A NEOLIBERAL ANALYSIS OF THE GRADE THREE JAMAICAN INTEGRATED STUDIES TEXTBOOK

by

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Dedication

To my family and friends; without whom none of this would have been possible.
Abstract

This study applies the theoretical framework of neoliberalism, biopolitics, and neoliberal governmentality to the instructional materials found in the Grade 3 Jamaican classroom. This study is phenomenological in nature and serves as a case in point that illustrates how some instructional materials can reflect dominant socio-economic ideology. In particular, my research looks at how neoliberal ideology influences the textbooks that shape the everyday learning experiences of Jamaican students. This work combines neoliberal theory with research on the politics of the textbook to demonstrate how influential learning materials can be and how they are ensconced within socio-economic power relations and dominant modes of thinking. For the purposes of this research the Grade 3 textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture* was explored through a neoliberal lens. When examined through a neoliberal framework, it was found that the textbook serves as a neoliberal artifact that actively disseminates free market and economically oriented values that coincide with a larger neoliberal discourse. While there is considerable scholarship on both the politics behind instructional materials (Apple, 1993) and neoliberalism and its implications on schooling (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013), my work demonstrates that there is congruence between student textbooks and neoliberal ideology. Moreover, this work speaks to scholarship on Foucault and governmentality studies. My research demonstrates that in its function as a neoliberal artifact, the textbook becomes a technology of power that issues biopolitical controls over the student body with the aim of creating self-governing neoliberal subjects.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

During my year at the Faculty of Education, I was presented with the extraordinary opportunity to teach abroad in Jamaica as part of my practicum placements. I elected to travel with a group of teacher candidates and take up a placement at one of several schools in Falmouth, Jamaica. I found myself working at an All-Age School under the guidance of a Grade 1, and a Grade 3 teacher. During an observational day in the Grade 3 classroom, my teaching-partner (one of my practicum peers) and I were called to the office and informed that our host teacher would be away. The principal asked us to facilitate the daily activities of the class and help guide the students through the instructional tasks outlined in the lesson plan. Unprepared and unfamiliar with the curricular material, we told the principal that we would do our best and returned to the classroom. We were excitedly greeted by a group of students eager to begin their day.

As we stood in front of the class, I nervously thumbed through our host teacher’s day-book. Earlier in the week the class had been brainstorming what types of goods were produced in Jamaica. It seemed now that the focus of the lessons had shifted to teaching students about the practice of importing and exporting goods, as well as Jamaica’s relationship with other countries, especially with regard to service-related industries.
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

Specifically, one activity outlined in our host-teacher’s lesson plan focused on tourism and the things that attracted tourists to Jamaica. The exercise required students to think about some of the desirable features of their island, both geographically and culturally. It encouraged them to look at the island from the perspective of a visitor and think about what they might like to see, experience and learn in and about Jamaica. Couched within a larger discussion on importing and exporting Jamaican goods, this activity also pushed students to determine what aspects of Jamaica were most profitable and which were used for attracting tourists to the island. This lesson actively commodified Jamaica for the purposes of economic gain. The Jamaican landscape became a thing to be sold. As my teaching partner and I moved through the lesson I often found myself wondering why tourism and economic interactions with other countries were such a prominent focus of student learning. Was there a reason for its inclusion in the Jamaican curriculum? What purpose did it serve? Did this compare to what students were learning back “home” in Canada about their country? This experience led me to actively think about what I was teaching and why. It prompted me to think about who is primarily responsible for what is learned and simultaneously encouraged me to delve deeper into nuances of knowledge and power.

I later found out that the curriculum and teaching materials that were used in my host school were nationally implemented as a part of an educational reform initiative and textbook program aimed at modernizing education in Jamaica. The focus of the program was to help create a responsibilized citizenry equipped to meet the ever-growing
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challenges of the globalized world. The program, known as the “Jamaican Task Force for Educational Reform”, was initiated following the government’s call for a “strategic transformation” of the Jamaican education system (Davies, 2004). Implemented in February 2004, the task force was largely a response to a systemic failure to meet national educational targets set out in 2001. The task force aimed to address the poor academic performance and the high levels of illiteracy that were seen to stifle the progress of the nation (Witter, 2004). As evidenced in the national report on The Development of Education, educational reforms were complimentary to the government’s desire to modernize the public sector (The Planning and Development Division: Ministry of Education, 2008). The first step in this educational transformation was the 2004 Task Force on Educational Reform, commissioned by then Prime Minister P. J. Patterson, as well as the re-structuring of the Ministry of Education. The goal was to provide universal access to basic education via the implementation of a standardized curriculum and teacher guidelines. Moreover, the Ministry of Education introduced a Textbook Programme, which was committed to providing textbooks to all primary school students at no cost (The Planning and Development Division: Ministry of Education, 2008). The task force for educational reform worked to reinforce the National Shared Vision of Education. As stated in the 2004 Task Force document, its purpose was “to prepare and present an action plan consistent with a vision for the creation of a world-class education system which will generate the human capital and produce the skills necessary for Jamaican citizens to compete in the global economy” (Davies, 2004, p. 8). The neo-
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liberal undertones of this document were further bolstered by the emphasis placed on global competitiveness. The document asserted that: “The system produces full literacy and numeracy, a globally competitive, quality workforce and a disciplined, culturally aware and ethical Jamaican citizenry” (Davies, 2004, p. 11).

