MODERN EFL TEXTBOOKS IN MOROCCO AND THE SUPERSEDURE OF MEANING BY FUNCTION: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Inspired by the theory and procedures of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework, in general, Fairclough's (1989, [2001]) Dialectical-Relational Approach and Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework of legitimation, in particular, the present study aims at examining traces of the neoliberal rationality across two officially-produced EFL textbooks in Morocco. More specifically, this article attempts (a) to find out whether some pronounced market- led patterns of argumentation could be observed and (b) to develop a fresh perspective on gender and youth 'empowerment' as it has been articulated in the EFL narratives in Morocco. With this in mind, the present study departs from previous studies which tend to simplify the notions of representation, dominance, inequality, and empowerment in terms of roles and visibility criteria. Fairclough's (1989, [2001]) tripartite dimensions of meaning (social relations, subject positions, and content) were tabulated and statistically analyzed in order to reveal the explicit presence of neoliberalism, whereas Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework was utilized to uncover the various discursive tools that were employed to (de)legitimize specific subliminal aspects of the neoliberal ideology from youth and women perspective. Quantitatively, the findings revealed that recently-produced EFL textbooks in Morocco tend to articulate a specific discourse type – that of an economy and market-led society. In addition, the qualitative analysis revealed the coercive power of the neoliberal mentality in shaping youths' and women' endeavor to be empowered.

KEYWORDS: Critical Discourse Analysis, Neoliberalism, EFL Textbooks, Morocco

INTRODUCTION

Recently, there has been a heightened interest in finding traces of the discourse of neoliberalism, as a dominant Western narrative, especially in EFL school textbooks. Various Studies have problematized the overt and covert presence of the neoliberal mentality in language textbooks (Ahmed et al., 2013; Al Jumiah, 2016; Babaii, & Sheikhi, 2017; Baleghizadeh, & Motahed, 2010; Bernstein et al, 2015; Kooshe; Moghaddam, 2015; Pourhassan, 2015; Pratama, 2017; Sokolik, 2007; Taki, 2008, to name but a few). What brings these studies together, however, is their interest in examining the effect of 'knowledge-based economy' on education in general and school textbooks in particular.

Prior to undertaking the investigation, first, we briefly review the literature on school textbooks as ideological sites of conflict and shed light on researchers' concerns with regards to the discourse of neoliberalism. Second, we survey the main tenets of neoliberalism and highlight its pronounced features. Locating the study against its theoretical background, we introduce Fairclough's (1989, [2001]) Dialectical-Relational Approach and Van Leeuwen's (2008)

framework of legitimation. This will be followed by brief sections describing and arguing for the study's methodological design, corpus, categories and procedures of the analysis. The findings are presented in two separate parts. One part is devoted to the quantitative findings while the second part will report on the qualitative ones.

SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS AND IDEOLOGY

School textbooks not only "impart subject knowledge" (Tobin & Ybarra, 2008, p. 1), but also constitute "particular constructions of reality" (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 3), deeply implicated in the politics of knowledge (Apple, 1993), and tacitly involved in the continuous "social reproduction" (Bourdieu, 1984). According to Apple and Christian-Smith (1991), school textbooks are "conceived, designed and authored by real people with real interests" (p.11) and are "published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power" (p.1-2), legitimizing the selective traditions, organising and disorganising people according to the official knowledge of the dominant group (Apple, 1993, p.222).

Seen as states' ideological apparatuses, modern school textbooks are tasked with articulating the nation's supreme objectives and to prepare citizens for real life. This endeavor to prepare learners for 'real' life has brought with it the culture of the market and the "process of commodification(where everything/ everybody is reduced to objects/commodities and thus to its market value" (Leistyna et al. 1996, p. 333). The commodification and recommodification (Luke, 1994; Bauman, 2004) of EFL textbooks, in Morocco and elsewhere, take place at least at two layers: Content (knowledge) and Methodology (form)

In terms of content, an emphasis is no longer on poverty as a given but on the individual endeavor to come out of poverty, "shifting the blame from the unfair social structures to the disadvantaged individuals themselves" (Kubota, 2014; Lentin & Titley, 2011, cited in Baabi &Sheikh, 2017, p.4). The discourse of 'masked' hope prevails, highlighting stories of personal independence and economic success as a unique argumentative pattern to be consumed by learners. Economic success becomes a commodity to be measured according to the laws of the market. Happiness and other cherished values are defined in congruence with commodified ideologies (Esposito & Perez, 2014). Textbook content loses its meaning and becomes functional and submissive to the market value (Edwards & Usher, 1994 192).

