

Reflections on Ideologies Underpinning ELT Curriculum and Nature of Global Course Books Used in Saudi Arabia

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Abstract

The influence of neoliberal ideology in the educational literature has widely been discussed recently. Yet relatively little critical attention has been paid to the ways these hegemonic agendas have shaped and influenced the development of ELT curriculum and published teaching materials. This theoretical paper reviews literature on how neoliberal ideology influences ELT curriculum, namely published teaching materials. Also, it argues that ELT curriculum contents are essentially political and ideologically constructed to fulfil the politico-economic interests of ELT international publishers, located in the centre (e.g., UK and US). These neoliberal ideological constructions are preparing our students to become neoliberal citizens, consumers, or customers of English language learning, who can become apt members of callous marketization. This theoretical paper recommends that TESOL professionals need to play their role by demystifying and resisting these ideologies by redesigning the ELT curricula, such as course books. In addition, scripted curriculum and one-size-fits-all policy reflected in global course books contents do not fulfil the needs of diverse learners in various EFL/ESL contexts. Therefore, TESOL professionals, in particular



teachers and academics need to be aware of current and potential educational policies and advocacies driven by western neoliberal educational ideologies. In practice, ESL/EFL teachers, academics and curriculum developers are required to consider their contextual local realities, such as students' English language learning constraints and teaching perspectives from teachers stand points in designing the EFL/ESL curriculum contents.

Keywords: ELT curriculum, Ideology, Neoliberalism, Marketization, Global course books

1. Introduction

This theoretical paper has argued that ELT curriculum, namely published materials can be politically and ideologically motivated and they are likely to be exploited to fulfill the economic interests of Western ELT curriculum developers and international publishers. It is conceived that through these constructions, neoliberal agenda of global culture and market economy is promoted to prepare neoliberal citizen for the world of work. By challenging the dominant neoliberal Western ELT curriculum issues, including pedagogical practices and ideological notions is part of challenging the global order that affects us in one way or the other. In addition, it seems that scripted ELT curriculum guidelines and internationally published materials do not fit well with varied classroom conditions and diverse learners needs in different ESL/EFL environments. This theoretical paper suggests that educating people to liberate and empower themselves has become a need recently. According to Freire (1968) teachers generally teach language skills but they rarely teach how to think or to question the given notions advocated by Western ELT organizations and agencies. Freire highlights dialectical role a teacher can play to make the learning process appropriate for the intended learners. Hence, critical approach needs to be adopted with regard to international English language course books.

In educational field, researchers emphasize that the global curriculum developments have extensively been influenced by the ideology of neoliberalism (Hamilton & Weiner, 2003). Capitalism in its present form is in evolution to a post-Fordist practice of production accompanied by the proliferation of neoliberal political agenda to reconstruct the settings for capital accumulation and to empower the economic elites by making exclusive political and ideological arrangements and create false understandings (Wacquant, 2012). Under these circumstances, English Language Teaching (ELT) curriculum in general and global course books in particular seem pertinent to be analyzed critically and examined to explore the underpinning ideological notions included in their contents (Curdt-Christiansen and Weninger (2015a). Also, it is vital to explore the way a dominant/non-dominant language conveyed, types of global course books used in ESL/EFL contexts, and sociolinguistic-political agendas that are likely to affect the teaching and learning processes in these environments.

This theoretical paper challenges the claim that ELT curriculum in general and global course books designed by international publishers in particular are not a neutral enterprise rather they carry deeply-rooted ideological agendas that not only direct the construction and deliverance of particular kind of knowledge but also control the apparatuses of power (Foucault, 1979) so that the products (students) can be consumed for economic gains by regulating the wider social, political, cultural and economic conditions of the society.



Fundamentally, ideological implications regarding writing, designing, producing, marketing, use and effect of English language course books have not been extensively investigated (Duff, 2015). Therefore, the main purpose of this paper is to critically review the literature on ideological underpinnings in ELT curriculum and to investigate how these ideologies, particularly, neoliberalism operate in development and construction of ELT curriculum, how economic interests of dominant groups play their part in fabrication of instructional materials, how major socio-political issues are depoliticized in ELT course books, and how neoliberal ideology is promoted by commodification and marketization of global course books. In the following section, the term ideology will be defined and discussed.

2. Definition of Ideology

The concept of ideology has been extensively discussed and varyingly interpreted among social science researchers in general and Marxist scholars in particular. Regarding highlighting different shades of meaning associated with ideology. Freeden (2003) argues that ideologies act like lens by which we see, make sense and interpret our political and social worlds. Likewise, Gramsci (1971) views ideology as "the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc." (p. 377). Through ideology, we can impose a pattern or structure on how we interpret or misinterpret political, social facts and events. These structures or ideologies are commonly perceived in literature as the imposition of false consciousness (Freire, 1970) or the legitimization of an established body of knowledge and beliefs (Siegel, 2013). Nevertheless, instead of limiting ideology as beliefs, Apple (2012) establishes his argument on Gramscian Marxism, and defines ideology as sets of "lived meanings, practices, and social relations that are often internally inconsistent if not contradictory" (p.14). In other words, ideologies contain elements of good and bad sense within them. Therefore, they generally display normalized benefits to the society at one hand and at the same time tend to comply with the hegemonic practices of the dominant segment of society.