The sentiments expressed in the Task Force document coincided with the political milieu at the time it was launched. The government’s vision of modernization, under Prime Minister Patterson, was tied to progressive economic policies, geared at increasing the Nation’s capital and industry, through the liberalization of international/domestic trade agreements by placing an increasing emphasis on a service economy (Witter, 2004). According to Witter (2004), the low output of “top quality graduates” in addition to high migration rates were seen to hamper economic growth. At a time when knowledge was synonymous and vital to economic success, the government sought to reconfigure the education system, not only to become more globally competitive with Jamaica’s main trading partners, but to also enhance the output of human capital stemming from the education system (Witter, 2004). While the motivation for improving Jamaican education was not exclusively tied to the country’s economic interests, the desire for economic advancement did influence the educational reforms.

With this information in mind, I began to analyze the instructional material used in the Jamaican classroom. Specifically, I looked at the Grade 3 Integrated Studies Textbooks. In the research presented here, I found that the textbook in question was thematically underscored by a series of socio-economic themes that encouraged students
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to actively participate within the economy, support Jamaican tourism, and adopt subjectivities that were conducive to a larger discourse of production and consumption. In order to substantiate my findings, I used current scholarship in socio-economic theory to illustrate the congruence between the instructional material in question and global trends in economic discourse.

**The Text Under Investigation**

The text chosen for analysis was the Grade 3, Term 2 student book entitled *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture*. I chose this book because it was the primary piece of instructional material that I used during my brief stint in the Jamaican classroom. Moreover, I was particularly intrigued by the attention it placed on Jamaican tourism. Given that the book referenced *Culture* in the title, I wanted to explore the link between the Jamaican history and heritage and the island’s tourist economy. It is the second installment in a series of 3 Grade 3 textbooks “covering the requirements of the entire Jamaica primary curriculum” (Bailey, Blythe-Livingston, Byfield, Dinnall & Whittaker, 2007, p. IV). The student book is a permanent fixture in the primary classroom. Each student book is complemented by a student workbook, which mirrors the topics found throughout the instructional text. The student book is soft-covered and adorned with a circular image of four children happily playing on lush green grounds. There are two boys and two girls shown running around a Maypole with large smiles on their faces and holding colourful red ribbons in their hands. The children are neatly
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dressed. Each child is wearing a pair of jean shorts and a solid, albeit brightly coloured
top to contrast the greenery of the image. Implicit within this photo is the idea that both
the children and the game they are playing is representative of Jamaican culture. The
book title, “Culture,” is positioned slightly off centre and written clearly in large bold red
letters. Adjacent to the title, in the upper left of the cover, is a Jamaican flag with the
words GRADE 3 written underneath.

*Figure 1. Cover of Textbook.* The cover of the textbook sets a distinct tone for the type of
culture that is found in the textbook. The four children featured on the cover of the text
are seen happily playing around a Maypole; a form of culture nested in the country’s
colonial history and heritage.

This is complimented by the words “Student Book,” hugging the binding in white
horizontal lettering. The name of the publisher, “Macmillan,” and the corresponding
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series of which the textbook is a part, “Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies,” is prominently situated above the title on the cover of the text. Similarly, the five authors, Margaret Bailey, June Blythe-Livingston, Maureen Byfield, Beverley Dinnall, and Winnifred Whittaker, are listed underneath the cover-image, in neat black lettering. The cover is primarily white in colour, contrasted with bright yellow hues extending over the spine and on to the back of the text. The back cover offers considerable information about the integrated nature of the student book and workbook series. The descriptive text on the back of the student book highlights the various subjects, such as English, Mathematics, Science and Social Studies, that are addressed throughout the integrated programming that is exclusively featured in Grades 1 – 3. Again, the student book highlights its congruence with national curriculum standards and also makes reference to the “Structured Teacher’s Books at each Grade [to give] real support in delivering the course (Bailey et al., 2007, p. back cover). The textbook itself is 230 pages in length and divided over 10 sections that are thematically organized around questions about the workings of Jamaican society. As the second book in the Grade 3 series, the textbook sections range numerically from 7 – 16. The questions elicited in each section heading are a preamble to some of the major themes and topics explored throughout the text. The section titles, such as “7: Who are the providers of goods and services we need?,” “8: How do workers contribute to the development of my community?,” “9: How do rules help workers at the workplace?,” and “13: How can we ensure that Jamaica maintains good relations with other countries?” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. iii) speak to the socio-economic undertones of
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the instructional material. Each section is content driven. The text is primarily descriptive and accompanied by various images and illustrations to reinforce the topics that are being discussed. Occasionally the text is interrupted by a series of reflective questions that encourage students to actively think about what they have learned and use the material found in the text to appropriately answer the questions. Moreover, the textbook, while advertised as integrated instructional material, is largely unbalanced. A majority of the text has a social studies focus. While there are elements of math and language instruction included in the material, most of its focus is placed on teaching students about a particular version of the Jamaican community and infrastructure. While there is a purposeful inclusion of math and language activities, they are all positioned within a larger facet of social studies inquiry.