Methodologically, recently adopted and adapted methodologies have also been marketed. For example, the Content-based education (CBE), standards-based approach (SBA), Competency-Based Education (CBE) and other recent methodological innovations that govern ELT in Morocco are, to a very large extent, based on "market-led" principles of performativity, efficiency, skills, performance, and valued outcome of educational processes. ELT becomes an industry with the English language as a commodified and technicised skill and learners as human capital (Baabi &Sheikh, 2107).

THE DISCOURSE OF NEOLIBERALISM

The story of modernity is the story of rationality and human progress (Fallis, 2009, p. 223). Weber (1977) contends that the modern capitalist world obeys "the abstract laws of the market for means-end rational reasons" (Weber, 1977, cited in Kalberg, 1980). This kind of short-term economic rationality can be grounded in the way some aspects of EFL content are articulated. Long term- rationalization processes, on the other hand, are "rooted in values rather than in interests" (Kalberg, 1980, p. 1145). Economic rationalization constitutes the backbone of neoliberalism which Harvey (2005) defines as:

"a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (p. 2)

However, excessive rationalization of social actions deprives them of their social/ethical meanings and renders them functional or instrumental (Leeuwen, 2008). Weber (1977) argues that "social action is no longer oriented toward meanings, values, and beliefs, but toward strategies; no longer toward the questions "Is it true?" "Is it good?" but toward the questions "Does it work?" "Does it achieve its purposes?" (Weber, 1977, cited in Leeuwen, 2008, p. 3). Lyotard(1984) outlines this pragmatic outlook of modernity as follows:

The question (overt or implied) now asked by the professionalist student, the State, or institutions of higher education is no longer 'Is it true?' but 'What use is it?' In the context of the mercantilisation of knowledge, more often than not this question is equivalent to 'Is it saleable?' And in the context of power growth: 'Is it efficient?' (Lyotard, 1984, p.51).

Present day competitive market forces have resulted in social actions/ practices losing their meaning. Leeuwen (2008) investigates how "meaning lost its bearings and becomes fragmented and heterogeneous [while] social action becomes increasingly regimented, homogenized, and proceduralised" (ibid). Pessimistically, this echoed what Zijderveld (1979) calls the "supersedure of meaning by function in modernity." For the same reason, Edwards and Usher (1994) show how "the consumer and consumerism increasingly reign supreme. Meanings that felt comfortable are no longer so" (Edwards and Usher, 1994, p.11).

By extension, identities become increasingly commodified as they come under the laws of the market; we witness a move from "identity to commodity" (Leeman & Martínez, 2007), where identities are "consumed by consumerism" (Grabowski, 2007). Identities are caught between 'structure' and 'agency' accounts" (Benwell &Stokoe, 2006, p 12). They are either "passively controlled by economic conditions, or actively construct their identities by resisting the positions offered by the market" (ibid)

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

CDA, both a theory and a method, is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 1993, 2001). This approach is based on the argument that a language is a form of social practice, and therefore focuses on the ways social and political domination is reproduced by text and talk. Language and other forms of semiosis are perceived as both socially constitutive as well as "socially shaped" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Chouliaraki& Fairclough, 1999). Van Dijk (2001) captures the main difference between CDA and DA by arguing that CDA is discourse analysis with an "attitude" (P. 96). Two theoretical frameworks are of particular relevance for the present study: Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach and Van Leeuwen typology of legitimation.

