementioned countries. In fact globalisation is responsible for the disproportional gap between the rich and poor in these countries (Fairclough, 2009b).

Increased market share in world trade is represented as desirable and natural if countries in the 'South' want economic growth like countries in the 'North'. Furthermore, the reference to the eminent organisations of *G20, OPEC, Non-aligned Movement* and *G8* serves as a legitimisation of the policy of globalisation as these are recognised as institutions of authority. These trade groups are also credited with influencing *North/South relations*, and this representation in this particular position is likely to shape the way that readers will perceive their roles. This may result in the hegemony of the common-sense character of this notion of world trade in the economic development of a country and can develop into a legitimate common-sense belief, thus maintaining power relations (Fairclough, 2012). Of interest is the information in the last bullet point, almost as if it is an addendum, that the environment is negatively affected by

developed and developing nations. By backgrounding the environmental concerns the text diminishes the importance of the environmental impact at the expense of increased world trade. The section concludes on page 193 (textbook B) with a content summary:

Unit 5

The North/South divide is a division between the rich and the poorer countries.

The gap has diminished as countries in the South became more industrialised.

South Africa gained access to world markets but does not attract adequate FDI to sustain economic growth.

Membership of trade blocs such as the WTO, G20 and the recent entry to BRICS provides for new opportunities.

This section provides a description of the North/South divide by detailing the gap between the rich and poor countries and the diminishing of the divide. It then goes on to discuss the effect of North/South global relations on South Africa by elaborating on the positive and negative aspects of globalisation. However, through the features of foregrounding, backgrounding, omission, connotations and modality the content summary glosses over the negative aspects of globalisation (for example, *the number of poor people in sub-Saharan Africa increased* and *Certain countries in Africa regressed in terms of investment and GDP per capita*). Also, in the third bullet point the lack of sustained economic growth in South Africa (*does not attract adequate FDI to sustain economic growth*) has been placed at the end of the sentence, in a subordinate clause after the main clause. This is an example where information which the text wishes to draw attention away from is backgrounded. The positive connotation phrase *gained access to* in the main clause juxtaposed against the negative connotation phrase *does not attract* further reinforces the text's position on the economic policy of globalisation. Knitting together this representation of global trade is the use of verbs in the present tense (*is, has diminished, does not attract* and *provides for*), which indicates the text's strong commitment towards global trade and signals the text's bias. Textbook A makes reference to the North-South divide on page 246:

One way in which countries of the world are classified is according to the North-South divide. The north refers to the more developed countries with a high standard of living, and most of these are located in the northern hemisphere. The south refers to the developing countries with a lower standard of living, and most of these are located in

the southern hemisphere. --- Usually, growth and development are high on the agenda of developing countries. Developed countries place more emphasis on stability and access to adequate factors of production to maintain production levels.

Although the text differentiates between standards of living in most countries of the north and most countries of the south, there is only an insinuation as to why this is so. This is implied through the usage of modality in the latter part of the excerpt. The penultimate sentence contains a lowered-commitment adverb (*Usually*) and a strong, committed present-tense verb (*are*), which gives rise to an ambiguity when describing *the agenda of developing countries*. On the other hand, the sentence attributing the high standard of living to developed countries contains no modals or hedges (*Developed countries place more emphasis on stability and access to adequate factors of production to maintain production levels*). The lack of modals creates a strong assertion of the practice of developed countries, which insinuates that this has resulted in the *high standard of living*. Of significance too is that there is an omission of facts which could possibly lead to an awareness that the disparity between these countries is largely a result of international trade and globalisation (Fairclough, 2009b). Text D refers to the North-South divide on page 212:

The socio-economic and political division between the wealthy developed countries, known collectively as 'the North', and the poorer developing countries, known collectively as 'the South, is known as the North-South divide --- The factors that cause the North-South divide are capitalism, globalisation, immigration, rate of development, emergence of economic powers, new technologies and financial aid and debt.

Textbook D uses a page to describe the North-South divide and only acknowledges that capitalism and globalisation are some of the factors responsible for the North-South divide in a single sentence. This slight reference to the role that globalisation and capitalism plays actually backgrounds and downplays the role of globalisation in the reinforcement of this divide (Fairclough, 2009b). Textbook C introduces the concept of the North-South divide on page 220 with a definition and then on page 221 details the challenges of globalisation with regard to the divide:

Countries of the North maintain that globalisation is progress. However, many developing countries are disappointed with globalisation in at least three areas:

- *Poverty. There is a growing gap between the rich and the poor, particularly in Africa. Over the last few decades, the only continent that experienced an increase*

in the number of desperately poor people was sub-Saharan Africa. In this part of the African continent the number increased by 183% between 1981 and 2005. The process is still continuing. In East Pacific Asia and South Asia the numbers are still decreasing and the benefits of globalisation are the main reason for it.

The paragraph foregrounds the positive view that *globalisation is progress* and then with the contrastive conjunction (*However*) states that *many developing countries are disappointed with globalisation*. The first sentence is an assertion (the present-tense verb *is*) with a definite category (*Countries of the North*). In contrast, the second sentence uses the imprecise and vague adjective *many* and in so doing diminishes the force of the argument, as it appears to obscure how many countries are actually involved (Machin & Mayr, 2012). This creates an ambiguity as the text appears to avoid a strong commitment to this notion. This ambiguity is further strengthened in the following paragraph. The text then gives precise figures (*183%, 1981 and 2005*) and a precise place (*sub-Saharan Africa*) to create an impression of factuality. Then use of the modal adverb (*desperately*) reinforces the plight of poor people in *sub-Saharan Africa* and reveals the author's strong commitment to the notion that *many developing countries are disappointed with globalisation*.

However, after this representation an ambiguity is created in the penultimate sentence as readers are not told what *process is still continuing*. Is it globalisation or is it the increase in the numbers of poor people? This ambiguity appears to be strategic, as in the last sentence the text uses the present-tense verb *are* (high modality) to strongly assert that *the benefits of globalisation are the main reason* for the decrease in poverty levels in *East Pacific Asia and South Asia*. So it can be seen that although the text appears to give a detailed and precise representation of the divide, the underlying ambiguity seems to be an attempt to dilute the force of the argument (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

The assessment activity on the economic policy of free trade on page 145 of textbook A comprises the following excerpts on the non-governmental organisation Fairtrade:

Fairtrade

Fairtrade is an international organisation that certifies goods that have been produced by fair and sustainable business and farming methods. Fairtrade assists producers in less developed countries in the following ways:

- *Fairtrade means fair pay and working conditions for farmers and producers.*
- *Fairtrade supports sustainable practices that minimise our environmental footprint.*
- *Farmers are involved in the entire production process, and crops are grown and harvested in smaller quantities. As a result, Fairtrade food is fresher and tastier.*
- *Fairtrade actively promotes integrated farm management systems that improve soil fertility, preserve valuable ecosystems and limit the use of harmful agrochemicals that present dangers to farmers' health.*
- *By working through cooperative structures, Fairtrade artisans and small farmers are able to invest Fairtrade earnings in their communities, improving housing, healthcare and schools.*
- *Fairtrade is committed to strengthening direct partnerships between buyers and producers.*

Through the use of positive connotation terms and phrases the text portrays an affirmative and constructive representation of this aspect of international trade, conveying a positive evaluation of international trade. There is evidence of positive terms and phrases in every sentence in this first excerpt (*fair and sustainable business and farming methods, Fairtrade assists producers, fair pay and working conditions, supports sustainable practices, food is fresher and tastier, Fairtrade actively promotes, invest, committed to strengthening*). By using an abundance of these positive connotation terms the text appears to over-lexicalise the workings of this international non-governmental organisation. In fact, of the nine sentences in this excerpt, six of them begin with the term *Fairtrade*. This over-lexicalisation gives rise to the sense of an excessively persuasive text, almost as if it is an advertisement for this international organisation. In addition, as Machin and Mayr (2012) encapsulate this feature, this points to an ideological contention as this exposes the text's preoccupation with a particular meaning, as if over-persuading the readers to the notion of the positive attributes of this international non-governmental organisation.

Use of three assumptions in the first sentence also serves to foreground this portrayal of Fairtrade as a taken-for-granted acceptance that an international organisation steps in to provide assistance. However this notion, presented as given, can also be contentious. The existential assumption (which assumes what exists) is that there is such an international organisation,

Fairtrade, and the propositional assumption (which assumes what is the case) is that Fairtrade certifies goods that have been produced by fair and sustainable business and farming methods. The value assumption assumes that Fairtrade-certified goods are more desirable than those not certified by *Fairtrade*. *Fairtrade* is represented here in a particular way which is likely to shape the perceptions of the readers, and thus it serves to implement and advance a particular hegemony of business. This is so since implicit assumptions, through their shared commonality, can exert hegemony, thus developing into ideological tools (Fairclough, 2003). With regard to modality, there are no modals employed in this excerpt. This signals that the text, through strong, unmodalised assertions and the use of verbs in the present tense (*is, have, are*), demonstrates a strong commitment to the truth of this representation. What is of importance is that this assertion gains its power and legitimation from the fact that it is cited in a textbook, a seemingly trustworthy font of information (Hart, 2011).

From this introductory description in praise of Fairtrade, the text moves from the general to a specific intervention by this international organisation.

Fairtrade empowers coffee producers in Tanzania

The Kagera region of north-west Tanzania is a remote and isolated location ---, In recent decades, the people there have had their share of adversity.

In the 1980s, a well-intentioned project to increase fish stocks in Lake Victoria ruined the lake's delicate ecological balance and led to insect plagues, which had serious consequences for agriculture in the region. Since then, over a quarter of the population has contracted HIV. In 1995, the ferry from Kagera, the region's main lifeline to the outside world, capsized, killing over 500 people. And in the ensuing years, world market prices for coffee, Kagera's only cash crop, plunged to record lows, reducing farmers' income to less than a dollar a day.

It is in this difficult environment that the Kagera Co-operative Union (KCU) operates. Founded in the 1930s, it currently comprises some 90 000 small-scale coffee farmers --. In total, there are upwards of 130 000 small-holder coffee farmers in the region. Most of those who are not members of KCU are affiliated to the Karagwe District Co-operative Union in Kagera, which is also Fairtrade certified --- which must feed a family of six and generate sufficient cash income, through the sales of coffee, to pay for school fees, clothing, healthcare and all the daily necessities. Early on, it became

obvious that the best way to increase farmers' share of the coffee's value was for the Union to start doing its own exporting, which is why in the first years the extra income generated through Fairtrade was used to set up and equip an export office.

(Source: Fairtrade Foundation. (February 2005). Available from: http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/producers/coffee/a_better_life_at_the_source_of_the_nil_e.aspx (Accessed: February 2012).)

- 3) *Classroom discussion: Can you think of any Fairtrade goods that you have seen in your local supermarket? If you look in the tea, coffee and chocolate sections you should be able to find some.*
- 4) *List five ways in which Fairtrade helps to overcome the negative aspects of international trade for less developed countries.*

Moving from the positive affirmation of the international organisation, the text now details a specific successful intervention by Fairtrade. The first paragraph sets out the problem in the sentence *In recent decades, the people there have had their share of adversity*, thus foregrounding and emphasising the predicament that the people of Kagera were in. An insinuation also arises in that the text appears to normalise the notion that it is fine for the people to have adversity, as it does not state 'the people have had MORE than their fair share of adversity'. This further reinforces the impression of a poor community, lacking the necessities for an adequate existence. In the second paragraph the use of a nominalisation replaces a possible verb phrase (a project intended to increase fish stocks) with a noun-like construct (*a well-intentioned project to increase fish stocks*). This representation not only suppresses the agent responsible for this action but also hides those affected by this disaster. This serves to channel the reader's attention (Machin & Mayr, 2012) towards recognition of the problems faced by the people, and to create an awareness of the seemingly successful intervention of Fairtrade in the region.

Also observed in the first three paragraphs is a predominance of words regarded as hedges, or terms or phrases used to tone down the effect of what is being said (Machin & Mayr, 2012). This signals a difference between the portrayal of the description of the international organisation Fairtrade and its objectives in the first excerpt, in comparison to the portrayal of the *small-scale coffee farmers* in Tanzania. The first excerpt is characterised by a higher modality through the use of present-tense assertions, unlike the second excerpt with its

abundant instances of hedging terms and phrases (*over a quarter, over 500 people, less than a dollar a day, some 90 000 small-scale coffee farmers, upwards of 130 000 small-holder coffee farmers*). These aggregations add a sense of vagueness even though the text (with the inclusion of dates and figures) gives the impression of providing a factual account. These hedges contribute to the text's strategic concealment of the lack of precise and concrete evidence.

However, in the last paragraph the text reverts to a tone of strong commitment, signalled by unambiguous assertions without the components of grammar that facilitated the vagueness created in the first part of the extract. What this does is to imply a connotation of deficiency when describing *their share of adversity* and difficult *challenges* of the small-scale coffee farmers in Tanzania juxtaposed against the sagacious international organisation Fairtrade.

Continuing with the connotation of the deficiency of the small-scale farmers, there is also evidence of an existential assumption in the fourth paragraph that all small-scale farmers in Kagera are *a family of six*. Because this phrase is included with the challenges that the farmers face, it triggers a value assumption that this may be an undesirable state of affairs. Furthermore, an implicit disparagement is created with the lexical register in the main clause *Early on, it became obvious that the best way to increase farmers' share of the coffee's value was for the Union to start doing its own exporting*. The insinuation is that the farmers themselves had failed to realise the *obvious* benefits of exporting, in contrast to Fairtrade who was able to promptly identify a solution to the farmers' challenges of *sufficient cash income, --- clothing, healthcare and all the daily necessities*. Also of significance is that the subordinate clause beginning with the relative pronoun 'which' appears to be strategically embedded in the second part of the sentence, *which is why in the first years the extra income generated through Fairtrade was used to set up and equip an export office*. This serves to background the startling fact that Fairtrade used the extra income in the first years not to benefit the small-scale farmers in increasing their *share of the coffee's value*, but to set up an export office.

Cementing the affirmation of Fairtrade is the requirement in the second item for classroom discussion: *List five ways in which Fairtrade helps to overcome the negative aspects of international trade for less developed countries*. The lexical register of positive connotation terms affirms the taken-for-granted notion of Fairtrade in the role of helper, saviour and protector. What is also taken for granted is the existential assumption in the first item for discussion that Fairtrade goods should be seen *in the tea, coffee and chocolate sections* of local

supermarkets. This romanticised portrayal of an international organisation providing access to international trade, as opposed to the deficient small-scale farmer in a developing country, is likely to become an embedded and common-sense notion which is unlikely to be questioned because it appears in a textbook and is thus in danger of becoming legitimate.