**Purpose of the Study**

This thesis specifically works to unpack how the *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, functions as a neoliberal artifact. Hyslop and Sears (2006) suggest “neoliberal culture, with its unstable labour market conditions, is naturalized to students as an unchangeable reality rather than critiqued as an ideological movement imposed by special interests on citizens of industrialized democratic societies” (p. 15). Throughout this work, I use a conceptual framework to unpack how the rhetoric of work is naturalized throughout the textbook and draw on specific examples of where neoliberal ideology is seen to percolate into student learning. Specifically, the text and images found
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

throughout the instructional material will be examined to demonstrate, how they, when viewed in a neoliberal context, reflect the dominants trends, characteristics, and values of neoliberal discourse. The work of academics like Giroux (2005), Lemke (2001), Taxel (1978), Apple (1993, 2000, 2006), and most influentially, Foucault (2008), will be used to frame a discussion on neoliberalism and the instructional materials that guide student learning.

**Overview of the Thesis**

The economic themes found in *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture*, referred to hereafter as the textbook, speak to larger nuances in contemporary economic theory. As previously mentioned, my work analyzes the text through the conceptual framework of neoliberalism. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Conceptual Framework, but a brief discussion is offered here.

Neoliberalism is a social, political and economic concept, which actively employs mechanisms of power to effectively manage the population, while placing an overwhelming emphasis on self-governance (Kiersey, 2009). As a socio-economic rationality, neoliberalism is focused on producing an economically oriented population that adheres to a pro-capitalist, free market ideology. Neoliberal subjects obediently assume full responsibility for their economic, physical and social well-being, through self-investment, individualism and overarching compliance to economic goals. Within the context of neoliberalism the population is problematized as something to be directed and controlled. Lulled into the rhetoric of choice and notions of personal freedom,
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neoliberalism encourages the population to become exclusively responsible for their own welfare, in spite of the fact that they have no control over the larger socio-economic conditions within which they are supposed to exist. As suggested by Hyslop and Sears, neoliberalism is a “sustained assault on the economic status of all the workers, and powerful mechanisms of ideological manipulation…” (Hyslop & Sears, 2006, p. 1-2).

Moreover, Hyslop and Sears have outlined the explicit connection between neoliberalism and learning. Quoting Dale’s 1989 work, Hyslop and Sears state that “education in the national interest takes the pupil as raw material to be transformed into an efficient worker by means of vocationally dominated curriculum” (Dale, 1989, p. 4). They acknowledge that public education has shifted to accommodate a need for maintaining an economic advantage in a globalized economy. As such, students, as the future working population, become problematized and inculcated into an environment premised on the production of human capital. Students participate in an educational system where “educational goals are determined by the labour market” (Hyslop & Sears, 2006, p. 3). When looking at education in a neoliberal context Hyslop and Sears (2006) suggest that “the entire trend towards career education and human capital program curriculum development is an integral part of neo-liberal influence on both Canadian and International schooling” (p. 7). The textbook, with its focus on the Jamaican workforce, naturally lends itself to a neoliberal analysis that takes into consideration the socio-economic trajectory of Jamaica’s primary curriculum. Chapter 2, Conceptual Framework introduces the concept of neoliberalism as both a leading economic theory and social reality that informs
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prevailing modes of conduct and shapes individual and collective existence and everyday lived experience. The conceptual framework looks at the historical context from which neoliberalism emerged, as well as how it operates within the present socio-economic environment. Drawing on the work of Foucault and his contemporaries, the connection between knowledge and power, as well as neoliberal governmentality is explored at length and placed within an educational context. Within neoliberal discourse the everyday lived experience of the population is shaped by an economic rationality that dictates, through mechanism of power, acceptable forms of individual conduct. The conceptual framework also outlines the connections between governmentality and education. The explicit link between governmentality and student learning legitimizes the need for this type of analytical work and offers validity to my study.