Fairclough's (1989) Dialectical-Relational Approach (DRA) to CDA is an essentially Marxist framework which investigates the different types of social conflict and tries to map them with their semiotic manifestations in discourse. Generally, Fairclough's (1989) model of CDA has been extensively employed for scrutinizing discourses in order to reveal the ideology and power relations exercised in the texts and thus uncover what is left unstated (Taki, 2004, Roohani & Tanbakooei, 2012, Babaii & Sheikhi, 2017, among others).

Fairclough recognizes three dimensions of meaning: content, social relations, and subject position. These meaning dimensions are related to what Fairclough (1989) designates as "three types of constraints which powerful participants in discourse can exercise over the contributions of non-powerful participants: constraints on contents, relations, and subjects" (p. 38-39). Classifying the dimensions of meaning into comprehensible sets of data would help discover the dominant ideological patterns in a particular discourse. These meaning dimensions correspond to Halliday's tripartite language functions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions (Table1). First, the content dimension of meaning is about what is said or done by language. It designates the text producer's knowledge, beliefs, and values, such as market-oriented values. Second, social relation denotes the nature of the social relationships which participants are likely to assume in discourse such as Employer-employee, husband-wife, and interviewer-interviewee. Finally, the subject position refers to the social identity of participants, for instance, employers, doctors, and teachers.

Table 1: Formal Features: Experiential, Relational, and Expressive Values (Fairclough, 1989)

Dimensions of Meaning	Value of Features	Structural Effect
Content	Experiential	Knowledge and belief
Relations	Relational	Social relationships
Subjects	Expressive	Social identities

Van Leeuwen (2008) socio-semantic categories to the representation of social actors have been so influential and their relevance for unearthing legitimation has been amply documented (e.g. Dashti& Mehrpour, 2017; Roohani, &Tanbakooei, 2012; Sarani, & Kord, 2018)

Van Leeuwen (2008) recognizes four categories of legitimation:

- *Authorization* refers to legitimation based on the authority of "tradition, custom, law, and/or persons in whom the institutional authority of some kind is vested" (p.105).

- *Moral evaluation*, as the designation 'moral' indicates, is "based on values, rather than imposed by some kind of authority without further justification (p.109).

- *Rationalization* refers to legitimation which focuses on "the goals and uses of institutionalized social action and to the knowledge that society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity" (p. 106). According to Van Leeuwen (2008), there are two types of rationality. *Instrumental rationality* and *theoretical rationality*. The first *"*legitimizes practices by reference to their goals, uses, and effects" while the latter "legitimizes practices by reference to a natural order of things" (p.113).

- *Mythopoesis* stands for legitimation through narratives or stories "whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions" (p.106).

RESEARCH DESIGN, CORPUS, AND UNIT OF ANALYSIS

The present study opted for a mixed-methods approach which has the merits of collecting, analyzing, and mixing both qualitative and quantitative data in a single study for the purpose of "breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration" (Creswell, 2011, p. 271–272). Data in this approach consisted of 'manifest content' and 'latent content'. The first lends itself to quantification; the latter, however, allows for the scrutiny of the "deep structural meaning conveyed by the message" (Berg, 2001, p. 242).

For the limited purpose of the present study and in accordance with convenient sampling, two Moroccan EFL textbooks were selected: *Ticket to English 2***(TICKET)** and *Insights into English 2* **(INSIGHTS)***.* The textbooks have been designed for the second year Baccalaureate students irrespective of the stream (Science and Arts). Each textbook includes 10 units each of which featuring tasks for the development of the four skills.

Having chosen the textbook, the next imperative decision concerns the choice of the unit of analysis. Given the complexity of choosing a workable unit of analysis, we adopted Van Dijk (1981) 'episode' as a 'mesolevel' discursive unit of analysis, standing somewhere between clause/sentence and the whole unit of conversation or text. In line with Van Dijk's (1981) reasoning, we adopted 'episode' as the unit of analysis, trying to establish 'thematic unity' for each episode we encountered. To increase the objectivity of our analysis for recognizing episodes and other aspects of analysis, texts were analyzed separately by the researchers, the results were compared, and attempts were made to reach agreement through further discussion.