In this theoretical paper, the term ideology is referred to as a political ideology or concept and it is a political device that is primarily used not as any system of beliefs rather it is "the dominant political, educational, or cultural value system that secures its legitimacy through institutionally, circulated discourses, and through the impact of these discourses on readers/viewers/listeners" (Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger, 2015, p. 3). To define the main features of a political ideology, Freeden (2003) states that it is "a set of ideas, opinions, beliefs and values that 1) exhibit a recurring pattern, 2) are held by significant groups 3) compete over providing and controlling plans for public policy and 4) do so with the aim of justifying, contesting or changing the social and political arrangements and processes of a political community" (p. 32).

3. Ideology and Curriculum

The nature, genesis and construe of educational knowledge has widely been debated and problematized in educational literature (Apple, 2004; Scott, 2014; Wachholz & Mullaly, 2001). In this regard, Apple (2004) argues that taught elements in school need to be considered as a commodity seen as a distribution of goods and services in the market. He



further contends that the study of educational knowledge should be taken as study of ideology because what is considered legitimate or official knowledge (Apple, 2014), cannot be accepted as given due to the fact that we need to bear in mind three major issues, namely what, how and who has selected this knowledge. It is also vital to realize that this is a value-governed process that needs be problematized and scrutinized.

Like educational knowledge, curriculum is also seen as a social construction that is produced from a set of decisions. Such decisions are significantly influenced by the interplay of various educational components like subject matter, learning, instruction, and social, political and economic situations along with the immediate teaching context (Hickman & Porfilio, 2012). Current neo-liberal and neo-conservative policies, marketization, national curriculum and national testing, in educational contexts in particular, have diversifying effects. Primarily, they are often imbedded in the positive language of helping the unprivileged and increasing accountability etc. They can create a dangerous and critical situation for those who are on the receiving end (Apple, 2004). The concept of curriculum has widely been considered as illusive, fluid and unstable concept when it comes to define or redefine it in a specific context (Goodson, 1989). Broadly speaking, curriculum can be defined as "representations of knowledge for the purpose of teaching" (Elliott, 1994, p. 49) or "all the learning which is planned and guided by the school, whether it is carried on in groups, or individually, inside or outside the school" (Kerr, 1972, p.16). Thus, in general, curriculum prescriptive in nature is also what Scott (2014) calls "a knowledge forming activity" that as discussed earlier cannot be taken for granted rather needs to scrutinized in depth (p. 14). The following section reviews the prevailing curriculum ideologies that have historically influenced educational practices.

4. Curriculum Ideologies

It seems pertinent to analyze the way curriculum has been perceived historically. The idea of conception of curriculum explicitly refers to the defined values associated with curriculum perspective and ultimately reflected in teaching practice, and have political orientations in its core (McKernan, 2007). In this regard, McKernan (2007) contends that there are six main curriculum conceptions or ideologies. The following section reviews the prevailing curriculum ideologies that have historically influenced educational practices.

4.1 intellectual Rationalist Ideology

Intellectual-rationalist ideology is considered the earliest and can be traced out in the educational development of the Greek and Roman states and the early European universities. Barone (2010) maintains that advocates of this ideology consider it essential for having a meaningful learning that occurs when it is based on long-lasting ideas that have stood the test of time. He further states that rationalists believe that human nature is consistent. Therefore, these perennial issues should be the focus of academic disciplines. Moreover, McKernan (2007) describes that this conception of curriculum conceives the function of education is to nurture and enhance the intellectual growth of students by bounding them to the most rational procedure of subject organization.



4.2 The-Religious Ideology

Theo-religious ideology differs from Intellectual-rationalist ideology on the grounds that the oldest schools were meant to provide religious training. Quinn (2010) maintains that the advocates of this ideology believe that the purpose of education is to introduce children to a faith community and belief system considered to be true and legitimized by divine authority. Therefore, curriculum decisions and policies are based on indoctrinating a particular value system and a way of life deemed to be true and right. In this regard, Willis (2010) states that the main task of such curriculum is to make a student aware about his relationship with the infinite or God. Historically speaking, McKernan (2007) explains that religious education or training has been dominating the educational systems of most of the nations.