This work is made up of three substantive chapters that unpack the ways in which the Grade 3 *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture* functions as a neoliberal artifact. Each chapter is focused on an aspect or theme central to neoliberal governmentality. Chapter 3, Methodology, will follow the conceptual framework. This chapter will describe in detail the type of research method used for this inquiry. It will also address the purpose of this study, research problematics, and the rationale for choosing my analytic approach. For the purposes of this work a qualitative content analysis was employed to break down the text and generate codes thematically. The methodology will also speak to my data collection method, the selection process for my
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samples, as well as the data analysis used. The validity of my research method will also be explored to demonstrate the trustworthiness of my study.

Chapter 4 “[Work]ing Towards Neoliberal Subjectivities,” is centered on how the textbook is implicated in the making of the neoliberal subject. This chapter specifically looks at the emphasis the textbook places on work. It highlights the importance of adopting work-oriented attitudes and discusses at length how workers contribute to the development of local Jamaican communities. The chapter also speaks to how the textbook indoctrinates the entrepreneurial undertones associated with neoliberal subjectivity and explores how the community is presented and used as a mechanism of power to govern the behavior and economic actions of the population. The textbook’s overwhelming focus on the production of goods and services, and the type of jobs affiliated with each industry, reinforces the socio-economic realities that make up the everyday lived experiences of the Jamaican population. Good citizenship, as evidenced in the textbook, comes through labour and, by extension, participation in the Jamaican economy.

Chapter 5 – “Self-Regulation, Worker Attitudes, and the Jamaican Integrated Studies Textbook,” details how the textbook employs mechanisms of power, specifically biopower, to create governable and self-regulating subjects. Biopower is the act of controlling biological life through bodily techniques of control founded on socio-economic as well as ethical ideologies (Pierce, 2013). Biopower and biopolitical processes operate through the framework of governmentality and are expressed in all
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facets of human life. Moreover they are deeply rooted in education. As interpreted by Pierce (2013), Hardt and Negri argue that education in the current economic environment is concerned with “producing optimal types of human capital built on modes of behaviour, skills, literacies and habits that underpin what Hardt and Negri have identified as the productive base of late capitalist society: immaterial labour” (Pierce, 2013, p. 16). The production of labour is built on a form of biocapitalism, which is concerned with the commodification, and exchangeability of new forms of life” (Pierce, 2013, p. 2).

Through its focus on rules, the textbook presents a set of behaviours that are deemed socially acceptable, while simultaneously juxtaposing them against a threat of consequence. The textbook makes a call for obedience, encouraging certain modes of conduct for the purposes of securing the Jamaican populations own social and economic well-being. It familiarizes students with the discourse of subservience and encourages them to adopt an unwavering acceptance of rules as a natural and non-negotiable aspect of their everyday lived experience. Rules, as a form of authority, not only set the parameters for behavior, but simultaneously make the individual entirely responsible for regulating themselves in a way that is consistent with dominant socio-economic and cultural trends. The neoliberal undertones of the textbook and the biopolitical nature of rules become more apparent through the textbook’s poignant discussion on the role of the worker in the workplace. Chapter 5 looks at the inclusion of this information and demonstrates how it is consistent with a larger neoliberal narrative that relies on
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

mechanisms of power to not only shape the attitudes of the future work force, but to also control worker bodies and consciousness.

My final substantive chapter, Chapter 6, entitled “Tourism, Culture and Neoliberalism,” looks at the emphasis the Grade 3 textbook places on tourism, travel to Jamaica and catering to the tourist market. The final sections of the textbook make reference to the economically viable aspects of tourism. It looks at how tourism is responsible for a large percentage of foreign investment, through processes of foreign exchange, and discusses at length the importance of catering to the tourist market. This chapter of my analysis unpacks the neoliberal underpinnings of tourism and the use of language to reinforce the textbook’s function as a neoliberal artifact. The commodification of Jamaican culture, alongside the privileging of some cultural forms over others, is deconstructed using a neoliberal framework. The textbook’s emphasis on capitalism is also explored in great detail to demonstrate the connections between *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture* and neoliberal discourse. Chapter 6 also looks at the emphasis the textbook places on teaching students to communicate using Standard Jamaican English, especially in their interactions with tourists. The neoliberal implications of suffusing a standard form of English into a viable language of commerce is deconstructed using a neoliberal framework. The mechanisms of power that determine acceptable modes of communication within particular social settings are highlighted to show how the control of speech is a biopolitical enterprise that shapes the conduct of the population.
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