5.4 Biased representations of images denoting outward- and inward-looking economic policies

The diagram which accompanies the text on protectionism in textbook D is on page 103, and highlights the protectionist measures implemented by governments:

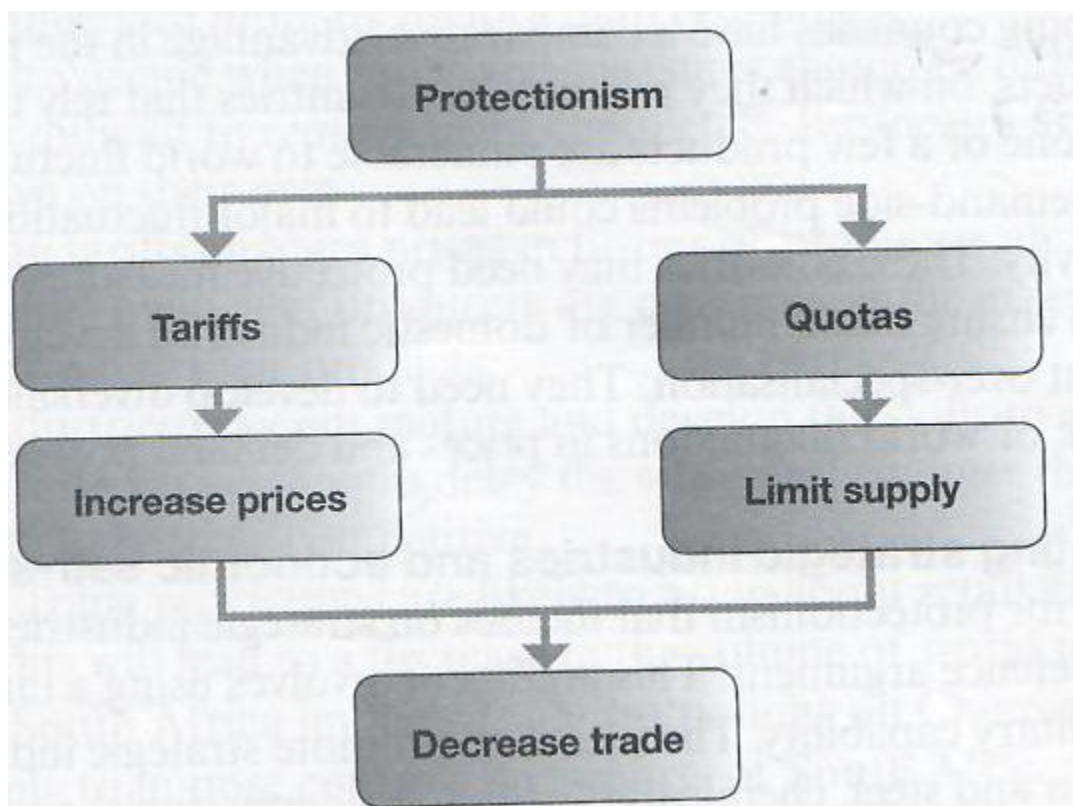


Figure 5.2 *The type of protectionist measures that governments undertake to guard against the effects of free trade.*

According to Machin and Mayr (2012) images can contribute to the meanings conveyed by the accompanying text. In this instance the flow diagram foregrounds the protectionist measures which result in decreased trade. Use of this diagram is an embellishment to draw the attention

of the reader to the protectionist measures, which are all negative value connotations. Therefore this image contributes to the meaning presented in the text, which appears to portray a negatively biased representation of protectionism.

In textbook D the use of illustrations to depict the policies of export promotion, protectionism and free trade also signals the text's bias towards one policy. The illustration alongside the subtitle of export promotion on page 95 is of an aeroplane in an airborne (take-off) mode. Machin and Mayr (2012) elucidate that although an image may depict a concrete process or event, often this is not its main objective, as it may use the concrete event to connote an associated abstract notion. In this case this image of an airborne aeroplane connotes a visual stereotype of upward progress. On the other hand, the image alongside the subtitle of protectionism on page 103 is one of the planet Earth in chains. Comparing the two images, it can be seen that export promotion is symbolised in a positive way unlike the image depicting protectionism which symbolises an imprisoned planet. Thus the choice of images is a significant visual marker of the intention of the text to legitimise a particular view of globalisation, and readers are manipulated to view globalisation as progress, freedom and limitless upward mobility, whilst viewing protectionism as leading to imprisonment and limitations.



Figure 5.3 *Export promotion* (p. 95). **Figure 5.4** *Protectionism (the arguments)* (p. 102).

Also of significance is the photograph alongside the description of export promotion on page 96 of textbook D, of workers working in an avocado packaging plant. The foregrounded central figure in this image is of a Black woman beaming widely, a representation that seems to exaggerate the happiness that the worker is experiencing. The individuality of the woman is overshadowed by the message that export promotion in achieving economic growth results in improvement of the country's well-being. The image of the smiling woman does not serve to illustrate the woman at work, but seems to symbolise the result of an export-led economy. The

ideology characterised here is that the interests of business are seen as acceptable, while obscuring the role that business plays in the inequality in society.



Figure 5.5 *Export promotion enlarges production capacity: there is a growing demand for South African avocados overseas.*

It is also of import to consider what is being signalled here, that is, the entrenching of a stereotypical gender role of a woman in a menial position. In actual fact this serves to expose the reality that increased economic growth is not the only factor that contributes to the well-being of all the citizens of a country; so does, for example, a decent basic education that leads to better job prospects. As Nussbaum (2011) reveals, usually the main beneficiaries of the wealth created by exports are the more advantaged in society. Also of great significance is that in this chapter that describes export promotion, free trade, import substitution and protectionism, this is the only image foregrounding workers as beneficiaries of an economic policy. The exclusion of images depicting happy workers for the economic policies of import substitution and protectionism entrenches the text's bias that international trade is more beneficial to the country's well-being than the other policies. These visual images therefore seem to have been selected to convey a particular meaning, and bolster the ideology of globalisation as the legitimate economic system, once again seeming to background and marginalise the cogency of economic policies other than those involving free trade and globalisation.

In textbook C on page 91 the text describing free trade and protectionism is accompanied by a single illustration foregrounding the policy of free trade.



Figure 5.6 *Illustration used to foreground the policy of free trade.*

The deliberate choice of an image to focus on one policy, free trade, reinforces the message which the writers deem significant. The absence of illustrative clarification of protectionism serves to reveal the hidden subtext: free trade is more beneficial than restrictive trade policies. Machin and Mayr (2012) explain that there are ways that elements can be depicted to draw attention, to foreground or to give salience. One element seen in this illustration is the large font size used as the label. This is done to emphasise the importance of free trade. Another element is the potent symbols used to depict free trade, a loaf of bread and money. These visual cultural symbols contribute to the hegemony of the message: free trade is the ‘bread’ of life, as it were. The appearance of the illustration in the form of a signpost is significant, as a signpost usually serves as a clue or bearing to show the way to a destination and connotes movement. With this ideological slant, there is little doubt that readers are being influenced towards a particular mental model: that free trade is the direction to move towards for economic benefits.

The chapter on economic systems of protection and free trade (globalisation) in textbook B is accompanied by three images. The first image appears alongside export promotion on page 95:



South African diplomats regularly travel overseas to promote trade relations.

Figure 5.7 *First image in the chapter on economic systems of protection and free trade (globalisation) in textbook B.*

The image shows a group of people facing front, smiling warmly down at two men in the foreground with pens in their hands, indicating that they have signed or are going to sign an agreement to promote trade relations. The inclusion of happy people from different ethnic, gender and age groups portrays a positive image. They are also pictured as being at ease in the company of others, in a close-knit and relaxed group symbolising a sense of togetherness and inclusivity resulting from an export-led economy. This is in direct contrast to the second and third images. The second image on page 99 of textbook B appears alongside the description of import substitution. The image shows a customs and excise uniformed officer from the South African Revenue Service (SARS), who is responsible for controlling the flow of imported goods into the country. The image of the serious-faced officer looking away from the viewer connotes a sense of detachment, separation and exclusion from others.



Figure 5.8 *The custom and excise department of SARS is responsible for controlling the flow of imported goods into the country.*



Figure 5.9 *Many Chinese imports are produced at low cost thanks to government subsidies and low-wage, labour-intensive production processes.*

The third image is on page 101 of the same textbook (B) and appears under the arguments for protectionism. Two Chinese men are in the foreground of this picture of a single ethnic group of unsmiling men and women. Although there are many people in this picture, each one is depicted as working separately from the others, all intent on their individual tasks. The side-on view (Machin & Mayr, 2012) as opposed to the frontal view of the first image represents a disengagement from the viewer, giving an impression that this is part of the inward-looking policy of protectionism. This portrayal of a seemingly drab, monotonous occupation signals a

sense of exclusion and unease. Also of import is the inclusion under this image of the fact that this is a low-wage and labour-intensive process. The assumption is that protectionist policies result in this undesirable outcome. Thus the writers of this textbook implicitly nudge the reader towards the ideological assumption that export promotion (an outward-looking economic policy, and thus by implication not import substitution nor protectionism (inward-looking economic policies)), is the more desirable economic policy.

5.5 Conclusion

Through the various multimodal strategies of modality, register, assumptions, foregrounding and backgrounding, embellishments and over-lexicalisations, nominalisations, connotations and insinuations, the textbooks entrench and bolster the ideology of outward-looking economic policies. These policies are presented as legitimate economic systems, with the textbooks again seeming to background and marginalise the cogency of economic policies other than those involving free trade and globalisation. None of the textbooks attempt to raise issues of concern regarding the negative impacts of international trade on the poor and marginalised people of the affected countries. That which is omitted and excluded signals an ideological silence, as the bias towards international trade is presented as a given which is then transmitted to the textbook users.

This chapter focused on the discourse of ideoscapes. The next chapter focuses on the discourses of mediascapes and technoscapes, which ends the section on data analysis in this study.

CHAPTER SIX: DATA ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSES OF MEDIASCAPES AND TECHNOSCAPES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is a continuation of the description of the findings of my analysis of the four selected textbooks. In the previous chapter I presented the data on the discourse of ideoscapes, which was directed towards the ideas and practices of governments and institutions, namely the political arena. This chapter focuses on two discourses, that of mediascapes (images and ideas; the cultural arena) and that of technoscapes (technology and technological flows). Both of these discourses are also presented in the thematic categorisation of the romanticising of outward-looking economic policies and the portrayal of inward-looking economic policies as deficient. A summary of the findings of the three chapters of data analysis is given at the end of this chapter.

6.2 Discourse 4: Mediascapes

6.2.1 Introduction

The discourse of mediascapes (Appadurai, 1990, 1996) was identified with particular words and their synonyms which suggested that these words categorised the cultural arena, words and phrases associated with images, ideas and the cultural domain. These words were, for example, *culture*, *cultural homogeneity*, *cultural diversity*, *traditional ways of living*, *rural cultures* and *cultural identity*. I also include the terms and phrases *consumers*, *freedom of choice*, *access to more goods* and *greater variety*, this inclusion prompted because the consumption patterns of consumers manifest as a culture of having a storehouse of goods (Bauman, 2011a). In this discourse the sub-themes of the romanticising of the outward-looking economic policies and the flawed representation of the inward-looking economic policies occasionally overlapped and therefore are not seen as mutually exclusive.

6.2.2 Romanticising of outward-looking economic policies

Textbook D was the only textbook of the four which made reference to the impact of globalisation on cultural identity. In the first instance the positive impact of globalisation is

elaborated on. This excerpt is taken from pages 107 and 108 in the chapter on trade policies of protectionism and free trade (globalisation):

4.2.4 Globalisation

Free trade leads to greater world production (output) in traded goods because markets grow. Free traders argue that countries will be less likely to fight with one another because trading provides mutual benefits. It encourages countries to seek and achieve peace through cooperation. These relationships promote cultural diversity because goods and services from various parts of the world are able to reach people with different backgrounds.

The positive register of *greater world production, mutual benefits, encourages countries, peace and cooperation* propagates highly desirable attributes. This together with the high-commitment auxiliary modal *will* and assertions in the present tense (*promote cultural diversity, are able to reach people*) strongly predict that free trade will result in the achievement of peace and little likelihood of fights between countries. There is also evidence of the linguistic strategy of nominalisation which portrays a process as a personified entity. This is seen in the transformation of the verb process *trading* (in the second sentence) into the noun construct in the third sentence *It encourages countries to seek and achieve peace through cooperation*. The use of this strategy facilitates the removal of agency and responsibility and thus glosses over exactly how peace is encouraged through cooperation. The text uses this strategy to generalise and romanticise the economic policy of free trade.

However, in an excerpt from the same page (textbook D. p. 108) but in the section outlining the arguments against free trade, the text presents the negative impact of free trade on cultural diversity:

4.3 Arguments against free trade

4.3.4 Undermining cultural diversity

Some argue that free trade undermines cultural diversity, that it encourages cultural homogeneity, and that it can make economies dependent on others --- Free trade erodes traditional ways of living and rural cultures.

The loss of rural employment and migration from the rural areas to the cities causes a fundamental and irreversible shift. Throughout history, all major cultures have evolved

through 'cross-breeding' with external influences. Every culture evolves and free trade supports cultural exchange, as cultural products can be traded freely --- However, exposure to foreign cultures can inevitably undermine one's own cultural identity.

The use of the determiner *some* alludes to an unknown and unspecified small number of opponents, which weakens this argument at the outset of this subsection. According to Machin and Mayr (2012) this is an example of a hedge which can mitigate an argument because of the glossing over of tangible evidence. This usage is significant as no determiners (for example, *some*) were included (*Free trade leads ---*) in the reference to the role of free trade in promoting cultural diversity. Through this linguistic selection the text projects the message that there are very few people who see free trade as undermining cultural diversity. Further weakening this argument is the text's inclusion of terms *evolved*, *supports* and *cultural products can be traded freely*. This evokes a positive register where the text appears to deceive readers by affecting an ambivalent register (*free trade supports cultural exchange, as cultural products can be traded freely*), contradicting the intended argument (*undermining cultural diversity*). This ambivalence is reinforced by the use of the lexical choice of adjective (*irreversible*) and an adverb of manner, *inevitably*, to insinuate that the undermining of *one's own cultural identity* is a sweeping change which cannot be challenged or changed.

Although textbook C does not refer to the impact that free trade has on cultural identity, it does allude to improved relations between countries (page 113):

Improved international relations. *Better foreign relations are usually an unintended result of free trade. Developing nations are often subject to international threats of, for instance, tariffs, quotas, quality standards, and credit restrictions. Developing strategic free trade relations with more powerful countries can help ensure a developing nation has additional protection from international threats.* (textual emphasis)

The subtitle contains a nominalisation (***Improved international relations***) where a noun construction replaces a verb process (international relations are improved) and thus an obscurity is created as to exactly who is responsible for this outcome. With the conversion of an action (to improve) to a noun (***Improved international relations***) the details of the action are simplified and compressed. This simplification thus appears more likely to be feasible and sensible to the readers (Machin & Mayr, 2012). An ambiguity is created within the first two sentences with both sentences using the present-tense verb *are* but then immediately followed by adverbial hedges: *Better foreign relations are usually ---* and *Developing nations are often*

---. The inclusion of these hedges forms an impression that even though the text uses this as an argument to bolster the advantages of free trade, it wishes to avoid a direct commitment that *better foreign relations* will result. With this ambiguity the text appears to strategically background the unpleasant effect of free trade, which is that *Developing nations are often subject to international threats*. This aspect of free trade is a major disadvantage and it is therefore significant that the text backgrounds this. Of significance too is the lexical register of terms in *an unintended result of free trade*, which gives rise to an insinuation that the objective of free trade is not to improve international relations but instead it is a profit-seeking practice to benefit the *more powerful countries*. Moreover, the comparative adjective ‘more’ in the phrase *more powerful countries* unwittingly reveals the reality of the chasm between developing countries and the powerful developed countries.

Textbook D introduces the concept of freedom of choice of consumers in this paragraph on page 107 which is part of the section which puts forward arguments in favour of free trade:

4.2.1 Freedom of choice

Free trade gives consumers the choice to buy anywhere in the world. They are not limited to buying locally produced goods. Free trade leads to a global market and consumers benefit from the competition and variety brought to the market. When other countries produce some items cheaper, the consumer purchases products for less.

Illustrated in this paragraph are implicit existential, propositional and value assumptions (Fairclough, 2003). The existential assumption assumes that *Free trade gives consumers the choice to buy anywhere in the world*; the propositional assumption assumes that the consumer will, because of free trade, purchase products at a cheaper price, and the value assumption is in the presumption of the desirable *benefit from the competition and variety brought to the market*. The use of these assumptions can manipulate the reader into believing that this is common knowledge and true although no factual proof is given. As Harvey (2007) emphasises, assumptions become dominant when they are regarded as beyond question common-sense and taken for granted notions.

Textbook D also elaborates on effective competition and efficiency as an effect of international trade and the benefits of this for consumers on page 72:

Free trade between countries increases competition. It fuels efficiency, because it eliminates extra costs and wastage. This results in lower prices. Consumers have access

to more goods and services produced in other countries, and they have a greater variety from which to choose. Producers are able to increase production and employ more domestic factors of production, which means a higher standard of living.

In this excerpt assumptions are employed to persuade the reader about the notion that free trade results in *efficiency* through increased *competition*, leading to *lower prices* and greater choice, thus bringing about *a higher standard of living*.

Both this extract and the example from page 79 of textbook C make use of personification to bestow upon *competition* a sense that it is a living and dynamic entity. The human-like quality is evoked through the use of the phrases *it demands*, *it fuels* and *it eliminates*. This can have the same effect as the use of nominalisation, as it obscures and conceals the agents which are actually responsible for the competition. It serves as an effective tool to cause readers to view competition and efficiency as highly valued concepts.