PROCEDURES OF THE ANALYSIS

This study followed Taki (2008) and Baabi and Sheikh's (2017) procedures and categories of the analysis. First, a quantitative statistical overview of the episodes in the selected textbooks was carried out in order to put Fairclough's three dimensions of meaning into a comprehensible set of data. Second, having identified the types of meaning – *content, relations, and subject positions*- we counted the frequencies of each meaning dimension in order to determine the dominant patterns of occurrences. As Taki (2008) argues, "The rationale for examining these dimensions was to see which aspects of meaning were emphasized or de-emphasized since these choices reflect an ideological stance on the part of the textbook producers." (p.131). 20% of the data were evaluated by a second rater and Cronbach's alpha was calculated using SPSS. Cases with Cronbach's alpha less than 0.60 were re-categorized until an agreement was reached.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The findings fall into two complementary parts. The first part is mainly quantitative, presenting an eye bird's view concerning the types and the frequency of the topics, relations, and subject-positions. The second part, on the other hand, adds a qualitative dimension to the analysis of the above dimensions, critically scrutinizing them in order to unveil the subliminal neoliberal values.

Classification of Topics (Content)

Table 2 offers an adapted list of topics from Taki (2008) and Baabi and Sheikh (2017) in addition to new themes which we came up with after the analysis of the textbooks' episodes. Nearly one third (36.32%) of the topics are explicitly (job matters, money matters, and shopping) or implicitly (celebrities, interviewing) connected to neoliberal values. Traces of subliminal neoliberal values in topics such as education, literacy, gender, youth, and empowerment were also analyzed in light of their relevance to the neoliberal rationality.

Table 2 demonstrates the over- presence of the market-led ideology. According to Fairclough (2001), the predominant modes of the official knowledge that these textbooks embrace are deeply anchored in the values of the market. These textbooks, Baabi, and Sheikh (2017) remind, "have the potential to train a generation of educated people with considerable knowledge about money, fashion, celebrities, company affairs, etc. but with little knowledge about other important aspects of life which are not connected to money" (p.7).

Table 2: The Type and Frequency of Topics in the Corpus

Topic	Frequency	Percentage%
Getting familiar with people	23	5.76
Celebrities	17	4.26
Personal anecdotes	44	11.02
Job matters	61	15.28
Traveling	21	5.26
Money matters	33	8.27
Interviewing	15	3.75
Lifestyle	27	6.76
Health	31	7.7
Music	28	7.01
Fashion	11	2.75
Shopping	19	4.76
Advertisement	18	4.51
Painting	3	0.75
TV, phone, internet	37	9.27
Pet	0	00
History	11	2.75
Total	**399**	**100%**
Inter-Rater Reliability	**--**	**A= 0.69**

Classification of Relations

Table 3 displays the relations findings. Similar to previous studies (Taki, 2008, Babaii & Sheikhi, 2017), 'Friend-Friend' was the predominant relation in the investigated corpus (27.4%), followed by 'students' (21.23%). These relations, Taki (2008) argues, are often idealized to be free of conflicts and disagreements. Their predominance can be explained by reference to the nature of the analyzed textbooks which are primarily designed for young learners. Therefore, the over-frequency of these relations is the audience –bound. However, taken together, relations such as Interviewer–interviewee, Customer-service provider, Consumer–seller and Employer-employee tip the scale (28.16%) in favor of the neoliberal discourse. Traditional roles such as 'neighbors' and 'colleagues' seem to take a back seat. Similar to Taki's (2008) findings, "relations are portrayed in dialogues that are often short and decontextualized. Anonymous characters appear and vanish quickly in contexts lacking a plot or narrative. This appears very similar to the language of advertisements. It seems that the medium is colonized by the discourse of mass media advertising" (p.133)

Table 3:Relations in the Textbooks as a Whole

Relations	Frequency	Percentage%
Friends	71	27.41
Customer-service provider	32	12.35
Colleagues	11	4.24
Supervisor–subordinate	2	0.77
Interviewer–interviewee	9	3.47
Family members	33	12.74
Wife–husband	12	4.63
Students	55	21.23
Consumer–seller	24	9.26
Reporter–audience	2	0.77
Neighbours	00	00
Employer–employee	8	3.08
Total		**100%**
Inter-Rater Reliability	**--259--**	**A= 0.69**