Through a careful content analysis of the Grade 3 *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, my work demonstrates its capacity and function as a neoliberal artifact. The information presented throughout the textbook contains themes and motifs that are consistent with contemporary forms of neoliberal ideology. When analyzed through a neoliberal framework, the topics covered throughout the textbook become a mechanism of power in themselves. The focus on rules, the cultivation of neoliberal subjectivities, and most importantly, the refinement of productive labour, underscore student learning. As a case in point, the Grade 3 textbook reinforces the pre-eminence of neoliberal discourse within public schooling and demonstrates how teaching materials are heavily influenced by a larger socio-economic agenda.
CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The conceptual framework aims to establish the theoretical grounds through which the Grade 3 *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture* will be examined. Given the economic underpinnings of the text, neoliberalism was chosen as the theoretical vehicle used in the analysis of the instructional material. In order to articulate the nuances and function of neoliberalism, the history of this concept is discussed at length to demonstrate neoliberalism’s all-encompassing nature and the interconnectedness between the social and the economic it imbues. Neoliberalism, as a form of governmentality, will also be examined to illustrate how this ideological framework works to exercise power over life. Biopolitics, one of the mechanisms through which neoliberalism operates, is unpacked in detail and used to demonstrate how biological existence and individual actions become implicated in socio-economic discourse and the power relations therein.

The conceptual framework also creates linkages between neoliberalism, governmentality and education. Education, like many other institutions, is largely influenced by dominant power relations. Academics have demonstrated that systems of education and the materials used in the classroom are enveloped within contemporary neoliberal discourse.
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The politics of instructional materials coincide with a larger socio-economic agenda and have the capacity to regulate the behaviour and actions of its audience through the dissemination of dominant and highly naturalized ideology. The conceptual framework not only unpacks neoliberalism, but simultaneously demonstrates its profound reach and its infiltration into all aspects of life, including education.

With the rise in global capitalism, alternative forms of government have emerged to contend with, and reinforce, the omnipotent influence of the world market economy (Kiersey, 2009, p. 368). Current governmental imperatives have built upon former administrative rationalities, in order to achieve the economic goals set forth by multinational corporations and global financial institutions. Like capitalism, these nascent trends in governmental rationality have become increasingly globalized in order to achieve a universal complacency with the needs of free market forces. Consequently, local governments have had to incorporate these new rationalities and economic/political discourses in order to try and safeguard national stability, security and the overarching well-being of their population (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). The Caribbean, like many developing regions, is not exempt from these political trends.

In the wake of liberalism, neoliberalism has become a dominant form of governance within the globalized world. Scholars, like Kiersey (2009), have spoken to the demands placed on the state, and by extension, its population, within the context of a world market economy, and argue that neoliberal ideologies are directly associated with the drive towards economic growth and global competitiveness (Kiersey, 2009). The
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central tenets of neoliberalism work to deregulate state power, refocus administrative efforts on “the individual,” and create conditions through which biopolitics and biopower become the strategic technologies used in the management of the population (Lazzarato, 2006). The liberalization of economic policies and the drive towards an unrestricted free market economy has resulted in the shift of power towards private corporations. Consequently, power is no longer held in greater part by the state. Rather in accordance with economic trajectories, the exercise of power reflects both economic and political interests. Neoliberal discourse is deeply embedded in a series of complex socio-political and economic power relations that actively influence dominant ideology and public knowledge. Education, as a social institution, is equally subject to the effects of power. The research of Tikly (2003) and Fimyar (2008), have illuminated a number of connections between neo-liberal governmentality and educational policy. Both suggest that neoliberal ideologies influence the education system and work to inform the “regimes of truth” that are implicated within public education policies (Foucault, 2008; Fimyar, 2008). This empirical evidence provides the foundation upon which further investigations surrounding neoliberalism, governmentality and their subsequent influence on other aspects of education, such as curriculum and educational materials, can take place. Accordingly, a thorough understanding of neoliberalism, governmentality, and the exercise of biopower and biopolitics will be used to make connections between how power works to inform the type of knowledge and ideology that are communicated.
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through schooling; specifically, how the Jamaican Integrated Studies textbooks function as a neoliberal artifact.