In textbook C the writers present the choice of consumers in conjunction with increased welfare on page 113 under the arguments for free trade:

Choices/increased welfare. Trade gives consumers the choice of what to buy from the whole world and not just from what is produced domestically. Consumer welfare is thus increased because some consumers will prefer to buy foreign goods rather than domestic goods.

Evident here are the implied existential (there is such a concept as trade), propositional (free trade gives consumers a choice, only free trade allows this choice) and value (welfare of consumers is increased, preference of consumers for foreign goods) assumptions. Arising from these assumptions is the converse insinuation that the welfare of consumers is decreased if they buy domestically produced goods. The all-encompassing phrase *consumer welfare* glosses over the reality that the quality of the mental, physical, social and moral welfare of the consumer can be negatively impacted by this constant hunt for new and better goods (Bauman, 2011a). The inclusion of the verb in the present tense (*is*) and the high-level auxiliary modal (*will*) express the certainty of the writers that increased consumer welfare is dependent on the preference for foreign goods. Textbook B refers to the preferences and tastes of consumers on page 93 in the introduction of the chapter discussing the economic systems of protection and free trade (globalisation):

In chapter 4 you were introduced to international trade. Modern economies cannot exist self-sufficiently anymore. Consumer tastes and preferences have become so advanced that few countries possess all the factors of production needed to provide for the wide range of goods and services demanded locally. As the race to increase economic growth and wealth increases between countries, so governments are increasingly trying to promote their domestic businesses overseas.

Here too assumptions are used to portray the consumption patterns of consumers as a natural and common-sense notion: an existential assumption assumes that *Modern economies cannot exist self-sufficiently anymore*; the propositional assumption assumes that *Consumer tastes and preferences have become so advanced*; and the value assumption implies that *the wide range of goods and services demanded locally* is seen as a desirable advancement. The fact that the textbook then includes the metaphorical *race to increase economic growth and wealth increases between countries* appears to legitimise the notion that competition is an acceptable and desirable quality.

6.2.3 Portrayal of inward-looking economic policies as deficient

Textbook B makes reference to consumers in the section on arguments against protectionism on page 103:

Disadvantages to consumers

Customers want to have access to a large variety of goods at cheap prices. It is not uppermost in a consumer's mind where the products originate from. Therefore, having to pay more for imported goods due to tariffs is disadvantageous to domestic consumers. (textual emphasis)

This paragraph makes use of assumptions to convey the information that consumers are disadvantaged when the policy of protectionism is implemented. There are two existential assumptions: one that *Customers want to have access to a large variety of goods at cheap prices* and the other that customers are not concerned about *where the products originate from*. The propositional assumption is created by the statement that consumers have to *pay more for imported goods* because of tariffs put into place to protect domestic businesses. A value assumption is triggered with the negative value term *disadvantageous* assuming that domestic consumers are disadvantaged because of the undesirable effect of tariffs on imported goods.

Finally, the text makes an implicit value assumption that imported goods are more attractive to consumers irrespective of where they originate from. By using these assumptions the text contributes to the legitimation that buying *a large variety of goods* is desirable and hence that buying fewer goods is not advantageous. The lexical choice of the phrase *Customers want* and not 'need' implies that this is not an essential need and therefore may be unnecessary.

This also reinforces the impression that having a large number of goods is of significant social importance. Consequently, this can become a common-sense notion and be seen as unquestionable because it appears in a textbook, even though none of the statements in the paragraph has any supporting factual evidence. Fairclough (2003) avers that because of this manner of operation, assumptions are important tools in the transmission of ideologies.

In all of these excerpts learners are unlikely to question what is known to be common knowledge arising from these assumptions, and hence this is a significant tool in the transmission of a particular ideology. In addition, there is encouragement of the culture of consumption, as the ability to buy goods of an international standard is made to seem desirable. A third concern raised from this portrayal of desirable consumption is the omission of facts on the impact of unfettered consumption on the planet's limited and finite resources.

6.2.4 Biased representations of images denoting outward- and inward-looking economic policies

Textbook A concludes the section on export promotion in the chapter discussing economic systems with a classroom assessment activity based on a cartoon. I have included this activity under mediascapes because of its focus on four Asian countries, referring to materialism and the domestic consumption and purchase of consumer goods. This activity is found on page 135 of textbook A:

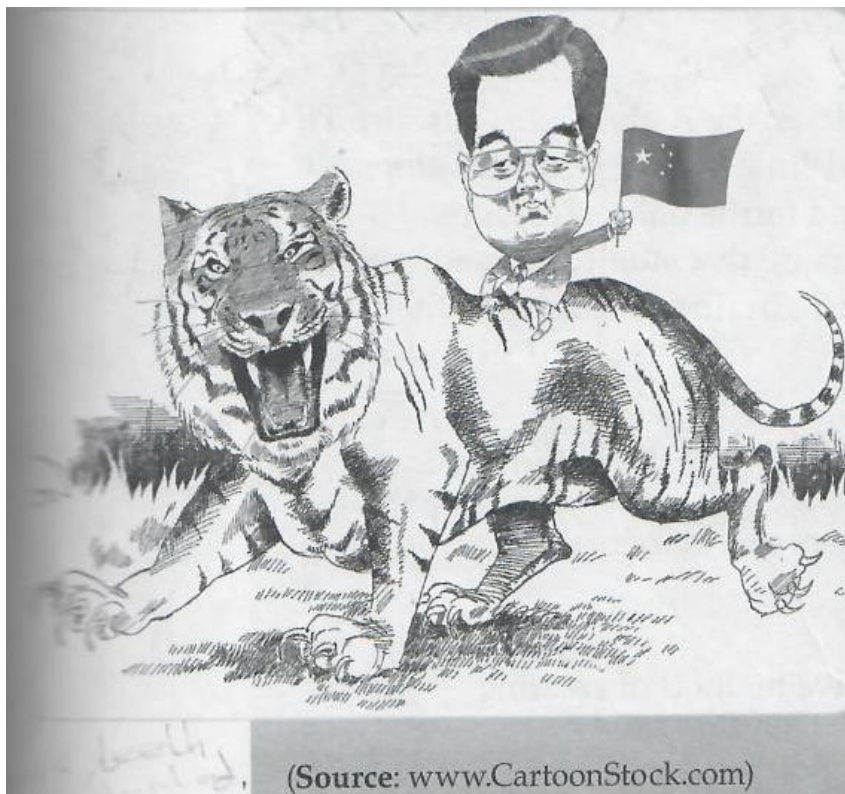


Figure 6.1 Read the information on the Asian Tigers and answer the questions that follow:

An obvious misrepresentation in the cartoon is that of the Chinese flag – China is not one of the countries named in this extract on the Asian Tigers, unless the text wishes to represent Hong Kong as a state of China. However, Hong Kong became part of the Chinese empire only in 1997, and this reference to Asian Tigers overtly states that the *term started being commonly used in the 1970s*. The figure depicted on the tiger also bears a distinct resemblance to the Chinese ruler and not to any of the other leaders from South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong or Singapore. This image denotes a tiger in its seemingly natural habitat; however, what is unnatural is the depiction of the man holding out the flag of China and seated on the tiger. This is an unlikely scenario, given the nature of a tiger. The text uses these concrete signifiers to

connote particular ideas (Barthes, 1973, 1977) about the successful implementation of export promotion by the four Asian countries. The tiger with its mouth agape, exaggerated unsheathed claws and vicious-looking teeth is the central figure. The tiger is foregrounded and portrayed as active, mobile and in control. This is in contrast to the backgrounded man, who appears to be a passive participant because he is depicted as having no means of control over the tiger. That the countries implementing export promotion and, by default, global trade are likened to the tiger is symbolic. A tiger is a carnivore, a ferocious, opportunistic, brave and predatory animal positioned at the top of the food chain. Therefore this particular choice of animal is indicative of the predatory, opportunistic and unchecked nature of free trade and globalisation, bringing to mind Giddens' (1990) ominous portrayal of globalisation as an uncontrolled juggernaut moving recklessly with unpredictable consequences. Accompanying the cartoon is the description of the Asian Tigers as examples of countries implementing export promotion:

The economic model of the Asian Tigers

The term 'the Four Asian Tigers' refers to the countries South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. The term started being commonly used in the 1970s because these countries all followed a similar path to economic development and went on to reach the fully developed status at the start of the twenty-first century. The Asian Tigers were relatively poor during the 1960s but they had an abundance of cheap labour.

The use of modal adverbs (*commonly, fully, relatively*) and modal adjective (*similar*) creates the impression of a detailed and factually precise article, but actually reveals that these terms are used to conceal the absence of concrete data. The hedges allow the text to appear persuasive and authoritative (Machin & Mayr, 2012), but this is not supported by factual evidence. In addition, the broad time periods used (*1970s, 1960s*) adds further vagueness. The second and third paragraphs then state:

They decided to take advantage of the materialism of Europe and North America and developed an export-driven model of industrialisation. This was achieved by rapidly increasing the production of goods that could be exported to the highly industrialised nations of the world.

In the early years, all four countries had non-democratic and fairly authoritarian political systems so their governments could easily drive through strategies for economic development. They were able to focus their development drives on exports to

the richer industrialised nations rather than focusing on import substitution. This meant that they could build up trade surpluses with the industrialised nations.

The employment of a lexical register of terms suggestive of rapid movement and advancement (*developed, achieved, increasing, drive, build*) projects a positive slant to this example of export promotion. There appears to be an over-lexicalisation of these terms that connote a rapid movement, a rapid economic renewal, a rapid transformation and a rapid development. Thus the text constructs an impression that it seeks to overly persuade readers of the success of this *economic model of the Asian Tigers*. Machin and Mayr (2012) point out that over-lexicalisation is indicative of a problematic and contentious ideology which a text seeks to gloss over. The lexical choice in the first sentence (*They decided to take advantage of the materialism of Europe and North America*) reveals a sinister aspect. In their desire for economic development and growth, the four countries are portrayed as opportunistic, cunning, predatory and unscrupulous, thus supporting the appropriate label of *Asian Tigers*. In this particular lexical selection an implicit message is created: vulnerable areas need to be targeted in the pursuit of economic growth. Moreover, taking advantage of vulnerability is presented as natural and acceptable.

In the next sentence the phrases *rapidly increasing the production of goods* and *could build up trade surpluses* omit a serious flipside. While the increased production results in the desirable *double-digit rates of growth*, there is silence on the stark reality that this increased production leads to over-production and wastage and environmental degradation (Chun, 2009; Fioramonti, 2017; Lawrence et al., 2012) which is not beneficial to people or the environment. The deliberate suppression of these negative consequences reveals the biased representation of this problematic and contentious *economic model of the Asian Tigers*.

The third sentence contains the phrase *all four countries had non-democratic and fairly authoritarian political systems*. While there is an acknowledgement of the non-democratic political regimes in the four countries and that dictatorial governments can more *easily drive through strategies for economic development*, the text does not include a single statement which shows disapproval and condemnation of such non-democratic practices. In the next paragraph the nexus between education and the productivity of the labour force is explored:

The Asian Tigers ensured that all children attended primary school as a way of improving the productivity of the labour force. They invested heavily in the development of university education as well as sending students to foreign universities.

The primary focus of education in this context is envisaged as a means to an end, the end being a productive labour force. Of interest too is that in this excerpt extolling the benefits of export promotion, it is not only children who are seen as components and cogs in the machine of economic growth; the consumptive behaviour of adults too was regulated and controlled by the governments of these countries, as seen in the subsequent paragraph:

The domestic consumption and purchase of consumer goods was discouraged by placing high tariffs on imports. This led to the encouragement of high saving rates, which meant that there could be investment in specific areas of industry.

As mentioned earlier in this activity, the countries had non-democratic political systems, so a value assumption is inferred that it was easier for measures to be put into place to discourage the *consumption and purchase of consumer goods*. This reinforces the impression that regulatory behaviour is necessary for the achievement of economic growth. The uncritical portrayal of this practice can then become a common-sense and taken for granted notion, thereby becoming an ideological tool (Harvey, 2007). Pupils are unlikely to question this notion as it appears in an authoritative source – the textbook.

The use of nominalisation in the first sentence (*domestic consumption*), where the verb process (to consume) has been replaced by the noun (*consumption*), serves a two-fold purpose here. Firstly, it obscures agency as to who was responsible for this practice and also omits causality. Secondly, it simplifies a complex process by omitting all mention of actual participants, which creates a dehumanising effect. Fairclough (2003, p. 11) asserts that the use of nominalisation results in “a widespread elision of human agency in and responsibility for processes in accounts of the new global economy”. Adding to this dehumanising effect is the lexical choice of the antonyms *discouraged* and *encouragement*, insinuating that these countries have used the regulatory measures of sticks and carrots of coercion and persuasion to achieve the desired economic model. In addition, no precise details are given as to the manner of encouragement, thus creating a sense that the text has employed this resource as a means of generalising this rather vague description of *domestic consumption and purchase of consumer goods*. The text then progresses to the role of trade unions and labour:

Trade unions were discouraged and governments encouraged managers to provide job security and other benefits.

Production was centred around labour-intensive technologies with low per-unit labour costs, which allowed them to sell at very competitive rates in the developed nations.

The over-lexicalisation and excessive use of the two terms *discouraged* and *encouraged* signals a problematic issue (Machin & Mayr, 2012), and is evidence that the issue of trade unions is ideologically contentious. Of significance is the insinuation that trade unions are a threat to economic growth, and that the economy prospers in their absence. Here too the manner of presentation normalises the undemocratic practices of these countries. The presence of trade unions would also prohibit the practice of *low per-unit labour costs* with its negative consequences for the labourers. Also of note is the use of the nominalised *production*, the conversion of a process into a noun-like entity (*production* instead of to produce) which excludes the participants involved in the economic system of export production. This serves to background those who are negatively affected as well as removing the human element in this process. Fairclough (2003) emphasises that the representation of social participants is a specific choice on the part of the text, and in this paragraph the text makes a deliberate choice to exclude the workforce involved in the process. The glibly stated *labour-intensive technologies* and *low per-unit costs* excludes the reality of the impact of low wages on the workforce employed for the highly desirable *competitive rates*. The last paragraph begins with this sentence:

As a result of their export promotion policies, the Asian Tigers sustained double-digit rates of growth for decades.

This topicalisation in this paragraph acts to overtly remind readers that export promotion *helps to create economic growth* (p. 134 of textbook A). Thus it can be concluded that throughout this excerpt the resounding message is that *taking advantage* of consumerism and *materialism*, *improving the productivity of the labour force*, *competitive rates* and *double-digit rates of economic growth* are the best ways to move from being *relatively poor* to achieving the desirable *fully developed status*.

The following analysis is included in this section in order to highlight the difference between the portrayal of the assessment activity of export promotion (The Asian Tigers) and the classroom activity assessing the section on import substitution in the same text. The classroom activity is a case study on page 141 (textbook (A):

CASE STUDY

Joe Mongani owns a thriving spaza store. One day a friend visited him and suggested that he not only join the Proudly South African campaign, but that he give preference to stocking goods that are locally produced and carry the Proudly South African logo.

He has asked you to prepare a report for him, outlining the aims of the Proudly South African campaign and its role in import substitution.



Figure 6.2 *Import substitution.*

A comparison of the ways that meaning is communicated through seemingly neutral linguistic and visual strategies in textual activities on export promotion and import substitution reveals an ideological bias. Frequent references will be made to analysis of the assessment activity on the Asian Tigers as representative of a successful export promotion model to show the contrast in representations. The text's choice of specific linguistic and visual strategies appears to promote a particular representation of economic policies. Unlike the sizeable activity of eight paragraphs on the Asian Tigers as a successful model of export promotion, this assessment activity consists of only two paragraphs. Also dissimilar to the article on Asian Tigers, where the experience of four countries was detailed, the photograph accompanying this article depicts an individual as sole proprietor. Joe Mongani is informally dressed, positioned in close shot and, because of his full gaze directed at the reader, it appears as if he is engaging with the viewer (Machin & May, 2012).