4.3 Social-Romantic Ideology

Social-Romantic ideology, according to McKernan (2007) pays attention to the needs and interests of the learner instead of inculcating the subject or content matter. It mainly focuses on the notion that students should be prepared to live in a society democratically and sociably. Tanner (2010) opines that Dewey, (2015), is one of leading advocates of this ideology and proposes teaching students a logic of learning so they could be prepared to solve problems. For Dewey, curriculum does not consider knowledge as a main source rather it is the learner's nature that takes priority. Kelly (2009) asserts that "the fundamental values of education are to be found in the nature of human development and its potentialities" (p. 87).

4.4 Technical-Behavioural Ideology

Technical-behavioural ideology is based on a set of values that persuade learners to become consumers in the capitalist system that includes producing, consuming, measuring and vocationalism (McKernan, 2007). Apple (2004) contends that this curriculum conception is primarily developed from scientific positivism and behaviouralism approach which are historically perceived as neutral but in fact there is nothing neutral regarding "technical, efficiency, and scientific perspectives in curriculum and education in general" (p. 99). In this ideology, the main objective of education is to prepare students as contributors to the market economy and to encourage them to engage in globalization. Garc \(\hat{a}\) and De Lissovoy (2013) believe that the essential values underpinning this ideology includes accountability, efficiency, choice, consumerism, measuring, evaluating performance, achieving standards and producing numerical results in place of collective responsibility. Hence, it is argued that this ideology promotes the notion that the main purpose of education is to prepare students for the job market or labour force needs.

4.5 Personal-Caring Ideology

Personal-caring ideology is grounded on the idea that one of the most important factors that motivates teachers to enter teaching profession is primarily to help children grow and learn (Ornstein, Levine, Gutek & Vocke, 2013). This ideology is mainly found in the curriculum that focuses on care and welfare of the learners. This ideology holds to the view that teacher should be like a shepherd who looks after the total needs of learners ranging from guidance, counseling and education for life not only for career needs (McKernan, 2007b). Eisner (2002)



states that this curriculum ideology content is not accepted, enforced by the external agents, rather it is merely a source of personal help for the learner. In fact, one of the main features of this ideology is the notion that students should learn to make moral decisions so they could become spiritual beings and live a better life (McKernan, 2007).

4.6 Critical-Political Ideology

Critical-political ideology focuses on to uncover and expose the implicit values of curriculum by voicing those issues that underpin inequality and injustice in the educational settings (Apple, 2004; McKernan, 2007b). Apple (2004) advocates that this ideology mainly focuses on the matters of power, legitimation, conflict and the special use of language for presenting these arguments. Apple and Weis (1983) further argue that majority of schools exist for preparing students for the needs of labour market and act to legitimize some groups and marginalizing others that do not conform or adopt a specific identity, context or profession. McKernan (2007) maintains that the proponents of this perspective have raised their voices to allow schools to play active roles to support transforming schools and institutional cultures by spreading awareness among students about problems of racism, inequality, environment, poverty, anti-Semitism, gender issues, intergroup conflict by teaching about equality, tolerance and conflict resolution.

In sum, it seems important to explore and unearth the implicit values and perspectives of curriculum by investigating the extent to which an ideology or ideologies a school gives priority to and how teaching practices can influence learners' learning experience in a particular context. The next section discusses Ideology, curriculum and technical control.

5. Ideology, Curriculum and Technical Control

The way educational knowledge is constructed possesses a strong hegemonic and ideological control that is arguably grounded in the scientific paradigm. Apple (2004) contends that ideology works by offering society with a "selective tradition" of knowledge that incorporates the perspectives of those who are in power along with views and contributions of marginalized groups that are deliberately excluded. After all, there seems to be nothing neutral about "technical, efficiency, and 'scientific' perspectives in curriculum and education in general" (p. 91). In brief, these perspectives promote a legitimate and consensus view of the curriculum. They demand for "total agreement on the 'paradigm' to be used in curriculum thought" (p. 111) which equates with and look like a scientific metanarrative (Weis et al., 2013).

Technical control not only influences teaching practices but also reshapes teachers and other educators' perspectives regarding their work. When this technical control perspective of curriculum form is analyzed in relation with Foucault's ideas of micro-technologies and apparatuses of power (Weis et al., 2013). Foucault (1979) maintains that power "is exercised rather than possessed" (p. 26) that does not occur as configuration of interests in a central point, but rather disseminates through discourses. Ultimately, it is exercised at limits, through micro-technologies that adhere themselves to real human bodies, especially organizational sites. He contends that disciplinary power as "the specific technique of power that regards



individuals as both objects and as instruments of its exercise" (p. 40). Its instruments are comprised of hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment, and the practice of testing and examination.