**Neoliberalism: A Brief Overview**

Stemming from post-Enlightenment liberal ideology and an emphasis on safeguarding the continued success of the free market economy, neoliberalism is focused on creating governable and community oriented subjects who embrace the economic, social and individual responsibilities associated with citizenship. The German Ordo-liberals, who emerged following the Second World War, were crucial in establishing an association between liberalism and the social market economy (Foucault, 2008; Lemke, 2001; Peters, 2007). The Ordo-liberals were a school of economists that, according to Foucault, “envision[ed] a competitive market economy accompanied by a social interventionism that entails an institutional reform around the revaluation of the “enterprise” unit as the basic economic agent” (Foucault, 2008, p. 176). In short, the ordo-liberals believed in social enterprise on the part of the individuals as the vehicle for economic growth. Not only did the Ordo-liberals redefine capitalist rationality, but they also argued that state interventionism was threatening to individual and economic liberty (Lemke, 2001). Their anti-naturalist view of the market and market competition laid the foundation for political interventionism in the name of economic growth (Lemke, 2001). In contrast to contemporary neoliberal thinking, the Ordo-liberals did not believe that the market was capable of naturally regulating itself. Specifically, the Ordo-liberals believed
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that national socio-economic policy making should reflect economic imperatives; conditions must be made to ensure economic movement and laws must be designed with the intention of making such conditions possible (Foucault, 2008; Lemke, 2001). The development of economically oriented social policies were, according to the Ordo-Liberals, just one of the many administrative strategies that should be used to secure “the historical and social conditions for the market” (Lemke, 2001, p. 195) and to safeguard the success of capitalist ideologies.

**The Ordo-Liberals**

The Ordo-Liberals believed that social policy and social relations should be embedded within economic mechanisms premised on supply and demand, as well as competition. Drawing on Foucault, Lemke argues that: “social policy consists of forging a social framework in which there is the material basis for the enterprise and which obeys the principle of ‘equal inequality’ for all” (Lemke, 2001, p. 195). This mode of thought not only speaks to class based inequalities that have emerged in the wake of modern day capitalism, but also locates the widespread dissemination of liberal rhetoric within dominant social institutions within a specific historic temporality. In his discussion on the birth of biopolitics, Lemke (2001) suggests that social policies “act as what Rustow has called a *Vitalpolitick* (‘vital policy’) geared to replacing andreactivating moral and cultural values which oppose the free play of the economy and are permanently threatened by it” (Lemke, 2001, p. 196). Within this context, the free play of the market directly refers to a market operating through natural economic impulses, unencumbered
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by mechanisms that are designed to promote its growth and activity. Lemke indirectly suggests that the Ordo-Liberals, alongside their American counterpart of the Chicago School, believed that economic liberty and the legitimization of the state via economic growth, should be the impetus behind (neo)liberal governmentality. According to Lemke (2001), this praxis made the law central to economic and institutional imperatives, and was used as the basis for creating entrepreneurial forms of citizenship within society.

**The Chicago School**

Similar to the Ordo-Liberals, the Chicago School was adamantly opposed to state interventionism (Lemke, 2001). The Chicago School was a group of early neoliberals that spoke to the intersectionality between the social and the economic. According to Lemke (2001), the Chicago School worked to “re-define the social sphere as a form of the economic domain” (p. 197). This school of thought is central to the configurations of contemporary neoliberalism. Like the Ordo-liberals, the Chicago School argued for the decentralization of government control over the market economy. According to Lemke, the Chicago School envisioned social existence as both a form of politics and as an economic enterprise (Lemke, 2001). Unlike the Ordo-Liberals, the Chicago School was of the opinion that economic forms should be extended to the social sphere making these two disparate domains inextricably intertwined. Lemke argues that it is this rationality that is used to justify and limit governmental action (Lemke, 2001). The government is charged with the responsibility to not only universalize the idea of free market competition, but it is also tasked with developing specific, economically-oriented systems
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that serve in the best interest of individuals, groups and institutions (Lemke, 2001).

Within the context of contemporary US neoliberalism, the economy embraces all forms of human action and actively capitalizes on human potential in order to meet market demands (Kiersey, 2009; Lemke, 2001). Accordingly, human action becomes something to be governed by very specific economic rationalities for the purpose of maximizing the returns on each individual’s productive capacity.

Neoliberalism is also premised on the theory of human capital, where labour is quantified, and wage is representative of an income derived from both internal and external human faculties. Income is the result of an innate physical and/or genetic predisposition, as well as the skills and knowledge that have been attained and enhanced through an investment in stimuli, such as nutrition, education, and training (Lemke, 2001). Lemke reiterates Foucault’s understanding of neoliberal thought. He suggests that: “In this model the wage labourers are no longer the employees dependent on a company, but they are autonomous entrepreneurs with full responsibility for their own investment decisions and endeavouring to produce surplus value” (Lemke, 2001, p. 199).

It is within this framework that biopolitical imperatives emerge in conjunction with economic aims. Economic rationalities seek to govern the population by placing all aspects of human experience into economic categories, while simultaneously propagating ideas of individual responsibility and entrepreneurialism. The homo-economicus that is introduced in Lemke’s work, emerges as a completely rational individual who makes choices with the hopes of making a profit and at the risks of absorbing a loss (Lemke,
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2001). Neoliberalism is inextricably intertwined with control over life for the purpose of ensuring market competition and economic activity. Neoliberalism equates individual freedom with economic freedom, however, Lemke suggests that this type of freedom is largely artificial. The population is conditioned to behave in entrepreneurial and competitive ways in order to fulfill their role as an economically rational individual (Lemke, 2001). These forms of behaviour are not only artificially manufactured, but they negate human nature. The population is encouraged to monitor their conduct, as well as the conduct of others, in every aspect of their life with the intention of adhering to a much larger economic/market driven agenda.