These are significant semiotic choices (Machin & Mayr, 2012), as he appears to be approachable, and this also serves to draw the reader closer to his experience of needing advice. By including this request (*He has asked you to prepare a report for him*), the text represents Joe Mongani as dependant on others for help. By making use of this lexical choice the text

therefore insinuates that import substitution is not an effective economic strategy. This is in total contrast to the Asian Tigers, who are depicted as being in control of their economic strategies and responsible for their economic destiny (*they decided to take advantage, they were able to focus, they could build up trade surpluses, they invested heavily*). An insinuation is also created that the strategy of import substitution is effective for small *spaza* businesses, unlike the experience of the Asian Tigers. In addition, *spaza stores* do not manufacture goods; this is a unique South African phrase describing an informal convenience store customarily managed from homes and selling simple household goods, further reinforcing the contrast between the two strategies.

Another difference lies in the fact that the activity on export promotion emphasises that the four Asian countries were relatively poor, but with adoption of the strategy of export promotion they achieved double-digit economic growth rates. This activity foregrounds the fact that *Joe Mongani owns a thriving spaza shop*, so there is an insinuation that his business is already successful without adoption of the strategy of import substitution. Therefore an ambiguity is created within this section: why does he need to adopt a strategy of import substitution if this is already a thriving business? With regard to modality, a greater degree of factuality and precision in the first activity of export promotion is implied with the use of actual dates and names of places (*South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, 1970s*), whereas this example of import substitution contains no date or location, thus creating a sense of vagueness and anonymity. This signals to the analyst that the text is portraying a degree of caution and lack of commitment (Fairclough, 2003) to this economic strategy. Finally, with the request for advice from learners the sense of vagueness crystallises into the realisation that this may not be a real-life scenario, unlike the assessment activity on the Asian Tigers.

6.2.5 Conclusion

Through the linguistic representations and pictorial images the textbooks appear to reinforce and legitimise the discourse of mediascapes, with a particular bias towards the outward-looking economic policies. This was accomplished through the various multimodal strategies of modality, nominalisations, register, assumptions, topicalisation, over-lexicalisations, connotations and insinuations. Once again the deliberate suppression of the negative consequences of outward-looking economic policies reveals the biased representation in these selected textbooks.

6.3 Discourse 5: Technoscapes

6.3.1 Introduction

Technoscapes was identified as a discourse of globalisation by Appadurai (1990, 1996) to describe the role of technology and technological flows in facilitation of the process of globalisation. In this study sample the words and phrases denoting this process were technology, technology products, satellite equipment, computer [software], knowledge and hardware. Here too the sub-themes of the romanticising of the outward-looking economic policies and the flawed representation of the inward-looking economic policies were found to sometimes overlap and are therefore seen as not mutually exclusive.

6.3.2 Romanticising of outward-looking economic policies

Textbook D refers to technological advances in the section on the main reasons for international trade on page 68:

Some countries are technologically more advanced than others and are able to produce new and improved products at lower costs. Countries such as Sweden, Finland, Japan and the United States are world leaders in the production of specialised items such as computer chips, cellphones, digital cameras and computers. These countries build up a good reputation for producing these goods, which can lead to a demand for these specialised products from other countries.

The lexical selection of positive connotation terms (*more advanced, new, improved, world leaders, build up and good reputation*) portray technological advances resulting from international trade as a positive and desirable outcome. There also appears to be an over-lexicalisation of the positive connotation terms in this short paragraph, signalling a preoccupation with a particular depiction, which can be an ideological tool (Fairclough, 1989). Specific countries are identified as *world leaders* followed by the sentence beginning with *These countries build up a good reputation for producing these goods, which can lead to a demand for these specialised products from other countries*. Arising from this lexical selection is an insinuation that local specialised products are not as good as products from *These countries*, thus appearing to reinforce the bias towards international trade. In addition, there is

an omission of information about the development of indigenous technologies using scientific and technological skills and capabilities of local people (Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF), 2002). This absence of knowledge is significant and increases the chances of false inferences being drawn (Oswald & Hart, 2013) that local indigenous technologies are not as good as foreign goods.

On page 191 of textbook B, in the outlining of the positive aspects of globalisation for South Africa the following is stated:

Positive aspects for South Africa due to globalisation (text's emphasis)

The focus on knowledge has increased and thereby the demand for skilled and professional labour has increased. This has resulted in increased salaries for these workers.

Through the use of the verbs in the present tense (*has increased, has resulted*) the text displays a strong commitment to the categorical assertions that globalisation is responsible for the increased *focus on knowledge* and *increased salaries*. The statement also shows evidence of an existential assumption (that globalisation involves a *focus on knowledge*), two propositional assumptions (*demand for skilled and professional labour has increased; has resulted in increased salaries*) and a value assumption of the desirability of *increased employment and increased salaries*. Together these linguistic features of modality and assumptions strengthen the case put forward for globalisation, which can become accepted as a common-sense notion and is unlikely to be challenged by the readers. The obscuring of agency in the phrase *The focus on knowledge has increased* is significant, in that the identity of who or what focuses on knowledge is omitted, which in turn hides the reality that this increased knowledge and demand is seen from the perspective of and for the benefit of the market (Ar, 2015). What is also left unsaid is the impact and consequences of this *demand for skilled and professional labour* on the large numbers of unskilled workers in South Africa.

6.3.3 Portrayal of inward-looking strategies as deficient

The first sample analysed is taken from the section on the disadvantages of import substitution in textbook B on page 100. The first disadvantage listed is:

A policy of import substitution has the following disadvantages:

Emerging economies like South Africa cannot afford to reduce imports of certain goods. As we are a capital poor country with a lack of investment in capital machinery and equipment, we rely very much on the import of capital goods. This underinvestment reduces our ability to produce final consumer goods. It will take many years before the manufacturing sector is able to produce luxury final goods such as electronics, pharmaceuticals, machines and motors.

With the utilisation of assumptions, modality, register and over-lexicalisation the paragraph paints a certain picture of South Africa. The modality in this paragraph reveals the relationship which is set up between the text and representation of the disadvantages, which reveals the text's stance on this proposition (Fairclough, 2003). The use of high-level modals (*cannot, will, are*) makes a strong commitment to the assertion that South Africa will be disadvantaged by import restrictions. Reinforcing this representation is the use of existential, propositional and value assumptions. The existential assumptions about what exists (Fairclough, 2003) assume that South Africa is an *emerging economy* and a *capital poor country*. The propositional assumption of what is or what can be (Fairclough, 2003) lies in the assertion that South Africa relies *very much on the import of capital goods* and lacks the *ability to produce final consumer goods* and that *It will take many years* to produce luxury goods. The value assumption assumes that imported goods are more desirable than domestically produced goods. These assumptions in the text can be seen as ideological tools, as they present this version of knowledge as a taken for granted, unavoidable and unquestionable reality.

An over-lexicalisation in the register of negative value connotations materialises with use of the words and phrases *cannot afford, capital poor country, lack of investment, rely very much, underinvestment reduces* and *It will take many years*. Machin and Mayr (2012) maintain that where there is an excess of certain words with a disproportionate description together with synonyms, this signals that the text seeks to persuade the reader about an issue that may be ideologically contentious or problematic. Like the revelation of the assumptions in this section, the register of negative value connotations and over-lexicalisation also function as ideological tools.

The subsequent two disadvantages are then listed as follows (text B, p. 100):

The policy may isolate local businesses from international competition.

The policy may result in consumers having to pay higher prices for locally produced products and services that may also be of lower quality as some local businesses are less efficient than foreign producers.

In terms of modality the lowered modal *may* shows the move from a tone of strong modality in the first disadvantage to a lowered commitment in these disadvantages to import substitution. This signals that the text is not certain that these consequences will occur if this policy is implemented; consequently an ambivalence is created between the strong assertions in the first disadvantage and the reduced certainty of the succeeding statements. The lowered modality also has the effect of appearing as a truth to readers, who accept these statements at face value because they appear in a textbook which is seen as an authoritative and factual source of information. Also creating a strategic ambiguity to these disadvantages of import substitution is the use of comparative adverbs in the subordinate clause of the last statement: *as some local businesses are less efficient than foreign producers*. Although use of the comparative adverbs is suggestive of and gives the impression of precision (Machin & Mayr, 2012), the text avoids a strong commitment through the lack of concrete evidence. Adding to this appearance of truth is use of the generalising determiner *some*, which is indicative of an uncertain and unspecified representation to avoid specifying which businesses and the number of businesses which lack efficiency. This seems to be a convenient argument without corroborating factual evidence. Two assumptions, the propositional assumption that products and services *may also be of lower quality* and the existential assumption that *local businesses are less efficient than foreign producers*, lead to the implicit value assumption that foreign products and services are of higher quality. Use of the verb in the present tense (*are*) gives further credence to this evaluation.

The chapter on economic growth and development in textbook A (p. 232) alludes to the technological capacity of a country in the explanation of the demand-side approach of import substitution:

1.4 Import Substitution

*Import substitution **may** be effective to increase local production and thus encourage economic growth. However, developing countries **usually** find it difficult to decrease total imports. Even if some consumer goods that were previously imported are replaced by locally produced goods, this **will** result in an increased demand for production equipment. Developing countries **usually** do not have the latest and most effective production equipment available, so they **will** have to increase imports again to meet the*

*demand. In such a case, it **may** be only the type of products that are imported that change (capital equipment versus consumption goods) and not the total level of imports.*
(emphasis added)

Analysis of this excerpt reveals the linguistic features of modality and hedging used to demonstrate a slippage between assertive declarations to slightly more equivocal statements. The first sentence makes use of the lowered commitment modal *may* to create an insinuation about the effectiveness of import substitution in economic growth. Even though the text appears to be aligned to the notion that this policy encourages economic growth, the lowered modality verb (*may*) limits the text's commitment to the truth of this statement, thereby creating ambiguity. Reinforcing the ambiguity of this claim is the term *usually* in the next sentence. Machin and Mayr (2012) point out that a hedging device like this adverb (*usually*) can hide the lack of tangible evidence, and here the text does not provide evidence as to whether this sweeping generalisation encompasses all developing countries. Even though the use of a lexical register of technical terms (*import substitution, local production, economic growth*) suggests precision, the use of the hedge is indicative of the lack of precise evidence.

The conjunction *However* also generates the sense that the text is ambiguously encompassing both the efficiency and ineffectiveness of this policy, even though this excerpt elaborates on how import substitution can enhance economic growth. It appears as if the text is avoiding a direct commitment to the policy of import substitution. The lexical choice of the conjunction also signals this problematic motif of contradictory meanings, which is developed in the next sentence *Even if some ---, this will result in an increased demand for production equipment.* As a result of the sentence beginning with the connector *Even if*, the text again seems to be reluctant to commit itself to this economic policy. Also, by positioning this connector at the beginning of the sentence, the clause stating that *some consumer goods that were previously imported are replaced by locally produced goods* becomes the subordinate clause. Thus the second part of this sentence becomes the main clause, highlighting the fact that production equipment needs to be imported. Following this impression of ambiguity and avoidance of a direct commitment to this policy, the text then employs the high-commitment *will* to show the certainty that import substitution is not effective and that imports are therefore needed.

The next sentence similarly makes use of hedging at the beginning of the sentence (*usually*) and then progresses to a high-commitment modal (*will*). This has been categorised by Fairclough (2003) and Machin and Mayr (2012) as an epistemic modal which reveals the level

of certainty of the event. The first part of the sentence with the term *usually* reveals a level of uncertainty, but on the other hand the modal *will* shows the certainty of the text *they will have to increase imports again to meet the demand*. Of significance is inclusion of the pronoun *they*, which serves to construct a separation between the text and ‘them’ (developing countries). What is particularly noteworthy is that the demand-side approach of Keynesian economics uses this exclusionary pronoun *they*, but the section describing the supply-side approach utilises the inclusive pronoun *we* in two instances: *we have to remember* (p. 234) and *we can say* (p. 235). This strengthens the revelation of the text’s bias against Keynesian economics and appears to nudge the reader toward the supply-side approach. The supply-side approach also makes reference to production equipment and technology when discussing capital as a factor of production (textbook A, pp. 234 and 235):

2.3 Capital

Capital refers to the financial resources and production equipment that are used to produce goods and services. Economic growth can only take place if production capacity increases. Production capacity is increased by investment in production equipment. Financial resources are necessary to be able to use and organise natural resources and labour to acquire production equipment ---. Foreign capital can also contribute to the supply of financial resources to finance production capital, so foreign investment is an important determinant of economic growth and development. Similarly, foreign direct investment can also enhance economic growth. This type of investment takes place when foreign investors do not only lend capital, but actually buy the production capacity or build new production capacity in a country. Both the quantity and quality of the available production equipment are important. Quality of capital is determined by the technology that is used. If production equipment uses outdated technology, it may not be possible for that industry to compete with other economies where more efficient technology is used.

This extract shifts between strong, unmodalised assertions in the form of verbs in the present-tense phrases (for example, *Production capacity is increased, Financial resources are necessary, foreign investment is an important determinant, This type of investment takes place, Quality of capital is determined*) and the high-probability modal *can* (*Economic growth can only take place, Foreign capital can also contribute, foreign direct investment can also enhance economic growth*). This usage signals the text’s strong commitment to the truth of

these assertions and reveals its 'stance' (Hodge & Kress, 1988) towards representation of the relationship between foreign direct investment and the enhanced economic growth of a country.

However, there is one low-commitment modalised statement at the end of the extract (*If production equipment uses outdated technology, it may not be possible for that industry to compete with other economies where more efficient technology is used*). This introduces a note of uncertainty in contrast to the high degree of certainty expressed in the rest of the extract. It seems as if the text is avoiding a strong commitment to the truth of this proposition (Fairclough, 2003), as if it is not a certainty that outdated technology will be detrimental to the economy. Also increasing the sense of uncertainty and ambiguity is inclusion of the determiner *more* in the phrase *where more efficient technology is used*. The comparative determiner gives an impression of precision of evidence, but here it signals the text's avoidance of a direct commitment to the proposition with a lack of exact evidence (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Also, use of the conjunction *If* to start the sentence positions the subordinate clause at the beginning of the sentence. This results in two possible interpretations. Firstly, the negative connotation phrase *outdated technology* is foregrounded and given prominence as deficient, which results in the perception of an expected negative consequence. Secondly, it seems as if the backgrounding of the main clause *it may not be possible for that industry to compete with other economies where more efficient technology is used* results in the perceived negative consequence being embedded in a less prominent clause. Here too it appears as if the text wants to construct a deliberate ambiguity by weakening the force of this claim (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Textbook C (p. 110) also makes reference to technology in the section on the disadvantages of import substitution; however, unlike the other textbooks this sample shows that technology borrowed from abroad may not be suitable for the borrower:

Technology is often borrowed from abroad, where capital is relatively abundant. As a result, production methods may be unsuitable for the country's production structure are employed.

The use of hedges (*often, relatively*) and the low-commitment modal (*may*) appears to lessen the impact of this paragraph, which signals the text's stance on the notion of the need to borrow foreign technology. The second sentence (*As a result, production methods may be unsuitable for the country's production structure are employed*) reinforces this portrayal, by showing how borrowing countries are disadvantaged when using foreign technology. Also, the register of the

term *borrowed* is significant, as something which is borrowed usually has to be returned with interest. Thus an insinuation arises that the foreign lender stands to benefit from this loan. What strengthens this impression is the fact that alongside this paragraph is a photograph of Gauteng's e-toll system, with the caption *Unaffordable technology borrowed*. This is significant, as there are many people who are unhappy with the fact that a foreign entity is benefitting from tolls extracted from the South African people.

6.3.4 Conclusion

I conclude this chapter by summarily describing how the discourse of technoscapes is represented across the four Grade 12 Economics textbooks. The findings signal the text's strong commitment towards representation of the relationship between foreign direct investment and the enhanced economic growth of a country. Linguistic strategies employed to aid this portrayal were modality, assumptions, register, over-lexicalisation and pronouns.

Chapters four, five and six focused on presentation of the findings of the data analysis of a sample of four Grade 12 Economics textbooks. The aim was to explore the five discourses of globalisation and the manner of the representation of globalisation in the textbooks. The analysis was based on a multimodal CDA based on Halliday's SFL (1978), an analytical framework associated with Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2003, 2011) and a visual analysis grounded in the toolkit facilitated by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2001), Kress (2010) and Machin and Mayr (2012).