Classification of Subject Positions

Table 4 reveals that there is a heavyweight on putting students within the market-led atmosphere. Excessive visibility was allotted to the market over other equally significant subject positions. In analyzing the episodes, we found that the subject positions of the occupation (31.28%) and the commercial (20.24%) roles, taken together, account for more than 50% of the available subject positions in the investigated textbooks. Cronbach's alpha was highly significant, reaching $\alpha = 0.77$. The remaining subject positions (48.46%) were mostly societal. According to Taki (2008), "this means little concern is given for the role the language learner might play in cultural institutions such as teams, clubs, festivals, schools, or political parties"(p.134). Finally, it seems that the findings we reached were in line with previous studies which had also employed Fairclough's model (Taki, 2008, Baabi & Sheikh.).

Table 4: Subject Positions in the Selected Textbooks

	Societal	Commercial	Occupational	Total	Cronbach's Alpha
Textbooks	79 48.46%	33 20.24%	51 31.28%	163 100%	$\alpha = 0.77$

QUALITATIVE TRACES OF NEOLIBERALISM

The carried out quantitative analysis has helped increase the numerical visibility of some aspects of the neoliberal discourse across topics, relations and social roles. Nevertheless, the picture would remain patchy unless it is coupled with a qualitative analysis which has the analytical power of unearthing invisible, subliminal traces of the neoliberal ideology. Below, we will present and discuss excerpts promoting the rationality of neoliberalism.

Commodified Youths

Under the new reign of the market, the worth of youth is determined by reference to skills, experience and abilities and no longer to moral ideals such as decency, compassion, and conscientiousness. People's value is measured in terms of *loss and win* principles. Again, the market defines *success* and *failure* in equally neoliberal terms, marking a discursive shift from identity to the commodity. Excerpt No. {1}, which is about a freshly graduated university student sharing his/her experience of becoming a journalist, clearly illustrates this:

No. {1} After I had graduated from ISIC, I applied for a job with a prestigious national newspaper. I didn't get the job because they wanted someone who had *excellent* desktop publishing skill. I could have taken a course in desktop publishing, but I didn't. If I had taken that course, I would have got the job. Just *imagine* for a moment what my life might have been then if I had taken that job. Sometime later, I took a course in desktop publishing. I am a *highly –paid journalist* now. I've had "no regrets" at all so far (INSIGHTS, p.32)

Excerpt No. {1} reveals three important neoliberal patterns of argumentation. First, 'journalism' had been reduced to purely technicised skills which require 'excellent' desktop skills. Other equally important requirements that would define 'journalists' have been, eclipsed, backgrounded or suppressed. So, a market-led pattern of technicised skills has replaced other skills akin to journalism such as curiosity, trustworthiness, honesty, and passion. Journalism has lost its meaning and become increasingly functional. Second, the narrator's earlier failure to get the job has been noticeably naturalized, presented as a direct consequence of his/her inability to cope with the new requirements of the journalism market. This shifts the blame from the whole institutional structures to the youth themselves who are led to accept their failure. Finally, it seems that the end (highly-paid journalist) justifies the means (taking courses in desktop skill), thus

obeying "the abstract laws of the market for means-end rational reasons" (Weber, 1977, cited in Kalberg, 1980).

Linguistically, a notable lexico-grammatical feature which is present in the above extract needs to be examined. This linguistic strategy concerns the use of direct imperative (Imagine) and disguise an implicit "address form of 'you' which gives some sort of dialogic quality to text" (Baabi & Sheikh, 2017). According to Fairclough (2001, p. 142), the use of the direct imperatives helps produce 'a mix of face-to-face and public discourse types', bringing a sense of acquaintance, familiarity and commonality between the author and the potential reader, a strategy akin to advertisers' efforts to sell products to potential customers.

The second extract is about applying for available places to medical schools. The excerpt foretells a strong competition among the applicants, defining a set of legibility criteria that resonate with the laws of the market.