6. Ideology, Neoliberalism and Curriculum

Sociologists view neoliberalism as the most prevailing ideology that directly influences our daily lives in the present times. Neoliberalism is generally perceived as a new form of capitalism that influences society quite seriously and ruthlessly (Hutton & Giddens, 2001). Neoliberalism is a belief based on the notion that "growth flows from freeing up markets, adopting market-friendly policies and cutting back the role of government. Neoliberalism must be the primary role of government" (Mann, 2003, p. 57). He further points out that what the "rest of the world calls neoliberalism", the US calls it "encouraging the world towards more open trade" which sums up the whole ideology into "a benevolent US imperialism" (p. 57).

7. Types of Neoliberalism

Ward and England (2007) advocate that there are four different perspectives of neoliberalism, and they give a broad understanding of this issue. These concepts are: a) neoliberalism as an ideological hegemonic project, b) Neoliberalism as policy and program, c) Neoliberalism as state form and d) Neoliberalism as governmentality.

7.1 Neoliberalism as an Ideological Hegemonic Project

Neoliberalism as an ideological hegemonic project holds to the view that dominant groups and people in power promote and circulate a coherent and normalized set of interpretations and conception of the world to others. This hegemonic project does not merely demand a coercive obligation, rather it also seeks a level of willing consent (Ward and England, 2007). Reflecting this concept on an education setting, curriculum planers and policy makers of an English language program or an English course, can adopt a flexible policy of persuasion. For example, they can advocate strongly for adopting a new curriculum policy or changes. They tend not to impose their own interpretations and views about them, instead they try to get approval of academic staff and teachers for implementing the intended curriculum changes and policies.

7.2 Neoliberalism as Policy and Program

Neoliberalism is a policy and program that emphasizes shifting ownership from the state to the private or corporate sector (Ward and England (2007). This perspective is primarily based on the notion that making collectively held resources available to the market promoting for more professionalism and efficiency. This conception of neoliberalism is espoused in the name of deregulation, depoliticization, privatization, liberalization, and monetarism (ibid).

7.3 Neoliberalism as State Form

Neoliberalism as state is viewed as a way of transformation in which states deliberately involve to stay economically competitive among states holding same ideological groundings



(Ward and England (2007). In other words, certain countries adopt neoliberalism as a state ideology to prepare their citizens for the world of work, so it becomes a norm in a society. Such ideological inclusions are usually made seamless by embedding in a country's socio-pollical and legal systems.

7.4 Neoliberalism as Governmentality

Neoliberalism as a governmental perspective suggests that power is a complex phenomenon, and it exists in a very specific form based on knowledge production with the collaboration of strategies, techniques, rationalities and technologies. It is concerned with the mindset of the people in power who allow for de-centering of government roles by involving self-regulated selves (Foucault, 1979). Therefore, it is essential to understand these perspectives, in order to recognize the impact of neoliberalism on education in general, particularly on the ELT curriculum.

Generally, neoliberal discourse strives to fabricate a "hegemonic rationality" that produces "a whole way of life for which neoliberal discourse provides the organizing metaphors" (Couldry, 2010, p. 5). One of the pertinent metaphors offered by neoliberal discourse, as Couldry (2010) describes, the market as the organizing factor for society that denounces and delimits to imagine the other alternatives. Giroux (2005) maintains that in neoliberalism everything is considered either for sale or is robbed for profit. We believe that adopting strict neoliberalism ideology on curriculum policies and decisions can have serious consequences on ESL/EFL curriculum, namely teaching and learning experiences for both teachers and students.

Apple (2004) considers neoliberalism as a political act. He believes the main purpose of neoliberalism in education is to inculcate students with skills needed in the world of work, Therefore, the mantras of efficiency, competences, competitiveness and result-orientation are common concepts among the advocates of this ideology. With its intention to commodify education, Chun (2013, p. 64) believes that neoliberalism aims to raise "a complicit, depoliticized citizen/educational subject" which Brown (2005) calls "the neoliberal citizen" (p. 43). With the aim to produce neoliberal citizen, education system to be economically proficient and curriculum must foster competitiveness (Hakala et al., 2015).

In an educational context, a school does not simply manufacture subjects or workers at the same time. However, it can enforce a particular disposition of being in the world. Those who rebel or do not submit to the domination of power are victimized and marginalized (De Lissovoy, 2010). The pedagogical processes are redesigned by the accountability rule in the form of exercises in domination, and the power to punish, obscure and marginalize students emerges from everyday classroom experiences that are normalized and declared as "best practices" that consequently resembles the school to prison (Garc á & De Lissovoy, 2013, p. 56). For Hardt (1997) prison is a place located within society where operations of power are visible. He further argues that prison is society, at its best, no than a factory, rather it has become a prison and so is the school.

The school, with the help of curriculum, is meant to provide students with educational



experience that would promote democratic engagement and educational movement (ibid). However, Pinar (2004) significantly highlights the corrosive and dominating school practices based on market-driven control and accountability mingled with standardization of testing, teaching and curriculum have paved the way to substitute education with political socialization. The following sections will discuss and analyze the impact of neoliberal policies and practices in the field of ELT curriculum.