The analysis of data revealed evidence of a romanticised portrayal of outward-looking economic policies (globalisation, free trade, export promotion), while the inward-looking economic policies of protectionism and import substitution were presented as deficient.

The next chapter presents the discussion of these findings in relation to the review of the literature and the theoretical framework undertaken in Chapter two of this study.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings outlined in the previous three chapters regarding the representation of the discourses of globalisation in South African Grade 12 Economics textbooks. In order to explore the representation of globalisation I had to compare the representation of other economic policies against the representation of globalisation and economic policies linked to globalisation. This discussion therefore focuses on the comparative representations of the inward-looking economic policies of protectionism and import substitution against the outward-looking globalised economic policies of international trade, free trade and export promotion. Furthermore, this discussion reveals how this study extends the lineage of knowledge. The discussion is presented thematically, in a similar fashion to the findings.

7.2 Representation of the discourse of financescapes

As described in the previous chapters, the discourse of financescapes (Appadurai, 1990, 1996) associated the term with the arena of economics. Keywords associated with the identification of this discourse were capital, trade, international trade, business, industry, investment, profit, mobile money, world markets, production cost/s, revenue and foreign exchange.

All four Grade 12 Economics textbooks contained unbalanced and biased portrayals of the discourse of financescapes which portray global trade as inevitable and desirable. The texts appear to persuade the readers towards the notion of the outward-looking economic policy of globalisation by ‘selling’ the concept of globalisation. With the continual emphasis on the notion of efficiency as a result of competition and innovation, the texts insinuate that this is a highly desirable attribute for improving living standards. Efficiency, innovation and competition are presented uncritically as valuable phenomena evident in international trade, through the use of unmodalised assertions, absence of hedging, assumptions, nominalisations, foregrounding and a register of positive value connotations. Of note is the pointed silence and deliberate omission of the negative effects of efficiency in all four textbooks. The text portrays efficiency as a valuable and splendid phenomenon and aspiration, yet efficiency can lead to the

reality of redundancy of human capital, poverty through job losses and other kinds of trauma such as deprivation and humiliation (Ar, 2015; Sengupta, 2001; Jovanovic, 2010).

Using the metaphor of a whirlpool, Morawski (2003) observes that globalisation draws in and overpowers those who are in close proximity to it. While neoliberal protagonists (Carnoy, 1999; Cvetkovich & Kellner, 1997; Kenway, 1997) advocate that globalisation results in a greater level of efficiency in the distribution of scarce world resources, resulting in greater consumption and output than that generated under protectionism, Kapstein (2000) cautions that greater efficiency has resulted in the displacement of workers, low wages and low employment levels. In the textbooks there is a pointed silence on and omission of facts describing the negative effects of efficiency. Some of these include the fact that efficiency warrants the manufacturing of a product at the lowest cost (for example, through lowered wages) to ensure the maximisation of profit (Ar, 2015; Fridell, 2006). This suppression of pertinent issues reveals ideology at work, as the inclusion of the above implications of efficiency would change the tangent of the discourse. What is left unsaid is notable by its absence, as the suppression of salient facts deliberately misrepresents the discourse, and thus this silence becomes ideological (Hart, 2011). The textbooks also appear to promote and prescribe to readers rather than initiating discussions and raising awareness on the negative consequences of efficiency, innovation and competition.

The continual use of the term *competition* in the textbooks reveals that it is being accepted as a common-sense, generally accepted value. The concept of competition is also ideological in that it becomes a common-sense notion that if a country wants to survive economically, it needs to be competitive in this global era (Ar, 2015). Moreover, the textbooks appear to normalise the taken for granted, common-sense notion that competition and efficiency are at the heart of the desired goals of business. When notions like these become naturalised and taken for granted they become ideological tools (Ar, 2015; Fairclough, 2003). Yet critics of neoliberal capitalism argue that competition is wasteful, destroys the balance in nature and the environment, and favours the powerful who have the different kinds of capital needed to succeed (Bourdieu, 1998; Jovanovic, 2010).

In fact competition and exploitation are the results of the imperatives of market capitalism “which compel all producers to compete, accumulate, and maximize profits in order to remain competitive and survive” (Fridell, 2006, p. 22). Actually people who have accumulated billions of dollars in competitive markets have done so by lowering conditions and wages of workers,

manipulating countries into a desperate contest to lower wages and weaken labour benefits for the benefit of the wealthy (Oxfam International, 2018). The State is complicit in the veneration of this neoliberal mantra, as competition needs governmental policy to endorse this nature of market constructed on formal inequality (Foucault & Senellart, 2008). Normalisation of the notion that competition is at the heart of the desired goals of global business thus becomes an ideological tool, as the textbooks repeatedly portray this seemingly natural notion as common sense (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore Bazzul (2012) repeatedly implores that all stakeholders in education should continually challenge the common-sense notions which reinforce competition and background collaboration.

All four textbooks appear to position themselves against the inward-looking policies of protectionism and import substitution in the discourse of financescapes. This is apparent in the treatment of the inward-looking economic policies, especially in textbook C with the inclusion of a paragraph detailing the scepticism which meets their practice. No other trade policy included a comment on scepticism of its practices, so the decision to include this aspect of protectionist policies signals this text's biased stance against the inward-looking economic policies, which suggests that the text is not impartial and neutral. With the aid of linguistic and pictorial strategies of register, negative value connotations and modality the text positions inward-looking economic policies as flawed and inadequate in the economy of a country.

Close analysis of the portrayals reveals that an impression of factual and precise information conceals the lack of evidence upon which the representation is based. Thus writers (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Sleeter & Grant, 1991) contend that textbook content can conceal and trivialise knowledge when they 'select in' some knowledge and 'select out' others to control historical and economic reality. The inclusion and exclusion of certain knowledge therefore contributes to the inevitable selection of knowledge (Fairclough, 2003). In addition, the lack of tangible evidence leads to questions about the validity of the information that the text presents (Sunoo, 1998; Machin & Mayr, 2012).

International trade is favourably represented in all four textbooks through the employment of the linguistic and pictorial strategies of assumptions, embellishments, modality, insinuation, connotations, grammatical positioning of actions and exclusions. By using these features the writers position international trade and hence globalisation in a particular way which can become internalised and naturalised. In so doing this portrayal sustains the hegemonic idea that international trade is important for a flourishing economy (Ar, 2015). Also of significance was

the evidence showing that the texts chose to visually and linguistically exclude the negative impacts that international trade has on a country. It is ideologically significant that the texts made a conscious choice to visually and linguistically highlight the benefits of international trade while omitting the negative impacts (Ar, 2015; Bauman, 2011b; Jovanovic, 2010; Sengupta, 2001). Therefore Fairclough (1989) maintains that when ideology works in implicit ways, it is at its most effective.

For example, although the stated intention of textbook A was to give a detailed account of arguments against free trade, the presentation of the case studies appears to contradict the intention through the language used, and conveys an unintended meaning thus betraying a hidden bias. The case study assessing import substitution contains no dates or place names and includes a request for help from pupils, thus insinuating that this is not a factual representation. The case study assessing export promotion gives a detailed description of the Asian Tigers, including dates and names of countries, thereby inferring that this is a factual representation. The economic policy of protectionism contains a case study reporting a speech given by the South African President, Jacob Zuma, imploring countries not to move towards trade protectionism. Precise dates and place names are also given, once again insinuating that it is a factual account. The case study assessing the policy of free trade describes the international organisation of Fairtrade and the role it plays in helping less developed countries to export their products. Here too precise dates and place names are given to portray a factual account. From the above implicit comparison I infer that the inward-looking economic policies are presented as deficient, and legitimation is given to this deficiency through the uncritical manner in which this knowledge is presented. Through such a mechanism this narrative can become hegemonic as learners are unlikely to question the validity of this authoritative representation (Barbosa & Ferreira, 2015).

Unlike the textbooks, critics of international and free trade are vociferous in their condemnation of these economic policies and the vehicles used to drive them. Critics argue that instead of raising living standards for the masses in countries, the monopolistic and internationalised activities of corporate and financial institutions increase inequalities (Bauman, 2011b; Harvey, 2007; Jovanovic, 2010; Nussbaum, 2011; Oxfam International, 2018; White, 2009). Large international companies that have the ability to move and establish themselves around the globe in search of greater profits through lower labour costs are themselves the beneficiaries of increased foreign trade. These large corporations move to newer markets to take advantage of

those countries' lower costs of production (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Multinational companies generally expend their resources, including production technologies, in developing countries with a large labour force so that this labour can be exploited to produce large volumes of goods in as short a time as possible (Ar, 2015). Large multinational corporations may also circumvent labour law by using smaller businesses to outsource their production – smaller businesses with poorly paid informal workers (Oxfam International, 2018). The consequence of this power imbalance in the globalised economy benefits the most powerful players, to the detriment of the informal labour force (Oxfam International, 2018; White, 2009). Critics also voice the fear that these corporations, through the undemocratic concentration of wealth, can exercise power over State policies (Jovanovic, 2010). Such practices can also perpetrate a power hierarchy which disadvantages some whilst promoting a form of elitism in others (White, 2009).

When readers are continuously fed these assumptions they can become incorporated and internalised as common-sense notions through which the readers interpret, exist in and comprehend the world (Harvey, 2007). I conclude that this representation of international trade is ideological, as it serves to give hegemony to the universal and seemingly unquestionable factuality of international trade (Fairclough, 2003). It is therefore essential that textbooks are reviewed to uncover the hidden and underlying assumptions within their content (Foster & Crawford, 2006).

7.3 Representation of the discourse of ethnoscapes

The discourse of ethnoscapes (Appadurai, 1990, 1996) represented the social arena. Keywords associated with the identification of this discourse were people, labour, labour force, labour inputs, job creation and job opportunities, job security, economic well-being, low wage, rich and poor, citizens, living standards, employment, unemployment, immigrants, workers, tourists and mobile workers. My analysis of the data in the four Grade 12 Economics textbooks show evidence of a one-sided and biased portrayal of the discourse of ethnoscapes. This finding was transmitted through the features of modality, assumptions, over-lexicalisations, meaning relations, grammatical metaphors, pronouns, topicalisations and nominalisations.

All four textbooks explained in great detail the benefits of international trade for the well-being of a country. However, I ascertained that the texts were to a large extent silent on the reality

that despite all the proclaimed promises of international trade, both developing and developed countries continue to be harmed by the practices of international trade, because only the opportunistic elite of corporate producers and stockholders benefit from the capital accumulation (Ar, 2015; Chang, 2011; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2001).

Furthermore, the inclusion of assumptions (for example, that citizens experience improved economic welfare because of free trade between countries) presupposes that all wealth simply gets distributed in some egalitarian fashion to all citizens. However, Fairclough (2009b) maintains that these assumptions presume an ideal global economic operation, and condemns the assumptions that globalisation manifests in more prosperous citizens with improved living standards and stronger economic growth which reduces poverty. In fact, Fairclough (2009b) avers that globalisation widens the economic rift between the rich and poor whilst causing immense physical environmental damage, issues which appear to have been ignored by proponents of free global trade. Likewise, a report from Oxfam International (2018) shows that 82% of the wealth generated in 2017 went to the richest 1% globally. A large proportion of the global population remains in poverty due to the erosion of the rights of workers, the considerable influence of business over State policies, and the relentless drive for the maximisation of shareholder profits (Oxfam International, 2018).

Moreover, the register of the technical terms *economic welfare* and *economic well-being* is used arbitrarily and does not distinguish whether this includes GDP per capita, Gini coefficient, life expectancy, infant mortality, mental health, the quality of life of the whole population, etc. There is a suppression of the actuality that a focus on economic well-being does not necessarily achieve a stable and well-functioning society, as the citizenry may still be disadvantaged by the lack of a clean environment or an efficient health system and a noteworthy system of education (Bauman, 2011b). The focus here is only on achieving wealth, ignoring the fact that this may be to the detriment of the other factors which are vital to a well-functioning society. As Bauman (2011b, p. 2) posits, “When the state of society is checked and evaluated, it is ‘averaged up’ indices --- that tend to be calculated”. The width of the divergence between the lowest and topmost segments is rarely viewed as a significant gauge (Bauman, 2011b).

My analysis also showed that India and China were upheld as testimony to the benefits of international trade in all of the textbooks. The progress of India and China is universalised as testimony to the success of globalisation, but this is not true for all citizens of these countries

(Jovanovic, 2010; Morawski, 2003; Oxfam International, 2018). The true reality is that India and China are examples of the unglorified consequences of globalisation, and globalisation is largely responsible for the disproportional gap between the rich and poor in these countries (Morawski, 2003; Fairclough, 2009b). In China, for example, although many Chinese are employed because of globalised production, of note is that their well-being did not improve because of the unequal income distribution (Jovanovic, 2010). Recent research (Oxfam International, 2018) confirms that income inequality in India and China has increased over the last 30 years. In India “a handful of thriving billionaires coexist with about 250 million people forced to live on less than 1 dollar a day; 42.5 per cent of children under five suffer from malnutrition ... leaving them physically and mentally stunted” (Bauman, 2011b. p. 38).

Also of concern is that globalisation has been responsible for an increase in landlessness, child labour and food insecurity and increasing wage disparities between unskilled and skilled labour (Acharya & Marjit, 2000; Sengupta, 2001). Those who eke out a daily existence on two dollars have a mortality rate which is three times the average globally (Oxfam International, 2018). This is in stark contrast to the assertive and authoritative claims in the textbooks that India and China are examples of countries which are the beneficiaries of globalisation. Because these textbooks are seen as official sources of knowledge, pupils are unlikely to question this version of reality; therefore Fairclough (1999, p. 73) advocates that a critical awareness of discourse is needed to question the social order of global capitalism: “whose discourse is it – and how this one has become so powerful”.

Thus the silence on the economic reality in India and China signals an ideological silence, and it is essential to question what is deliberately left unsaid in order to uncover the covert message. In fact, I posit that aspects of knowledge which the text deliberately omits are significant, as this results in a skewed representation of the outward-looking policies. The inclusion of the negative aspects of India’s economic reality could also impact the textual message of glorified international trade. In addition, the inclusion of aspects of knowledge which the texts may deem as contrary to their portrayal could possibly change the trajectory of the exalted message of globalisation. Of significance too is that in South Africa many teachers have limited recourse to subject knowledge and other media, and school textbooks are the only textual artefacts in many classrooms (Morgan, 2010; Morgan & Henning, 2011; Akincioglu, 2012). School pupils are therefore unlikely to contest this knowledge because the textbook is often uncritically accepted as a trustworthy source of knowledge.

In my analysis all four of the textbooks included arguments against the outward-looking economic policies, but the representation and positioning of these arguments appear to reveal the texts' bias towards certain economic policies. Take for example the portrayal of international trade in textbook D. There are four paragraphs serving as a testimonial of the achievements of international trade, but only at the end of the fourth paragraph is mention made of a negative impact. Prominence is given to the seemingly positive benefits of international trade, and the deliberate backgrounding of the negative effects of international trade signposts the problematic positioning of the textbook's stance on globalisation. The strategic placement of the brief acknowledgement of the negative impact backgrounds and downplays the unpalatable effects of international trade (Ar, 2015; Bauman, 2011b; Jovanovic, 2010; Sengupta, 2001).

Another example is that of textbook A, which reveals its bias when it puts forth the arguments for protectionism, choosing to draw attention to the phenomenon that protectionism leads to an increase in unemployment. I also infer from the analysis of the data that all four textbooks view inward-looking economic policies as government interventions which limit the progress of economic growth. Thus this legitimises the view that it is politics which drives the implementation of protectionist policies (Carnoy, 1999; Kapstein, 2000). The textbooks also list in great detail the negative consequences resulting countries choosing to implement protectionist policies. The uncritical manner in which this knowledge is presented gives me the impression that consent and legitimation are granted to the notion that protectionism is not a favourable policy. Learners are unlikely to question the validity of this authoritative representation.