An examination of both the Ordo-Liberals and the Chicago School, as precursors to both the birth of biopolitics and modern neo-liberalism, demonstrates how the governing ideologies behind liberalism/neoliberalism are rooted in the goal to secure economic activity and prosperity. Foucault discusses at length how liberalism and neoliberalism generate the economic conditions through which biopolitics emerge (Foucault, 2008). According to Foucault, biopolitics is the mechanism of power used to “rationalize the problems posed to the governmental practice by phenomena characteristic of a set of living beings forming a population: [such as] health, hygiene, birthrate, life expectancy, race…” (Foucault, 2008, p. 317). Looking at historical socio-economic trends illustrates how liberalism has worked to deregulate the centralized authority of the government, and rationalize the phenomena of an inherently problematized population, in order to advance an economic pro-capitalist agenda.
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Furthermore, a thorough investigation of the history of liberalism exemplifies how the process and rationality behind policy making reflects the exercise of power on governable subjects. Implicit within the notion of neoliberalism is the need to create social policies that not only reflect economic imperatives, but do so through exercising power over life. Epistemological shifts in governmental rationality give way to the idea that the social domain is deeply embedded in the economy. As suggested by Foucault (2008), Lemke (2001) and Peters (2007), the fundamental right to economic liberty and the overarching desire to legitimize the state through economic competitiveness in the social market economy, provides the basis for neoliberal governmentality in a modern context.

**Neoliberalism and Governmentality**

Neoliberalism is associated with its own form of governmentality that is hinged on the withdrawal of state authority in favour of executing interventions via highly specialized state apparatuses and political mechanisms (Lemke, 2001). In order to effectively manage the population, the state uses specific forms of intervention, such as agencies, procedures, and institutions, including public administrations, universities and schools and corporations, to facilitate the administration of governable subjects (Lemke, 2001). Moreover, it actively promotes governance through technologies of the self for the purpose of encouraging the practice of self-regulation. In accordance with neoliberal ideology, a self-regulating population lends to economically oriented decision-making that minimizes reliance on social programs, and promotes the responsibility of individuals for their own wellbeing (Davies & Bansel, 2007). Within this context, the
concept of government is not limited to the management of the state; it also serves as a means of self-control, guidance of the family, household management, and preservation of the soul (Lemke, 2001). Moreover, within a neoliberal framework, self-governance is also extended to the governance of others. The aforementioned processes not only allow for the perpetuation of a neoliberal agenda, but meets capitalist demands for a self-determining and autonomous population by placing all responsibility for well-being on the individual, rather than the government (Lemke, 2001). However, the decidedly economic underpinnings of neoliberalism generate modes of self-governance that are rooted in economic responsibility.

In his lectures at the College of France, Foucault (2008) suggested that modern governmentality was characterized by the introduction of the economy into political practice. With the end of feudalism, brought about by the liberal revolution, notions of liberty and self-government were underscored by a shift in economic thinking. Neoliberalism argues that state power and its subsequent decision making capacity should be controlled by the market. Political rationalities are informed by this line of thinking (Lemke, 2001). Within a neoliberal framework, the reason of the state, or the reasoning behind conduct, is based on the relationship between population and wealth. It becomes the objective of the government to create the necessary conditions by which populations can amass individual and collective wealth (Peters, 2007). Implicated within the art of neoliberal government is the individual’s capacity to economically strengthen the state.
As suggested by Lemke (2001), morality, in all areas of life, as well as contentious life choices, are associated with certain cost benefits, determined through rational-economic assessment. Morality is also related to overall well-being and individual’s productive capacity. Social responsibility becomes equated with making personal provisions through the means of individual capital. As stated by Lemke, “self-determination becomes a key economic resource and a factor in production…” (2001, p. 202). The consequences of poor choices and immorality are the responsibility of the individual alone, not the state. All aspects of life become entrenched in biopolitical discourse and become self-regulated as per the neoliberal ideology and overarching tropes of individual empowerment, which are determined through constant comparison to rational-economic assessments.