No. {2} Typically, there are many more applicants than available places to medical schools, so *competition is tough*. Because of this oversupply of eager students, medical school can pick and choose who they want to train. Because a medical school involves a lot of science reading, the strongest determining factor of whether you will be accepted if your grade performance at college in a science background… this means that working hard early at college and towards a science major increase your chances of becoming a student in a medical school. (p.75, an emphasis is original)

Excerpt No. {2} echoes the supply-demand principle of the competitive market, which restricts human agency and legitimizes systematic exclusion of candidates by appealing to the plethora of argumentation topos. For example, the topo of *competition* creates rivals on the scale and weighs them up against one another, defining losers and winners according to the law which stipulates that 'survival is to the fittest'. The lexicon echoes this *available places, competition is tough, grade performance, working hard, chances.*

Linguistically, the episode sets the scene by using the adverb 'typically' which strongly naturalizes the episode's propositional content, rendering it part of the audience's common-sense, and thus creating a shared 'constructed' background against which the truth value of the proposition is rendered unquestionable. Some legibility conditions are exaggerated, creating this feeling of 'hurry up', 'first come first served', which engenders panic and anxiety.

In episode No. (3), students are asked to tick the reason(s) for giving gifts- a purely human endeavor to strengthening social relationships.

No. {3} People give gifts for a variety of reasons:

- to build and maintain personal or business relationships:

- to promote business products or services;

- to enhance the image and reputation of a company (INSIGHTS, p. 23).

The third episode clearly articulates one of Van Leeuwen's tools of legitimation: appeal to instrumentalization and rationalization. Under the market-led reign, priorities have dramatically changed. As Babaii and Sheikhi (2017) observe "people's personal value and well-being matter as far as they are related to work and making money" (p.9). Verbs like '*to build*, *to promote*, and *to enhance'* seem to collocate with 'business, *products*, *company'*. Gifts, again, lose their meaning and become fragmented. In Van Leeuwen's terms: we no longer ask 'if gifts are good?', instated we start asking 'do they work?' This means that the rationalization of modernity has rendered purely human tokens 'measurable'.

Commodified Gender

The coercive impact of neoliberalism can also be observed in the way women's quest for equity is being conceptualized in Moroccan EFL textbooks. Women's success in life has itself become a commodity in and on the market, ready to be sold and consumed. Success and empowerment are being defined and redefined in purely market terms which observe efficiency, productivity, instrumentality and above all rationality.

No. {4} What we need in Morocco is more women with high ranking jobs helping other women along (INSIGHTS, p. 65).

No. {5} Most women in this country get where they are by working incredibly hard and by being outstanding performers at their jobs. I run a company full of men. For me to enjoy power is to enjoy control- particularly over other people. This concept of power is not part of my personal repertoire. I am for power-sharing in my company. Power-sharing is a key to success, I think (INSIGHTS, p.64)

Episodes (4) and (5) continue to assert the same line of market-led rationality, presenting women not in terms of *who they are* but in terms of *what they do*, marking a significant discursive shift from *being* to *doing* (*high* ranking jobs, performers, company). Women empowerment is being categorically represented in terms of a lexicon that heavily draws on the market. The rationality of neoliberalism and its unprecedented commodification of the gender discourses results in constructing the entrepreneurial, strong, responsible, and self-managing female workers. Again, the episodes are full of linguistic markers which are preached by the coercive ideology of the market such as *power, incredibly hard, outstanding, high rank*. Ideologically, the use of the all-inclusive pronoun marker 'we' is essential in constructing the feeling of 'we all agree on effect'. In terms of modality, avoiding linguistic hedging and opting, instead, for the copula *be* helps make the propositional content of the episodes strikingly categorical: *"Power-sharing is a key to success"; what we need in* Morocco is more women *with high ranking jobs*.

Who can define happiness? The market can. The sixth extract is an attempt to define the criteria of happiness.