Writers have continually argued against the proposition that international trade raises employment levels and decreases inequality (Ar, 2015; Bauman, 2011b; Chang, 2011; Ebert, 2001; Harvey, 2007; Keifman, 2006; Nussbaum, 2011). Likewise, claims that globalisation strengthens the economy, reduces poverty, raises living standards and increases prosperity levels are assumptions which propagate globalisation (Ar, 2015; Jovanovic, 2010). In fact Keifman (2006) labels these propositions as fallacies based on generalisations and oversimplifications which have been empirically disproved. Another writer, Ebert (2001) labels them as propaganda, which instead of remedying inequality, reinforces inequality, widens the economic gap between the rich and the poor and jeopardises socio-economic benefits (Ar, 2015). Because of their constant usage in mainstream economics, these propositions morph

into legitimate and authoritative facts (Akincioglu, 2012). Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) and Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004) label this practice as “conformity authorisation”, a fallacy which morphs into a truth because everybody believes it.

I also unearthed another significant finding in the analysis of the data pertaining to the discourse of ethnoscape: the significance of the role of the education system of a country in the enhancement of the economic growth of a country. Through the linguistic and visual strategies of modality, register, connotations, exclusions, foregrounding and back grounding the textbooks callously portray pupils as a factor necessary for economic growth. This is an example of the commodification of education, which becomes subordinate to the objectives of the economic market (Fairclough, 2003). Schools are seen as input and output production lines, treating students as components meant for profit and manufacturing a pool of labourers “for their position in the market society, rather than institutions designed to liberate minds” (Fioramonti, 2017, p. 180). This is a cause for great concern among social theorists (Nussbaum, 2010; Sen, 2009) who argue that education should not function as an instrument of economic growth, churning out citizens unable to relate to the woes and successes of others. Rather, education should serve to encourage creative, reflective and critical thinkers.

This commodification of education signals the neoliberal influence, where the education system is seen as a mechanism functioning to enhance economic growth (Maistry, 2014), as well as being a part of a capitalist discourse (Ritzvi, 2009). This happens, Maistry (2014) avers, when the education system of a country sees no problem in engaging in a curriculum which legitimates the value of wealth creation to advance the cause of economic growth, and education is seen as a tool to serve a nation’s economic growth needs. This is contrary to the traditional objective of education, viewed as a public investment to develop citizens with an ethical consciousness for the common good (Nussbaum, 2010; White, 2009). There is a danger that neoliberal notions like these, through continued practice, will “appear as a natural and inevitable response to the steering logic of economic globalisation” (Ritzvi, 2009, p. 50).

The labour force of a country was also portrayed as a functional factor in the creation and pursuit of wealth (Ar, 2015; Klein, 2000). By describing the quality of the labour force and excluding the human face thereof (Ar, 2015; Klein, 2000) the textbooks quantify, objectify and dehumanise the labour force. They callously portray only the roles and functionality of the labour force as a factor in the creation and pursuit of wealth. The labour force is also

represented in a manner where they have no agency over themselves, thus having little or no power over their circumstances and implicitly portrayed as either useful or of no use (Ar, 2015). A large quantity of available labour which contributes to the economic growth of a country is seen as a constituent of neoliberal global capitalism where labour “is seen as a commodity” (Ar, 2015, p. 69).

Whilst the textbooks appear to favour the notion that economic growth flourishes if markets are free of State interference and have minimal State intervention (Aguirre, Eick, & Reese, 2006), there is a suppression of the manner in which global corporations exploit workers in developing countries in their relentless ambition for profit-making (Klein, 2000). The International Labour Organisation has established that in 91 out of 133 developing and rich countries the wages of workers have not increased, even though production and economic growth have increased dramatically (Oxfam International, 2018). With regard to South Africa, 10% of the richest in society gets half of all wage income, while 50% of the workforce at the bottom receives merely 12% of all wages (Oxfam International, 2018).

Economic development has also evolved to become a political criterion for the improvement of the well-being of citizens of a country (Ar, 2015; Fairclough, 2009b). None of the textbooks attempt to raise issues of concern regarding the negative impacts of international trade on the poor and marginalised people of the affected countries. However, Mohamed and Motinga (2002) reiterate that increased trade exposure may decrease workers’ standards of living because of lower incomes and displacement.

Moreover, Bauman (2011b) and Nussbaum (2011) argue that the elite are generally the chief beneficiaries of wealth earned in international trade. Also raising concerns about the effect of trade and investment on the human rights of workers are Hiscox (2007), Klein (2000) and Rodrik (1996), who argue that workers in developing nations work long hours in unsanitary and unsafe conditions similar to ‘sweatshops’ in order to produce export products. A fear too is that globalisation has played a part in the “spread of sweatshop production in developing countries as they compete to establish new export sectors and attract investment from footloose multinational firms” (Hiscox, 2007, p. 1). Many developing countries compete with each other to attract these export-oriented multinational firms which are the main beneficiaries of a sizeable, low-skilled and disenfranchised labour force (Oxfam International, 2018).

Condemning this process of neoliberal turbo-capitalism, Castells (1998) lists the resultant consequences of poverty and dependency as only increasing social injustice.

Also of concern to me is that all four textbooks are silent on the negative consequences of an unrestrained larger production of goods which exploits the resources of a country and compromises the sustainability of resources in the long term (Ar, 2015; Jovanovic, 2010). In addition, increased production is largely motivated by a profit-driven objective and not by a social or humanitarian priority. Moreover the employment of more workers does not necessarily mean that they will be paid a living wage. As Nussbaum (2011) reveals, usually the main beneficiaries of the wealth created by increased production are the more advantaged in society. In order to decrease costs so that prices of goods can be reduced, lower wages are paid, thus negatively impacting the well-being of families and communities; Fairclough (2003) maintains that this goes against the grain of the moral laws of nature.

Another factor of production which I found to be portrayed as a functional factor in the pursuit of economic growth was that of natural resources. The analysis of data in three of the four textbooks (A, B and D) shows that the environment and natural resources as a factor in trade were alluded to in the chapters on economic systems and economic growth and development. Moreover the value system of neoliberalism appears to be favoured, as this system justifies the scrapping of environmental regulations in the pursuit of economic growth (Munasinghe, 1999). There was a significant silence in these sections on the environmental challenges faced by natural resources for themselves and not merely for the advancement of trade. All four textbooks concluded with a chapter on the sustainability of the environment and all four referred to the disastrous impact of trade and industry on the environment. The positioning of these chapters at the end of the textbooks seems to indicate that concerns about the impact of trade and industry on the environment appear to be backgrounded in the three aforementioned textbooks (A, B and D). Although textbook C also concluded with the sustainability of the environment, it gave a detailed description of the threats to the environment resulting from globalisation in the chapter discussing economic growth and development.

I therefore postulate that textbooks A, B and D appear to gloss over and pay superficial attention to the notion of the preservation of natural resources and the environment for moral reasons. Furthermore, the representation of an indefinite supply of natural resources as a functional factor of trade is highly contentious, as the environment cannot be modified

indefinitely to meet the needs of wealth accumulation and economic growth (Colombo & Porcu, 2014). Other writers who are also critical of this representation (Bauman, 2011b; Chun, 2009; Fioramonti, 2017; Forstater, 2004; Lawrence et al., 2012) argue that the planet's resources are finite and limited and that the exploitation and depletion of the natural resources can be detrimental to the ecosphere (Osland, Dhanda & Yuthas, 2001). This can result in negative consequences, especially for the poor and vulnerable in a country (Chun, 2009; Fioramonti, 2017; Forstater, 2004; Lawrence et al., 2012). In the chapters on economic growth and development in the three textbooks readers are not presented with the perspective that satisfaction of the markets has an increasingly pervasive impact on the environment (McMichael, 2013), which can result in increased levels of pollution (Osland, Dhanda & Yuthas, 2001).

Furthermore, it is the marginalised and the poor of the country who are affected adversely by increasing levels of pollution, soil erosion and depletion of natural resources (Forstater, 2004). This exploitation of the environment is a major contributor to climate change, leading to unimaginably negative consequences for food production, causing increased despair and poverty (Chun, 2009; Lawrence et al., 2012). These assumptions can therefore be regarded as ideological as they are generally seen as taken for granted notions. Because these seemingly factual statements appear in an apparently credible source of information, the Grade 12 Economics textbooks, learners are likely to be manipulated to accept them as truths and unlikely to challenge these notions. For this reason Fairclough (2003) argues that in assuming and taking common-sense notions as unquestioned factual realities, texts are seen as undertaking ideological work. Hence Fairclough (1989) maintains that when ideology works in invisible and implicit ways, it is at its most effective.

7.4 Representation of the discourse of ideoscapes

The discourse of ideoscapes drew on Appadurai's (1990, 1996) description and referred to the political arena of ideas and practices of governments, governmental organisations and governmental policies. Intergovernmental organisations, trade protocols and non-governmental organisations were also incorporated in this discourse as the policies of these entities are seen to impact on the economic development of countries. The sub-themes identified in the analysis were also found occasionally to overlap in this discourse, and are seen as not mutually exclusive. My analysis of the data in the four Grade 12 Economics textbooks

shows evidence of a one-sided and biased portrayal of the discourse of ideoscapes. This finding was transmitted through all eight features which comprised the analytical framework, namely modality, assumptions, backgrounding and foregrounding, insinuations and connotations, register, embellishments and over-lexicalisations, nominalisations and omissions. This together with the use of certain multimodal strategies facilitated the finding that the textbooks entrench and bolster the ideology of outward-looking economic policies.

The outward-looking economic policies are presented as legitimate economic systems, with the textbooks appearing to background and marginalise the cogency of economic policies other than those involving free trade and globalisation. The linguistic analysis revealed an underlying preoccupation associated with neoliberal relations of unequal power (Chiapello & Fairclough, 2002). The trade policies of free trade and export promotion are portrayed as having powerful incentives for innovation, competition, improved quality of goods, reliability and best practice. The textbooks background and marginalise the consequences of globalisation and liberalisation of economic policies which result in increasing income inequalities (Jovanovic, 2010). A recent report from Oxfam International (2018) notes that the IMF has ascertained that the liberalisation of finance delivers the least benefits to the global economy, while increasing inequality and instability significantly. Also, the inward-looking policies of protectionism and import substitution are represented in the textbooks as policies which result in poor practice and stagnation. In addition, aspects of the discourse of ideoscapes which represent inward-looking economic policies are articulated with negative consequences. Thus the textbooks appear to implicitly advance arguments which favour the outward-looking economic policies.

Unlike the textbooks, Ar (2015), decries that free and international trade is not for the economic benefit of the people but primarily for an increase in profits and wealth for multinational companies and financial institutions. The textbooks omit the dismal reality that these are profit-seeking institutions (Sleeter, 2003) complicit in a form of economic colonialism (Bigelow & Peterson, 2002) as globalisation serves the interests of the economic elite. In addition, Fairclough (2003) cautions that in the acceptance of globalisation as a given there is a danger that the contentious issues surrounding it are backgrounded and not open for contestation. This lexical absence prompts the question: what ideological work is this omission doing, because such textual silences are ideological (Remlinger, 2002) as the unsaid is sometimes more important than what is said.

All four textbooks represent international trade organisations and trade protocols (World Trade Organisation, G20 countries, BRICS) as authoritative voices in the global economic arena. The employment of CDA revealed that the textbooks portrayed these international agencies from a favourable perspective. The constructive portrayal of the network of renowned trade institutions and protocols further gives legitimacy to the claims of globalisation. In fact, textbook A creates an insinuation that being a member of these exclusive clubs is a privilege. The WTO in particular was represented as a facilitator in all of the textbooks. However, this portrayal is problematic as it can shape and conceal perceptions (Fairclough, 2003; Machin & Mayr, 2012) as they portray a situated and partial view (Colombo & Porcu, 2014). These perceptions of the WTO as a facilitator are likely to become embedded and thus difficult to challenge.

In contrast to the textbooks' representation of a benevolent and beneficent organisation, critics aver that the WTO is a prime vehicle in the buttressing of neoliberal practices through which financial power and market control can be effected so that the interests of powerful nations and multinational companies are promoted (Crossley & Tikly, 2004; Harvey, 2007; Spring, 2008). Neoliberal practices are seen as the diminishing of welfare programmes as trade barriers are removed to develop a capitalist agenda (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001; Fairclough, 2002). Ar (2015) disdainfully labels the WTO as an agent which promotes free market practices and trade liberalisation, while Schugurensky and Davidson-Harden (2003) argue that organisations and trade agreements like the WTO/GATS (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) perpetuate the cycle of imperialism which subjugated much of the developing world

In addition, McLaren and Farahmandpur (2001) pronounce that the WTO promotes exports at the expense of the country's population. They condemn the fact that the WTO does not allow developing countries to give precedence to fighting poverty by choosing a path of development which advances the interests of their own population (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2001). Also, development strategies and policies followed by countries in Africa at the behest of the WTO (DPMF, 2002) are often formulated by foreign interests. These policies are frequently imposed with conditions that serve foreign interests instead of the interests of the local population (Crossley & Tikly, 2004; Harvey, 2007; Spring, 2008).

Textbook A included the international non-governmental organisation of Fairtrade in the chapter on the economic systems of protection and free trade (globalisation) [as it appears in

the textbook]. Employing the strategies of connotations and insinuations, assumptions, modality, over-lexicalisations and modality, the text presents a romanticised portrayal of the organisation. This positive portrayal of a non-governmental organisation providing access to international trade is juxtaposed against the negative portrayal of the deficient small-scale farmer in a developing country. However, this biased portrayal of the aid agency omits information which precludes readers from exposure to opposing views (Hiscox, 2007; Nicholls & Opal, 2004; Rodrik, 1996) that see aid agencies as teaching capitalist methods of thought and enquiry and thus legitimising the interests of powerful countries (Spring, 2008; Wallerstein, 2004). This perception is reinforced with the fact that many aid agencies are dependent on financing from developed countries and therefore are seen as agents of foreign interests (DPMF, 2002).

Critics of aid agencies also contend that aid initiatives are yet more opportunities for neoliberal organisations to exploit the poor and entrench inequalities between the rich and poor (Fridell, 2006; Vagneron & Roquigny, 2010). Another concern raised is the possibility of conflict arising between women and men, amongst farmers and wage labourers and between permanent and temporary labourers (Vagneron & Roquigny, 2010). Rodrik (1996) also points out that initiatives of Fairtrade are ineffective in improving conditions in developing countries, as the attention of the government is distracted away from more direct intervention. Can non-governmental development organisations really provide solutions to problems which can better be addressed by governmental regulations (Hiscox, 2007)? Moreover, the development policies of external benefactors may focus on privatisation and stability instead of on eradicating poverty which could result in greater inequality, thus undermining effective participation in social and political processes (DPMF, 2002).

In fact welfare and other programmes intended for the people are transferred from governments to non-governmental organisations which can also result in the loss of authority and legitimacy of governments in the eyes of the people (DPMF, 2002). The omission of these aspects of information therefore appears to be deliberate, as that which is omitted is relevant for the provision of an in-depth understanding of the concept, and could create a different mental representation in the reader (Oswald & Hart, 2013). That which is omitted and excluded signals an ideological silence, as the bias towards international trade is presented as a given which is then transmitted to the textbook users.

All of the textbooks included the North/South divide, a concept used to categorise countries on the basis of their socio-economic development levels. I included this concept in my analysis because of the impact of trade between wealthy countries (the North) and the economically poorer countries (the South), thus inferring globalisation. An analysis of the depiction of this concept in the four textbooks revealed a difference in the manner of treatment. Textbook B overtly presented increased market share in world trade as desirable and natural if countries in the 'South' wanted economic growth like countries in the 'North'. Trade organisations (for example, WTO and G8) and the UN were also represented as favourably influencing North/South relations. This representation can serve as a legitimisation of the policy of globalisation as these organisations are recognised as institutions of authority. This particular positioning is likely to shape the way that readers will perceive the role of global trade. This can result in the hegemony of the common-sense character of the necessity of world trade in the economic development of a country, thus maintaining power relations (Fairclough, 2012).

Textbook B also assertively pronounces that the gap between the poor and rich countries is closing because of increased opportunities for trade and flow of capital between countries. However Arrighi, Silver and Brewer (2003) empirically demonstrate that the claim about a diminishing North-South divide is contentious as the increased convergence of trade and industrialisation between the North and South has not resulted in a corresponding convergence in the average income levels between people of the affected countries. They (Arrighi, Silver & Brewer, 2003) also demonstrate that this contentious conclusion has been constructed on the incorrect assumption that industrialization is associated with development and that industrialization denotes wealth. Also corroborating this conclusion, Stiglitz (2002) maintains that the increasing divide between the North and the South has resulted in a corresponding increase in the number of people in the Third World living in dismal poverty.