8. Neoliberalism and ELT Curriculum

Neoliberalism in ELT Curriculum is applied through Corporatization process which has spread since the mid 1990. Corporatization means changing the administrative policy, culture and practices of universities to imitate aspects of services provided by manufacturing corporates and industries (Donoghue, 2008; Woolgar, 2007; Yamamoto, 2004). Educationalists and curriculum policymakers, in some leading countries (e.g. UK, Japan, Norway and Ireland), have adopted American's corporate university model in many public and private schools (Baber & Lindsay, 2006; Power & Whitty, 1999; Yamamoto, 2004).

We, being ELT professionals with extensive experience of working in the Saudi EFL context have noticed that majority of public universities have signed contracts with private local and international educational companies, to help them manage English language programs and institutions. It appears that stakeholders and curriculum policy makers in these universities do share a common belief that adopting a business perspective model can help them to reduce costs and make these institutions more professional and efficient. Furthermore, these companies provide some essential services, such as helping them to attract and hire Western EFL teachers, organize continuous professional development programs and invite prominent Western ELT specialist and scholars as plenary speakers in TESOL conferences.

English language teaching (ELT) global course books publishing industry has grown into a giant enterprise in recent years. For example, the annual sales of top four publishers of ELT global course books skyrocketed to one billion US dollars in 2011 alone (Tryhorn, 2011 cited in Hardly, 2013). According to Gray and Block (2013) UK publishers design and produce various English language teaching course books targeting global markets, which are considered core products and representing multi-millions TESOL. They maintain that this expansion of the industry is directed linked with the dawn of neoliberal era during late 1970s. In other words, global course books have been used as tools to spread the neoliberalism in ESL/EFL contexts, especially the pedagogy element.

Adoption of the neoliberalism in ELT along with widespread use of global course books in ESL/EFL contexts have resulted on some noticeable negative impacts on ESL/EFL teachers' professional identities and classrooms' atmosphere, especially at universities which feature entrepreneurialism. For example, these corporates universities have changed the professional identities and roles of these teachers to become linguistic service-technicians (Giroux, 2004). Additionally, teachers' autonomy has been decreased and their classrooms are managed by business administrators, who have increased classrooms sizes, aiming to reduce costs and students are treated as knowledge consumers. Furthermore, teachers are expected to teach a standardized language contents efficiently, resulting in .5 and leaners, (Asgari, 2011; Frank,



2005). Moreover, these course books isolate "leaners from the concerns of their local context" (Frank, 2005, p.276). Additionally, Gray and Block (2013) believe that majority of global course books focus extensively on "consumerism behaviour and celebration of neoliberal ideology" (p. 47). Regardless of all the voiced criticisms against global course books, they still remain key factors and artefacts in English language classrooms around the world (Gray, 2010).

8.1 Roles of Global Course Books

Tomlinson and Masuhara (2018) define course books as "any published materials that is used on leaning program in order to promote leaning" (p.145). For Bernstein (1996) they are pedagogic device that are crucial as they are the most common way by which curriculum are organized and made available in most educational settings. Tomlinson and Masuhara (2018) prefer the use of a term 'global' with course book to indicate to the materials "produced by commercial publishers, often for targeted regional markets initially but then sold on international market" (p. 146). Global course books are designed to be visually attractive and convincing to international customers, such as English language institutions or schools in the periphery contexts.

While highlighting the significance of course books in curriculum, Apple (2008) indicates that they are integral part of a curriculum and roughly 80% teachers use course books in their pedagogical practices. Also in many teaching contexts 80–90% of classroom and homework assignments "are course books-driven or course books-centered" (Finn & Ravitch, 2005, p. 6). Additionally, course books are regarded essential components of the ESL/EFL curriculum available for present-day classrooms as they allegedly offer basis for thinking about "what will be tested and taught, to whom, when, and how" (Foster, 2012, p. 3). Hence, course book seems inevitable in any curriculum-related discussion as teachers and students significantly negotiate their cultural, social, political and economic knowledge while dealing with these texts and ultimately the course books become what Apple (1989) considers them "real curriculum" (p. 282). Other researchers share the same positive views about vital roles of course books in ESL/EFL contexts (e.g., Cunningsworth, 1995; Mishan & Timmis, 2015; Tomlinson, 2012). Ultimately, "the course book is still plays a fundamental role in ELT around the world" (Littlejohn, 2011, p. 110).

The roles of English language course books in Saudi EFL context are not exceptional case. Their above discussed roles are similarly reflected in English language institutes in tertiary education as well. Additionally, course books provide "an efficient, attractive, time -saving and organised resource that teachers need to offer their leaners systematic progression and learning experience" (Tomlinson & Masuhara, 2018, p. 25). More specifically, they attempt to cater for all students' needs and wants at a particular age and level group. Furthermore, for teachers with short teaching experience, global course books "can provide sense of security and system, means of revision to students" (Tomlinson & Masuhara, 2018). Likewise, they are vital for testing policy, because exams are based entirely on covered course books contents.