No. {8} Hi, I am Fatma from Mali. I am 30. I've got three children. These days I feel **happy** because I attend a special educational program that aims at **empowering** women in our **village**. I'm **impatient** to learn how to use a **computer** (GATEWAY 2, p.11)

First, we understand from the extract that Fatma is 30 years, from a village, attending a special education program that aims at empowering women. We also understand that she is eager to use a computer. As the discourse proceeds, it seems that we forget the fact that Fatma is from Mali (underdeveloped), specifically from a village (poor) and that she has got three children (housework) and we, paradoxically, concentrate on the fact that she is *HAPPY* because she is *IMPATIENT* to learn how to use a computer. In rhetorical terms, an episode (8) exemplifies the distinction between the *theme* and the *rhyme* or the focus and the background. We are led to forget about the point of departure (poverty, and housework, and maybe illiteracy) and focus, instead, on the arrival point (happiness, using a computer). Fatma's story is an example of what Van Leeuwen' 2008) calls legitimation by *Mythopoesis. The latter* stands for legitimation through narratives or stories "whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions" (p.106).

The following episode advocates the claim that "*The **promotion** of women's rights is often discussed as a moral imperative*".

No. {9} The promotion of women's rights is often discussed as a moral imperative. In this article, I would like to focus today on the compelling economic argument for giving women a greater role today. The research is unequivocal. If the goal is to improve health, nutrition, or education, reduce fertility or child mortality, stem the spread of HIV, build robust and self-sustaining community organizations, encourage grass-roots democracy, and ultimately, temper extremists, successful efforts must target women. P 53

Linguistically, the episode starts by the passivization of the propositional content (*is often discussed as a moral imperative)*. Questions of who "discuss it as a moral imperative" have been totally suppressed, leaving no trace in the discourse, deagentialising the 'sayer' or the 'discussor' and lending an impersonal power to the propositional content raising it beyond above doubt.

The episode argues for the promotion of women's right by a direct appeal '*moral imperatives'.* However, as we read, this **MORAL** imperative is translated to monetary currency equating it with *compelling economic argument.* This is not only a shift in diction, but it is also a shift in perspective, a shift from the social to the socio-economic, a shift from the realm of morality to that of the market. Another legitimation pattern used in the episode above concerns the discursive appeal to 'research' (The research is unequivocal), thus giving more credibility to the claims that the episode develops. Here the market ideology and 'research' converge in their claim to be 'scientific', beyond simple intuitions. In terms of modality, the statements are strikingly categorical (the research *is* unequivocal), leaving no room for hedging or speculations.

The episode ends with a series of paratactic items (to improve health, nutrition, or education, reduce fertility or child mortality, stem the spread of HIV, build robust and self-sustaining community organizations, encourage grass-roots democracy, and ultimately, temper extremists). The items are discursively associated, creating the impression/ illusion that they are of the same weight, and '**successful efforts must-target women'**. The last sentence comes with a high level of epistemic modality (must), without being clear about the kind of the 'efforts' that MUST target women, an ambiguity which is left to the readers to interpret! However, whatever the interpretation might be, it will clearly echo the **compelling economic argument** that **'the unequivocal research'** has proved.

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this study, we have sought to investigate the neoliberal ideology in some recently-produced EFL textbooks in Morocco. To reach this goal, we have chosen CDA as our theoretical and methodological lens. Relatedly, a mixed methods design research tools have been used to gather data that are both quantitative and qualitative to reach reliable results. Such results have been tabulated, commented on, discussed and interpreted based on a wide array of theme-oriented patterns. The findings that we have reached confirm that Moroccan EFL textbooks bare the traces of neoliberalism.

The study, once again, has proved that CDA is a difference that makes a difference. It makes opaque structural relations of the marked available to critical scrutiny. Language is not simply an innocent assemblage of words, structures, and texts, but rather an ideological system for constructing and disseminating specific versions of the world that control people and influence the way they think. Therefore, it is incumbent upon teachers, textbooks designers and other stakeholders like language supervisors to help create critical language awareness in their learners. Finally, As Baabi and Sheikh (2017) argue the findings of this kind of studies should, in no way, be taken to "prescribe banning or censoring

internationally- produced EFL textbooks with the false hope to prevent the so-called cultural invasion" (p.15).

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