Whilst apparently treating the section on the North-South divide impartially, CDA revealed that textbooks A, C and D (through the strategies of backgrounding, foregrounding, modality, insinuation and omissions) evidenced a covert bias towards the notion of globalisation in their representations. This depiction is significant as it could preclude an awareness that the disparity between the countries of the North-South divide is largely a result of international trade and globalisation (Fairclough, 2009b). The omission of this information is significant as the inclusion of all aspects relating to the role of globalisation could create a different mental representation in the reader. Omissions also increase the chances of false inferences being

drawn (Hart, 2011). That which is omitted and excluded signals an ideological silence as the bias towards international trade is presented as a given, which is then transmitted to the textbook users. Also of note is that the texts make assertions without an acknowledgement of citation of facts, and in so doing demonstrates a position of power over this representation, as school pupils are unlikely to contest this knowledge because the textbook is often uncritically accepted as a trustworthy source of knowledge (Akincioglu, 2012). The textbooks make it possible to impose this representation because of the authority vested in them on the basis of their status as trustworthy sources (Colombo & Porcu, 2014).

7.5 Representation of the discourse of mediascapes

The discourse of mediascapes was grounded in Appadurai's (1990, 1996) description of particular words and their synonyms categorising the cultural arena, words and phrases associated with images, ideas and the cultural domain. These words were, for example, *culture*, *cultural homogeneity*, *cultural diversity*, *traditional ways of living*, *rural cultures* and *cultural identity*. Terms like *consumers*, *freedom of choice*, *access to more goods* and *greater variety* were also included as the consumption patterns of consumers manifest as a culture of having "a repository of goods" (Bauman, 2011a). The sub-themes of the romanticising of the outward-looking economic policies and the flawed representation of the inward-looking economic policies were also found to occasionally overlap in this discourse, and are seen as not mutually exclusive.

Of the chapters analysed in the four textbooks I found that only textbook D made reference to the impact of globalisation on cultural identity. However, an ambiguity was created in the representation of data as an initial depiction elaborated on the positive impact of globalisation on cultural identity. The second representation, although overtly arguing that free trade undermined cultural diversity, revealed an ambiguous and contradictory message about the text's stance. This was revealed through the linguistic tools of register, modality, nominalisation, insinuations and positive connotations. Two textbooks (C and D) also made reference to the role of globalisation as a conduit of peace in the fostering of good relations between countries. Textbook D strongly asserted that free trade would result in the accomplishment of peace and that because of free trade there would be little likelihood of fights between countries. Improved relations, the text asserts, in turn promote cultural diversity as globalisation allows people of different backgrounds to reach each other. I also found that

textbook C attributed improved international relations between developing and developed countries to free trade while strategically backgrounding the negative effects of free trade. Textbook C did admit that an unpleasant effect of free trade is that developing nations are often subject to international threats; however, this negative aspect was backgrounded while the improved international relations were topicalised and emphasised.

Because the cultural consequences of globalisation are complex and diverse, unlike political, technological and economic spheres of globalisation (Holton, 2000), a biased and superficial treatment of this aspect can be dangerous. Three consequences of globalisation, Holton (2000) posits, are homogenisation (where globalisation results in a North American or Western convergence), polarisation (which sees a resistance to Western culture amid cultural wars) and hybridisation (where the incorporation of elements from diverse cultures results in the creation of a hybrid culture). Morawski (2003) warns that the same factors which help to bring the world together can also kindle festering dissonance. An example used is when globalisation enables the rich to get richer, thus widening the disparity in socio-economic conditions between rich and poor, which can cause the disillusioned to retaliate against the ‘winners’.

An absence of critical knowledge needed to be fully informed increases the likelihood of incorrect inferences being drawn (Hart, 2011). Arguing that the cultural aspects of globalisation seem more complex than others, Sengupta (2001) posits that an uncritical and biased representation of the impact of globalisation on the cultural aspects will only mask or only reveal its devastating impact on culture. For example, Sengupta (2001) drew on Nijman’s study (1999) on the impact of mass tourism in Amsterdam, to reveal that increased global commercialisation can transform the cultural identity of a city. This also occurs when independent nations become globally interdependent and can result in cultural identities being transformed by the domineering systems and ideas of the West (Sleeter, 2003).

With regard to the representation of the consumption patterns of consumers, all four textbooks appear to give credence to the idea that the outward-looking economic policies give consumers a greater choice, and that because of this the welfare of consumers is increased. Through the use of assumptions and insinuations the textbooks allude to the notion that the welfare of consumers is decreased if they buy domestically produced goods. To reiterate the important role that assumptions play in the transmission of ideologies, Harvey (2007, p. 24) argues that “for any system of thought to become dominant, it requires the articulation of fundamental

concepts that become so deeply embedded in common-sense understandings that they are taken for granted and beyond question”. Hence these assumptions are unlikely to be questioned, as they appear in textbooks which are regarded as legitimate sources of information. Thus there is the danger of them becoming legitimate notions. In addition, the all-encompassing phrase *consumer welfare* glosses over the reality that the quality of the mental, physical, social and moral welfare of the consumer can be negatively impacted by this constant hunt for new and better goods (Bauman, 2011a).

In the section discussing economic systems textbook A included an activity based on the Asian Tigers, drawing on four Asian countries. I incorporated this activity under mediascapes because of its focus on the practices of domestic consumption and the purchase of consumer goods. The text appeared to overly persuade readers of the success of the economic model of the Asian Tigers. Of concern too is that the textual portrayal affirms and normalises non-democratic political regimes as long as the desired outcome of economic growth is achieved. In fact, studies of the industrialised Asian markets in the late twentieth century show that strong State bureaucratic interventions were largely responsible for the rapid economic growth (Carnoy, 1993, 1999; Evans, 1997). However, Fioramonti (2017) notes that dictatorships fuel growth because of their repressive policies and imprisonments which discourage dissenting views. Thus this textual portrayal affirms and normalises non-democratic political regimes, as long as the desired outcome of economic growth is achieved.

Writers have also pointed out that globalisation has led to an increase in the consumption of products, which has impacted the ecological cycle because this leads to an increase in the production of goods, which in turn puts stress on the environment (Ar, 2017; Baumann, 2011b; McMichael, 2013). Unfettered consumption also has an impact on the planet’s limited and finite resources. Moreover, environmentalists claim that globalisation encourages greater consumption as more goods are marketed to more people, creating artificial needs and utilising more natural resources (Osland et al., 2001). This also leads to an increase in the transportation of raw materials and food from one place to another (Osland et al., 2001). With this greater movement between countries there is a concomitant increase in pollution levels because of the amount of fuel consumed in the transportation of goods (Karatatou, 2016).

Bauman (2011b) raises a red flag, warning of the consequences of the high levels of consumption, especially in the richer nations of our planet. By his reckoning this level of

consumption would require the resources of five planets instead of our one beleaguered planet. Another concern raised is that profits from these products do not benefit the manufacturing countries (generally the ‘Third World’ countries) but rather create wealth for the “capitalist countries where the property rights owners are headquartered” (Ar, 2015, p. 68). So this portrayal of a desirable and alluring choice of international goods in this spread of consumerism is a reckless rendering of an aspect that can have devastating consequences.

7.6 Representation of the discourse of technoscapes

The fifth discourse of globalisation identified as technoscapes, as described by Appadurai (1990, 1996), depicts the role of technology and technological flows in facilitation of the process of globalisation. In this study sample the words and phrases denoting this process were *technology, technology products, satellite equipment, computer software, knowledge and hardware*. The sub-themes of the romanticising of the outward-looking economic policies and the flawed representation of the inward-looking economic policies were also occasionally found to overlap in this discourse, and are seen as not mutually exclusive.

All four textbooks from the sample contained data pertaining to technoscapes in the chapters analysed. As discussed in the methodology chapter, data were examined from these chapters:

- Economic growth and development: foreign exchange market (globalisation),
- Economic systems: Protection and free trade, and
- Economic growth and development.

The analysis of data revealed to me that the discourse of technoscapes is represented in three of the textbooks (A, B and D) in a manner that signals the text’s strong commitment to the outward-looking economic policies. However, textbook C (with the use of modality, hedging and register) was the only one which conveyed the information that technology borrowed from a foreign country may not be suitable for the borrowing country because of differences in production methods. This representation revealed that this textbook was not biased towards the outward-looking economic policies in this discourse of technoscapes.

In the other textbooks (A, B and D) the outward-looking economic policies were romanticised and the inward-looking economic policies were portrayed as deficient. Linguistic strategies employed to aid this portrayal were modality and hedging, assumptions, register, negative connotations and over-lexicalisation. The analysis showed that the textbooks overtly portrayed

globalisation as responsible for an increased *focus on knowledge*. An assumption like this can become accepted as a common-sense notion and is unlikely to be challenged by the readers as assumptions are also used to ‘build a basis for what sounds like a logical argument – and serves to illustrate how text producers can establish what is known and shared’ (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 154). The textbooks significantly omit the reality that this increased knowledge is seen from the perspective of and for the benefit of the market, and this omission increases the likelihood of false inferences being drawn (Hart, 2011).

Modality and hedging are components of language which express the text’s commitment to what is being said (Fairclough, 2003) and can conceal, reveal, deceive or inform (Fairclough, 2003; Machin & Mayr, 2012). My analysis revealed that the texts employ the strategies of modality and hedging to express a bias towards the outward-looking economic policies when making reference to production equipment and technology. Reinforcing this bias, negative connotation phrases were foregrounded and given prominence as deficient, resulting in the perception of expected negative consequences when inward-looking economic policies are practised. Because textbooks are deemed to be sources of expertise, biases are strengthened and readers are less likely to critically evaluate what these authorities portray (Hart, 2011). These Economics textbooks can therefore serve as hegemonic tools, as they are capable of influencing readers towards assimilation and acceptance of the ideology that outward-looking economic policies of globalisation, free trade and export promotion are more beneficial for the well-being of a country.

Contrary to the positive portrayal of technological innovation in the textbooks, Kapstein (2000) warns that efficient and innovative technological improvements have resulted in the displacement of workers, low wages and low employment levels. Furthermore, globalisation has resulted in technological innovations which have been responsible for the distortion of production patterns. This is mainly so because they utilise capital instead of intensive labour production methods, which in turn impacts on workers and increases poverty because of increasing unemployment (DPMF, 2002; Norton, 2017). Another concern raised is that although advanced technology can potentially improve the quality of lives of many people in the developing countries by eliminating degrading and hazardous work, this automation has resulted in benefits accruing to the owners of technology rather than the workers (Oxfam International, 2018). The benefits to capital disadvantage labour, leading to further polarisation between wealth and low-cost labour (Norton, 2017). Also, advances in technology facilitated

by globalisation have come at the expense of stultifying indigenous African technological development (DPMF, 2002).

Bauman (2011a) trenchantly observes that the obsession with constant change and innovation does not so much serve society but rather serves the interests of the market, as an incessant stream of new-fangled offers is vital for the turnover of merchandise. Mass production may be a highly sought attribute in the acquisition of wealth, but Fioramonti (2017) cautions that this is a dangerous strategy as it increases wastage which then becomes socially problematic. While humans may rejoice in these innovations, they can have long-term effects on the environment (Karatas, 2016). For example, studies over the years, have found that plastic is one of the major toxic pollutants as it is non-biodegradable. However, plastic is of immense use when it comes to packaging and preserving goods that are to be exported, which has led to increased use of it, causing widespread environmental pollution (Karatas, 2016).

Additionally, Gibson (2007) regards technology as culturally biased because it advances the ethics and standards of First World countries. Elaborating on this danger, Gibson (2007) states that because developed countries have gained political power through their knowledge in technology, their dominant belief patterns and ideologies are perpetuated globally. Therefore there is a danger of the dissolution of cultures into a single brand (Gibson, 2007).

All four textbooks omit these significant differing viewpoints which, if included, could present a broader perspective to readers from which to gain greater insight (Eleanor, 2013).

7.7 Conclusion

In this chapter the findings from the analysis of data in the preceding three chapters were discussed in relation to existing literature. The discussion also revealed how this study extended the lineage of knowledge with particular reference to South African Grade 12 Economics textbooks. This discussion indicated that the representation of knowledge in the textbooks was biased towards the discourse of globalisation and its related economic policies of free trade and export promotion. This bias, mainly signified by omission of presentation of a range of explanations, presents pupils with a skewed version of the economy and also narrows their learning experiences. Thus these textbooks have the potential to perpetuate particular notions regarding globalisation because textbooks are regarded as authentic and credible sources of knowledge (Muspratt, 2005). I conclude that the textbook coverage of the outward-looking

economic policies of globalisation, international trade and free trade has been (appropriating the Biblical verse Daniel 5:27) weighed on the balance, and found wanting.

With the positioning of the findings of my data analysis in relation to the existing literature, the final chapter concludes this study by exploring the second research question of the study. Thus the exploration will look at why the discourses of globalisation are represented in the ways that they are in the data sample. I also discuss the implications for future research and practice.

CHAPTER EIGHT: SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the findings of this study in relation to existing literature on globalisation. In this chapter I present the final comments on the thesis in the form of an overview of the study. I also include the key findings that address the critical research questions posed in Chapter one. I then draw on the limitations and implications for practice and further research. However, the most significant aspect that I will address will be the theoretical insights which I offer to explain why the discourses of globalisation are represented in the ways that they are.

8.2 Overview of the study

8.2.1 Context, background, rationale and critical questions

In Chapter one I introduced the study. I also highlighted the need to examine how the discourses of the economic policy of globalisation are represented in South African Grade 12 Economics textbooks. I placed the study in its context by describing the background and the rationale for the study. This was followed by a brief review of literature pertinent to this study on textbooks, ideology and globalisation and culminating with the role of Business Education literature as ideological tools. The purpose and focus of the study were then outlined in the research questions, which were:

3. How are the discourses of globalisation represented in four South African Grade 12 Economics textbooks?
4. Why are these discourses represented in the ways that they are?

I then offered an explanation as to why a critical, qualitative framework was appropriated, as it afforded me a lens to examine constructions of power relating to globalisation perspectives in textbooks. Finally I outlined the organisation of the study.

8.2.2 Literature review and conceptual framework

I began Chapter two with the review of literature on textbook research and the debates in the field. The review of literature underscored the fact that although textbooks are transmitters of knowledge, they can be linked to the ideological leanings of role-players (writers, publishers and political powers) in the textbook industry and what they deem as necessary knowledge (Luke, 1988). Textbooks are key curriculum role-players, conveying officially sanctioned knowledge (Muspratt, 2005; Schissler, 2009) and can propagate a politically correct ideology (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983), pointing to the hegemonic role they play in shaping a particular interpretation of the world. Moreover, what counts as legitimate knowledge may not include the experiences of the marginalised and disempowered groups in society (Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Therefore the inclusion and exclusion of certain knowledge contributes to the inevitable selection of knowledge (Fairclough, 2003). The review showed that textbooks thus are often easily appropriated as ideological tools as they “tell children what their elders want them to know” (Or & Shohamy, 2015, p. 120).

This was followed by a critical examination of research within the economic, political, social, cultural and technological discourses of globalisation. This subsequently informed the development of a conceptual map that comprised the arenas of financescapes, ideoscapes, ethnoscapescapes, mediascapes and technoscapes. These elements of the conceptual framework provided a useful scaffold for guiding construction of the data collection, and the analysis, interpretation and explanation of the economic, political, social, cultural and technological arenas of globalisation. Of significance to this study was demonstration of not only a focus on the relationship between the discourses of globalisation and the broader social environment, but also of how these discourses are systematic constructs (Luke, 1995) of power and a neoliberal capitalistic society.