In the Saudi EFL context, global course books are the core element for offered English language courses in English language schools and institutions. It is the case in majority of these contexts that once a course book series is selected, "it will likely become core program material for many years" (McDonough et al., 2013, p. 60).

8.2 Ideologies and Values in Global Course Books

The impact of Western ideologies on the non-western educational settings cannot be ignored, As Tomlinson & Masuhara (2018, p. 39) affirm that ELT has significant role in advancing of "western, capitalist, materialistic values and ideologies" in periphery settings. Likewise, Gray (2012) assumes that a global course book functions as an artefact and a product that promotes western socio-cultural and economic values and behaviours through various audio-visual texts and activities. Gray (2002) draws attention to the way global course books series promote similar features such as celebrating success, socio-cultural campaigns, notions of individualism and materialism. In addition, Gray and Block (2013, p. 45) indicate that the time period of 1970s has been under the influence of an "ideology that promotes and celebrates individualism over other collective identity inscriptions" (p. 45). In other words, ELT has used the influence of famous publishers based in the UK and the USA to spread its ideological influence and power through global course books targeting international contexts (Gray, 2012; Pennycook, 1999; Phillipson, 1992).

It can be inferred that writing, designing and presenting of the contents in ELT global course book series are not a neutral act rather they embody some implicit or explicit ideological and political agendas. The process of selecting or choosing a particular global ELT course book requires the recognition of a "legitimate and truthful knowledge" that entails hidden ideological perspective of policy makers and curriculum decision makers (Curdt-Christiansen, 2015, p. 131). Moreover, global course books are also perceived as a source to exercise social, ideological and intellectual control on teachers and students in a specific setting. In this regard, Duff (2015) points out that control is not exerted by teachers over students by imposing certain global course book , but teachers are also controlled by publishers, policy makers and curriculum designers. He further argues that global course books are the product of carefully selected, constructed, and even contrived and fabricated materials about language and culture which is often sterilized by excluding references to hardships and marginalized and deprived ethnic minorities (ibid).

Another vulnerable group, namely expatriates living and working in ESL/EFL contexts can also face exclusion from referencing or representation in global course books series contents, like in photos, illustrations, written texts and activities. Contrastively, with reference to the representation of race and ethnicity, Gray (2010a) identifies a continued development in ELT content creation towards multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism with a gradual inclusion of fictional characters. For instance, ELT course books employed in the Saudi EFL context contain references to various multicultural characters such as UN ambassador, film stars, football players and best-selling authors. To make the ELT discourse unproblematic, Gray (2010a) claims, the content is made consumerist and aspirational in nature and characters are usually presented as open choices for learners.



We believe that English course books contents are supposed to reflect some issues related to disregarded and denied ethnic minorities and poor citizens in EFL/ESL contexts where a specific course books series is used. In practice, the course books need to present real examples of their lives, rights as citizens, problems, success and achievements and contribution to the economy. This can help students, from dominant race or groups in a society, to recognize and be aware of the positive contribution that these people are making in their societies. Considering a fair and positive representation of ethnic minorities, hardworking and poor citizens in course books contents can be very motivating and encouraging for students belonging to these groups to work hard and exert more efforts to achieve their future professional dreams that others have achieved earlier.

In the Saudi EFL context, there are hundreds of thousands of expatriates working in numerous corporations and sectors along with local Saudis. However, we have notice that lack of their representation in various global course books series used by undergraduate Saudi students in tertiary educations becomes problematic. Especially, when these institutions rely heavily on using global English language course books series in both public and private universities. Based on this remark, we can say that the global course books lack authenticity. Their representation in the global course books can have some positive impacts, for example this can make them feel respected, recognized and socially integrated in the Saudi society.

Saudi Arabia is a hub for Muslims who visit this country for perfuming Hajj and Umrah frequently. However, there is no reference to such vital religious events. Such exclusions can be problematic as a wealth of these visitors' experiences are eliminated from these global course books. For example, when evaluated one of the most popular and widely used ELT global course book in the Saudi EFL context, it is observed that New Headway Intermediate series inhibits a few deficiencies such as inclusion of unconventional and uncommon social references and unfamiliar mentions of lifestyle that are barely relatable for the local students like "finding out snow conditions for skiing" (Yuen, 2011, p. 4). Therefore, Boriboon (2004) emphasizes that such inclusions of irrelevant references for students can impact learners' inspiration and enthusiasm to communicate negatively.

Another issue is that there a lack of reference or link to everyday issues likely to be experienced by intended leaners, such as communication problems and potential difficulties for them in different likely situations relevant to their features of their context (Gray, 2012).