In addition, studies on textbooks revealed that the portrayal of neoliberalism privileges the positive outcomes of neoliberal restructurings (Parker, 2014), promoting neoliberal and capitalist discourses uncritically (Ferguson et al., 2009; McPhail, 2004; Zhang, 2012). These portrayals thus prominently position textbooks as potential tools of propaganda, as they can instil in students a worldview that wilfully and unquestionably draws on the assumptions and values of capitalism (Ferguson et al., 2005, 2009; Kelly & Pratt, 1994; Maistry & David, 2017; McPhail, 1999; Zhang, 2012). Hence neoliberal capitalism has an insidious effect on economic policies and our thinking, a hegemonic discourse understood as a common-sense notion of the

way the world should be (Harvey, 2007). Of significance is that the review of literature pinpointed a possible gap for my study: the gap being that research on globalisation and South African textbooks seems to be an unexplored field. The review of the literature also provided a platform for the discussion of my findings in Chapter seven.

8.2.3 Research methodology

In Chapter three I detailed the research design and methodology used in the study. For this study I adopted a methodological framework based on elements from CDA (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 2003, 2011; Huckin, 1997; Luke, 1996, 2002; McGregor, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2009; Gee, 2011; Van Dijk, 2011; Huckin, Andrus & Clary-Lemon, 2012). This critical stance was appropriated in order to explore how textbooks manipulate representations to conceal neoliberal and capitalistic power relations. Key constructs employed in the framework were ‘foregrounding’, ‘backgrounding’, ‘topicalisation’, ‘embellishments’, ‘over-lexicalisations’, ‘assumptions’, ‘insinuations’, ‘connotations’, ‘omissions’, ‘nominalisations’, ‘modality’ and ‘register’. Also included in this chapter were the tools used to analyse visual images, as images can reinforce meanings portrayed in texts. The framework used in the analysis of images, identified as ‘multimodal analysis’ (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001; Kress, 2010), largely employs the tenets of linguistic analysis, for example, ‘foregrounding’, ‘backgrounding’ and ‘taken for granted assumptions’.

I determined that the manner in which I framed my research questions could best be answered by qualitative research. Hence a qualitative perspective was employed as the overarching guide to allow me to examine how the discourses of globalisation were ideologically represented. The method of sampling was then elaborated on and the textbook sample of the four Grade 12 Economics textbooks was tabled. To enhance the reliability, validity and rigour of the findings I paid careful attention to issues related to trustworthiness, transferability, credibility and confirmability, as noted in Chapter four. Ethical requirements were adhered to by gaining approval for the study from the relevant UKZN committee (Appendix 1).

8.2.4 Data analysis and findings

Chapters four, five and six focused on my analysis and findings of the selected textbook chapters in response to the first research question of how the discourses of globalisation were presented in the textbooks. I chose to organise the analysis of data in three chapters, because I had to decide how best to represent the findings in a way that offered a coherent and convincing answer to the research question. The discourses were financescapes, ideoscapes, ethnoscapes, mediascapes and technoscapes. Within each discourse the data analysis was separated into themes that emerged during the process of open coding.

I found that two major themes which emerged in each discourse were the romanticising of outward-looking economic policies (free trade, globalisation and export promotion) and the portrayal of inward-looking policies (protectionism and import substitution) as deficient. The romanticised portrayals were evident when the texts were found to favour the outward-looking economic policies and the deficient portrayals were evident when the texts were found to be biased against the inward-looking economic policies. However, these themes often overlapped within each discourse because of the comparative nature of the presentation of information in the textbooks. Moreover the interconnectedness of the discourses sometimes did not allow for an easy separation and for them to be treated as discrete discourses.

8.2.5 Discussion of findings

I discussed the findings of the data analysis in Chapter seven. This was executed in relation to extant literature to demonstrate the links between the findings and the literature, given that the study found that the Economics textbooks contained unbalanced and biased portrayals of global trade as inevitable and desirable in three discourses of globalisation. The texts appeared to nudge the readers towards acceptance of the outward-looking economic policy of globalisation by ‘selling’ the concept of globalisation. The textbooks also appeared to promote and prescribe to readers rather than initiating discussions and raising awareness on the negative consequences of efficiency, innovation and competition which is the mantra of neoliberal globalisation. Herein lies a danger – that in the prescription and acceptance of globalisation as natural and desirable, the backgrounded and excluded contentious issues surrounding globalisation are not open for contestation.

The four textbooks appeared mainly to position themselves against the inward-looking policies of protectionism and import substitution. This suppression of pertinent issues reveals ideology at work, as inclusion of the above implications of efficiency and negative aspects of knowledge, which the texts may deem as contrary to their portrayal, could possibly change the trajectory of the exalted message of globalisation. What is left unsaid is notable by its absence as the suppression of salient facts deliberately misrepresents the discourse, and thus this silence becomes ideological (Hart, 2011). From this I concluded that the representation of globalisation is ideological as it serves to give hegemony to the universal and seemingly unquestionable factuality of international trade. In addition, I used this discussion to reveal where and how this study extended the lineage of knowledge.

Of importance is that my findings revealed that textbook C was the only one in this study that conveyed information in the discourses of ethnoscaples and technoscaples which was not biased towards the outward-looking economic policies. This occurred when the threats to the environment as a result of globalisation (ethnoscaples) were detailed in the chapter discussing economic growth and development. Likewise this was evident in the information that technology borrowed from a foreign country may not be suitable for the borrowing country because of differences in production methods (technoscaples). These representations thus revealed that textbook C, in these discourses, was not biased towards the outward-looking economic policies.

In the following section I discuss the implications of this study on Economics education for school pupils, and tentatively offer suggestions for classroom practice.

8.3 Implications of this study

Based on this study's findings I discuss some implications for teaching and learning Economics in South African schools.

As the study has revealed, the textbooks implicitly and overtly assist in the construction of worldviews favouring the outward-looking economic policies of globalisation, free trade and export promotion. Just as apartheid-era textbooks presented an officially sanctioned version of South African history, so too these Economics textbooks exclude the realities of the economic policies. Economics textbooks therefore can serve as hegemonic tools as they are capable of

influencing pupils, which in turn may lead to the assimilation and acceptance of the ideology of neoliberal globalisation as natural, legitimate and moral. Also significant is that the neoclassical economic canon continues to reign supreme in the official South African high school curriculum (NCS).

In the preamble of the NCS (DoE, 2003) there is an ideological undertone that gives expression to the actual Economics curriculum. This is evident in the statement of aims, purposes and principles, some of which are outlined as equipping learners to participate meaningfully as self-fulfilled citizens of a free country regardless of socio-economic status, enabling learners to transit smoothly from educational institutions to workplaces and to provide employers with a learner's profile of competencies (DoE, 2003). Schools are seen as input and output production lines, manufacturing a pool of labourers "for their position in the market society, rather than institutions designed to liberate minds" (Fioramonti, 2017, p. 180). This commodification of education signals the neoliberal influence and is part of a capitalistic discourse (Maistry, 2014; Ritzvi, 2009), where the education system is seen as a mechanical linkage functioning to enhance economic growth.

In fleshing out the official Further Education and Training Economics curriculum as contained in the NCS, textbook writers have also invoked a distinct neoliberal discourse, in line with the new democracy's strategic neoliberal economic direction (Harvey, 2007). Whereas the NCS also advocates for poverty alleviation and social justice, it is evident that the Economics textbooks as programmatic curriculum are treading a 'slippery slope': advocating for poverty alleviation and social justice whilst simultaneously legitimising the principles of capitalism.

Teacher educators, teachers, and learners therefore need to develop an increased sensitivity to the way in which particular worldviews like globalisation are constructed in texts. To appropriate Bauman's (2011b) words, we are called upon to defamiliarise the familiar and familiarise the unfamiliar, which calls for skills to uncover the "*doxa* (the knowledge we think with but not about), and so enabling and setting in motion a process of perpetual critical scrutiny" (p. 171).

Failure of the textbooks to present a range of explanations to pupils narrows their learning experiences and presents them with a distorted version of the economy, especially in contexts where textbooks are the only resource available to teachers. The textbooks construct and validate worldviews which can disregard the cogency of alternative views. From the analysis of textual data the worldview of the 'normalcy' of global capitalism is seen in its domination

of the social, political, and economic spheres of human existence. Given this portrayal in the textbooks, it is therefore unlikely that alternative economic policies will gain currency.

As such, a continual critical pedagogy may encourage a space for the engagement of learners in debates about alternative financial models that could function well in Third World and developing economies (Maistry & David, 2017). Of significance too is that current sociopolitical circumstances in South Africa may not benefit from liberalised trade, as the links between trade reform, employment and growth are not clear-cut (Cassim, Onyango & Van Seventer, 2004). This could also place a responsibility on curriculum specialists to include in the curriculum a deliberation on the flaws and limitations of, and alternative views to neoliberal globalisation economics. Instead of a facade of ideological neutrality with the presentation of all economic policies, textbooks which acknowledge ambiguity and allow for debate may encourage the development of critical learners.

Similarly, textbooks could include classroom activities where students are given opportunities to consider and discover ethical alternatives to neoliberal globalisation, thus creating a space for the inculcation of tolerance of differences in discussions. Such a space is needed if teachers and students are to interrogate the ideals of neoliberal globalisation, which blame poverty on choices made by individuals; ideals which simplistically theorise that individuals can choose to free themselves from poverty if they apply their minds (Maistry & David, 2017). This too could serve as a means to disrupt the 'familiar' by developing a counter-discourse which places the interests of the poor ahead of those of the profit-seeking global elite.

A critical teacher education curriculum might also provide a perspective on courses like language skills education for the development of skills needed to critically analyse curricular materials in order to develop critical learners. As such, teachers need to develop skills to help them deconstruct teaching materials, a form of language education that moves beyond interpretation to a critical contemplation of the social significance of language as enactments of meaning. In addition, further studies on 'teacher thinking' can aim to find out how teacher education/training courses empower teachers in terms of their discourse analysis skills, so that teachers might be better positioned to discern subtexts and hidden ideologies. Further studies on textbooks that provide curriculum specialists, researchers and teachers with a better understanding of how textbooks employ pedagogical devices in limiting/delimiting scope for interpretation/misinterpretation would also aid this cause.

8.4 Theorising school textbook knowledge selection and construction: The discourse of State as monopoly agent

As discussed in Chapter two of this study, school textbooks often propagate a politically correct ideology (Dean, Hartman & Katzen, 1983) as they can be used as ideological tools to transmit what the State deems as necessary knowledge. Textbook content in South Africa is regulated by the State and State ideology is likely to be apparent in the subject content. The South African textbook industry can best be described as an industry driven by the need for profit, so it is necessary for it to meet particular needs of the intended market. The State is an important participant in this market as it not only provides the regulatory framework for textbook production, it also vets textbooks for content and quality assurance (Maistry & David, 2017). Furthermore the National Development Plan (NDP) (National Planning Commission, 2011) as an ideological macro policy is likely to pervade the policy of the school curriculum and subsequently the curriculum content of school subject (Maistry, 2014). The NDP, which legitimates the value of wealth creation to advance the cause of economic growth, also reveals the State's proclivity for what might be considered an uncritical internationalisation. While the benefits of international trade relations are lauded, there is little empirical evidence that the benefits of globalisation are evenly distributed across the host country's citizens (Ar, 2015; Oxfam International, 2018; White, 2009).

Because textbooks which are rejected are likely to be of no economic value to publishers, it is reasonable to presume that publishers of textbooks might unwittingly be sources of State discourses, as they would select knowledge to gain the approval of State regulatory agents. Content that might critique the State's official agenda might not be favourably received by government vetting powers. In the present highly competitive textbook industry contentious content selection might be deemed non-profitable, as publishers are part of the profit-driven multinational corporate world. Many are international companies which are complicit in the global reach for a greater market share in countries, so it is possible that they will be partial to the neoliberal globalisation policies favoured by the State. It can be argued then that this structural procedure ideologically centres the State in the monopolistic role of mediator and prescriber.

There is therefore a need for a regulatory body which is independent, non-partisan and scholastically informed to ensure that textbook content is not an ideological tool. Likewise, textbook authors need to be aware that they can either disseminate powerful ideologies which function as political hegemonic devices or they can resist an uncritical complicity in the

assimilation of neoliberal globalisation. Writers thus might benefit from a more profound understanding of how content selections and their construction for use by teachers and learners might inadvertently transmit certain messages about the economic world at the expense of alternative views. This raises future research questions as to the ideological inclinations of writers themselves.

8.5 The study's relevance, value and contribution to existing knowledge

The study extends extant literature in several ways:

- This study's contribution to extending an understanding of high school Economics education rests in its use of a CDA protocol which revealed that Economics textbooks are captured by a globalised neoliberal and capitalistic agenda. The nature of the protocol allowed deep insights to emerge as the methodology enabled a detailed discussion comprising a rich description and interpretation of data. This in turn facilitated an explanation of how and why the representation of the discourses of globalisation were decoded ideological tools. I suggest that a particular practical contribution of this study is that the analytical framework which I devised and adapted from Fairclough (1992), Halliday (1973), Huckin (1997), Machin and Mayr (2012) and McGregor (2003) may allow researchers to analyse texts in terms of their political and social significance.
- A particular concern of critics of CDA (Billig, 2002; Breeze, 2011; Widdowson, 1998), is that the linguistic analysis of CDA lacks scholarly rigour because it omits a detailed discussion of the linguistic evidence. However, the analytical framework of this study enables the researcher to do a step-by-step analysis, 'line upon line, precept upon precept', whilst continually, reflexively questioning observations and conclusions. Author bias is also limited as the framework allows researchers to distance themselves from the description, interpretation and explanation of the data. Moreover, the manner of comparing the outward- and inward-looking economic systems also forced me as the researcher to subject both economic systems to the same level of scrutiny. This was evident in the finding that textbook C was not biased towards the outward-looking economic policies in the discourse of technoscapes as well as in the detailing of the threats to the environment as a result of globalisation in the discourse of ethnoscapes.

Thus this framework may be valuable in providing assistance to researchers across a range of disciplines to systematically and transparently demonstrate how textbooks appear to communicate biased constructs of knowledge as natural, factual and self-evident. Whilst this study draws on Grade 12 Economics textbooks, it would be interesting for researchers to employ this analytical framework across a range of disciplines.

On a personal development level, this level of scrutiny allowed me to gain a certain degree of freedom from personal constraints like biases which influence my views. This level of scrutiny also challenged me to critically examine my practice of beliefs and values about issues of social justice and its impact on people who I interact with daily, for example, pupils, parents, colleagues, etc.

- In terms of the theoretical significance, the results of this study will add to the body of knowledge of South African textbook research as, at this juncture, there appears to be no existing literature around globalisation and school textbooks. Although there are many international studies on textbooks and globalisation, these looked at globalisation as a singular construction. However, this study explored the differentiation in the textbooks' treatment of globalisation and the outward-looking economic policies and the treatment accorded to the inward-looking economic policies. Therefore this study theorises the notion of knowledge representation. Consequently, this study is a major contribution to the existing body of knowledge in textbook research both locally and internationally.

8.6 Conclusion

This study presented the findings of a critical study of Grade 12 school Economics textbooks, with a particular focus on how the construct 'globalisation' is projected. The findings demonstrate that the textbooks romanticise globalisation and outward-looking economic policies, whereas the inward-looking economic policies are presented as deficient. From the findings of this study it can be seen that the selection of particular kinds of knowledge, its lexical arrangement, its ordering and emphases, project and foreground a very specific world view. This is significant as South Africa's exposure to the international economic world, after almost a quarter of a century of global trade, has not made any significant difference to the

lives of the poor and destitute. If anything, South African society has become even more unequal, amidst staggering levels of unemployment.

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30 November 2015

Mrs Roshnee David 210551777
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mrs David

Protocol reference number: HSS/1705/015D

Project Title: Exploration of ideological discourses of globalization in South African Grade 12 Business Studies textbooks

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received on 23 November 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the abovementioned reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully


.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Supervisor: Professor S Maistry
Academic Leader Research: Professor P Morojele
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Declaration of Editing of dissertation for fulfilment of PhD: Exploration of ideological discourses of globalisation in South African Grade 12 textbooks

I hereby declare that I carried out language editing of the above dissertation on behalf of Roshnee David.

I am a professional writer and editor with many years of experience (e.g. 5 years on *SA Medical Journal*, 10 years heading the corporate communication division at the SA Medical Research Council), who specialises in Science and Technology editing - but am adept at editing in many different subject areas. I have previously edited much work for various faculties at UKZN, including the School of Education. I am a full member of the South African Freelancers' Association as well as of the Professional Editors' Association.

Yours sincerely

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