8.3 Feminism Movement in Global Coursebooks

Gender and sexist bias have extensively been researched in ELT course books (e.g., McGrath, 2006; Ndura, 2004; Sherman, 2010). Gray (2002) argues that a particular Western culture is deliberately promoted in global course books as all ELT international publishers provide their material writers with sets of specific guidelines related to content. One of the main areas of the publishers' guidelines, Gray (2002) argues, is inclusivity which indicates the necessity of a non-sexist perspective by which men and women are portrayed throughout the course books contents. Matsuno (2002) specifies the ways sexist content is portrayed in global ELT course books: a) the exclusion or under-representation of women b) in the portrayal of female professions c) in the stereotypical gender identities and d) in the sexist language items.



However, Sunderland (2000) implies that there is significant decrease in content analysis of gender in recent times due to the fact that the bias is less evident in modern ELT materials.

In recent times, the Western publishers of global course books demand their writers and editorial teams to make sure their "materials show women being assertive, using their initiative, demonstrating self-control, and men being vulnerable, displaying emotion, and needing reassurance" (Gray, 2002, p. 158). Similarly, Global course books publishers aim at ensuring that their course books reflect progressive values and universal human concerns in their contents. For example, Richards (2014) observes that these publishers maintain an equal balance between both sexes to ascertain gender-neutral and progressive approach, and to avert impressions of stereotypical affiliations.

It seems that adopting this editorial policy means that global course books advocate for women's rights movement by depicting scenes of feminism, such as the Filofax, the suit and the briefcase which have become commodities and included "into advertisements for products ranging from perfume to jeans" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; p. 188). Gray (2010a) points out that for the sake of commercial imperatives of earning profits, Western publishers foreclose issues like "feminism into pedagogic material [and it] becomes a means of aligning English with ideas of equality and harmony between the sexes, but in such a way that ideological struggle is largely written out" (135). Despite all these attempts the criticism is still made that global course books promote an idealized view of life or neglect real life issues. Therefore, more efforts are needed to make these course books more digestible, controversial issues are circumvented and an idealized middle-class perspective is normalized (Richards, 2014). Thus, Goldman (1992) concludes that the depoliticization of feminism by excluding feminist struggle against the status quo in patriarchal societies is primarily presented as a life style.

So far, we have used the six global course book series in our teaching context for the past eight years, designed by different Western publishers. Similarly, overwhelming majority of English language institutes in public and private universities use different global course book series developed by these publishers. However, we have noticed that these global course books do not reflect contemporary professional roles of Saudi women in local labour force. For example, they occupy high professional positions in different Ministries, such as deputy ministers, general directors, ambassadors, counselors, and financial advisors. Further, the same situation is the norm in the private sector, Saudi females are CEOs of some big local and international companies, head of human resources, and head of administrations. However, the global English course books used by thousands of Saudi girls have failed to represent many of their professional roles and denied depicting the contribution of Saudi women to the economy and progress of the country.

8.4 Commodification and Marketization of Global Course Books

The naturalization of neoliberal values in commercial ELT practices has been considered a common phenomenon. The global spread of ELT is predominantly coterminous with the propagation of neoliberal ideology (Fairclough, 2002; Gee, Hull, & Lankshear, 1996). The main factor contributed to the exponential rise in ELT, is the market-driven and financially



rewarding publishing industry that marketed global course books as core products of Western publishers based in the centre, namely UK and the US. In this context, Richards (2014) maintains that the production of ELT course books involves extensive resources in terms of time, money and effort on the part of authors and publishers. Therefore, most of the international publishers produce their ELT materials, mainly global course books targeting the dual markets of the centre and the periphery contexts, to maximize their profit as Masuhara and Tomlinson (2008) indicate. Consequently, they further observe that these publishers are unlikely to satisfy the pedagogical requirements of both the worlds.

It is a common perception that these global course books are generally perceived as negotiating tools of subject knowledge as well as apparatuses for ideological transmission and legitimization of "particular constructions of reality" (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 3). In this regard, after 1990s, the publication and marketization of global course books has been considered as a positive development for the markets of the UK and the exponential provision of ELT to other countries was viewed as a strategic move (Gray, 2002). This commodification of global course books and the associated economic outcomes seem at par with the global neoliberal economy and is voiced loudly and criticised by prominent researchers within the field of applied linguistics (e.g Phillipson, 1992 & Pennycook,1994). To highlight the deep economic imprints of teaching of English, Ives (2006) contends that it is a "crucial element of an international business class structure" that "facilitates the growth and spread of multinational corporations and trade" (p. 136). In brief, the commodification and marketization of global course books has paved the way for the ELT publishing industry to collaborate with the neoliberal ideological agenda of market as an organizing agent.

In the Saudi context, there is an intensive competition between Western publishers to make their ELT materials, namely global course books, used in various public and private EFL institutions. Therefore, they tend to send their marketing teams frequently to them trying to update these institutions with their modern ELT materials and newly added changes and methods reflected in the new editions of global course books. The UK publishers tend to dominate the Saudi markets more than the US ones. It appears that they have managed successfully to spread their products well. The success of these publishers could be the result of their effective marketing strategies in persuading the policy makers. For example, they hire some Arab TESOL professionals utilizing their knowledge and expertise with the problems of EFL in Gulf State countries, and their background knowledge of teachers' contextual challenges in these contexts. Nonetheless, Al Majthoob (2014) argues that most of the educational institutes, such as the Bahrain context tend to employ global course books that are not context specific. We observe the similar trend in Saudi EFL context. As Gray (2010b) points out that global ELT materials are implicitly rely on the fact that ESL/EFL learners are digital natives who are fond of popular culture, commonly endorse English with travelling, commercialism, socialising, and validate English language learning as a multicultural and global experience. These publishers tend to claim and promote that the newly developed global course books are better, more modern and include new useful learning and teaching strategies.



8.5 Editorial Strategy of Global Course Books

Gray (2010a) believes that a global course book "forms part of an incremental general English course aimed at the global markets" (p. 716). These products are primarily produced by famous and prestigious UK publishers. They are often marketed assertively and disparaging the locally published materials (Gray, 2012). These global course books come with a full package including a wide range of costly technological supplementary materials (Harwood, 2013). For maximizing sales and capturing greater number of global markets, it is observed that the Western publishers purposefully regulate the thematic content of these global course books by providing strict instructions and guidelines for authors and writing teams to deliberately exclude the list of controversial topics (e.g. politics, religion, sex, alcohol, Christmas, and Valentine day and Halloween) or by informally supplementing these course books with editorial advice from academics and teachers (Gray, 2010a). One of the outcomes of this selective regulation is that the content of these successful global course books is significantly based on narrow range of topics and likely to be similar (ibid). Notably, many of these global course books have been criticised for their methodological weaknesses and extremely selective representational materials that is used to fabricate benevolent version of a globalized world; Gray, 2010b).

Based on our knowledge and experience in the Saudi society, the Western publishers require the development teams to design special editions of global course books intended for certain conservative contexts, like Saudi Arabia. They exclude any refence to the above taboo topics. These elements can be also regarded offensive and unsuitable contents for majority of Arab and Islamic countries as well. Driven by Neoliberalism policy, these publishers adhere to consider the religious and cultural restrictions, mainly to keep their shares in a highly competitive publishing market and to maintain their financial profits.

Likewise, the representation of language in these global course books has widely been criticised as well. Regarding this issue, Leung (2005) states that their "reductionist and static idealizations ... are at best partial representations of social reality" (137) which he further suggests is the result of absence of any in depth ethnographic input to language-in-use in the creation of these global coursebooks. Wajnryb (1996) considers the representation of language in these coursebooks as a saleable commodity which is reduced to manageable discrete units like products on a shop-shelf.

Kullman (2003) and Gray (2010a) have noticed that editorial policy of global course books has changed, as they encouraged leaners to talk about themselves and adopted more international essence presenting characters and settings outside the UK. However, they have ignored people's actual lives. For example, both Kullman and Gray also have realized that modern global course books series have changed their editorial strategy and focus more on reflecting emotional, inspirational and consumerist themes and scenes, but gave less attention for more educational concepts.

Many researchers acknowledge that designing a perfect course book for ESL/EFL contexts is not an easy task. For example, Amrani (2011, cited in Harwood, 2013a, p. 25) indicates that it is difficult and demanding process for the publishers of global course books to determine and



discover leaners' needs and interests in different educational settings. Thus, it essentially important "to reintroduce more extensive piloting and trilling before and after publication" (Harwood, 2013a, p. 25).

9. Conclusion

This theoretical paper has argued that ELT curriculum in general and the published materials, are politically and ideologically motivated constructions, and they are used to fulfill the economic interests of the Western publishers. Through these constructions of neoliberal agenda of global market economy is promoted to prepare neoliberal citizen for the world of work. This paper suggests that as we live in the neoliberal world where extensive and crass marketization has left no stone unturned to enforce its rationality on us. Therefore, as TESOL professionals, we believe that it is pertinent for us to ensure that the process of demystification has been exerted and used to resist the neoliberal ideology. This task needs to be an essential part of our curriculum professional responsibilities. This paper suggests that as we live in the neoliberal world where crass marketization has left no stone unturned to enforce its rationality on us. Therefore, it is pertinent for us as TESOL professionals to analyze and resist the Western neoliberal ELT curriculum ideology and it should be a part of our professional curriculum tasks and duties. Finally, this paper can help EFL/ESL teachers to understand and observe the interplay of various curriculum ideologies particularly neoliberalism in the development of ELT materials and how these materials influence their teaching practices.

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