The work of neoliberal governmentality is congruent with a Foucauldian belief that the population must assume subjectivity for politics (Kiersey, 2009). Subjectivity for politics is premised on Foucault’s belief that subjectivity is fluid. The formation of subjectivities coincide with external demands. The crafting of the self is done for a particular purpose to meet socio-political, economic and cultural demands. Drawing on Foucault, Joe Simons states: “…when power is exercised and political technologies are deployed, individuals are made into subjects” (Simons, 1995, p. 30). Subjectivity for politics, as discussed by Kiersey, is the particular form of subjectivity assumed by the individual because of the socio-political demands that stem from capitalism. Kiersey reiterates the idea that: “neoliberal economic governmentality labours vigorously on the
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production of subjects of economic responsibility” (2009, p. 376). While Kiersey echoes many of Lemke’s central points, he builds on the idea of individual subjectivity and provides a thorough deconstruction how governmentality is implicated within the development of the self. He argues that neoliberal governmentality demands a form of political legitimacy that is premised on normalized forms of behavior that are produced within a population at a specific historic temporality to achieve specific capitalist gains. This is consistent with Foucault’s argument that capitalism places unrelenting and all-encompassing demands on the population (Kiersey, 2009). Building on Foucault’s work, Kiersey (2009) suggests that the basis of neoliberal governmentality creates a consciousness of crises. He believes that neoliberal capitalism has its own consciousness, which actively encourages excessive entrepreneurialism and individualism. He suggests that neoliberal governmentality involves “a summoning of entrepreneurial behaviours...[that] affords us an opportunity for shifting the question of responsibility away from the sort of sovereign individualist platform...and towards a platform grounded more in the context of a dynamic and flexible global capitalism” (Kiersey, 2009, p. 363).

Within this context, the only way the population can achieve a sense of political legitimacy is through the exclusive adoption of norms, values, and behaviours that are conducive to economic, and by implication, personal success. The sense of urgency created through this form of governmentality forces populations into an individual and collective consciousness of crises. These crises are hinged on what Foucault understands as the paradox of power that only exists within conditions of freedom (Foucault, 2008;
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Kiersey, 2009). Power, according to Foucault, serves to create regimes of subjectification, which directly influence “the will of the subject” (Kiersey, 2009, p. 377). The population is given the ability or freedom to make choices and investments in things like education and health care. However, the choices they make can only exist within the social market economy, work to reinforce ideas of self-governance, and are used to maximize the productive capacities of the individual. As suggested by Kiersey, “contemporary capitalism relies on the market as a potential vector for the solicitation of specific norms of individual responsibility…” (Kiersey, 2009, p. 365). While seemingly free, the population only has the power to make choices that are embedded in neoliberal notions of the free market, and are implicated within ideas of economic and entrepreneurial responsibility. The neoliberal subject emerges as the ideal subject of economic and self-government (Kiersey, 2009).

**Neoliberal Biopolitics: Exercising Power over Life for Economic Gain**

As exemplified within the context of neoliberal governmentality, power determines human practice. As originally suggested by the Ordo-liberals, neoliberalism is also associated with the deterritorialization of the state. Deterritorialization is premised on the idea that territory is no longer exclusively determined by geographic boundaries. Reterritorialization and deterritorialization takes place along geographic, culture and socio-economic lines. With globalization, the boundaries of the nation state are considerably more fluid. Like capitalism, processes of deterritorialization have biopolitical ramifications. Given the deterritorialization and deregulation of state
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authority and the implementation of various mechanisms of power and technologies of the self, the human body becomes the primary thing upon which power operates.

Biopolitics, and the exercise of biopower, is directly implicated within contemporary neoliberalism. Neoliberal governmentality, for example, is associated with economic liberty, private enterprise, and free market capitalism, all upheld by a manufactured notion and hyper individualism and personal choice (M. Lewis, personal communication, October 2014). The mechanisms through which these economic goals are actualized are firmly rooted in power over individual life and the corporeal capabilities of the body.

Biopower, the power over life, is not only implicated in economic-rational thought, but is an omnipotent force that coincides with a collapse of the social and economic domains.

Neoliberal biopolitics build on Foucault’s seminal work on biopolitical governmentality. At his lectures at the College of France, Foucault argued that the birth of biopower was distinctly met by a shift in thinking which placed life and living beings at the center of political battles and economic strategies (Lazzarato, 2006). Kiersey demonstrates the contemporary relevance of this assertion by suggesting that within a neoliberal framework, biopolitics is inscribed within the idea of life sustaining capitalism (Kiersey, 2009).

The implementation of biopolitical mechanisms to exercise control over life has substantial effects on individual and collective perceptions of identity. As suggested by Lemke (2001), the concept of government (within the context of governmentality) is central to the linkages between power relations and the processes of subjectification. By
extension, the biopolitical aspects of deterritorialization also significantly influence the processes of subject formation. In conjunction with this thinking, Kiersey argues that dispersed modes of production, in combination with “deterritorialized network capital and immaterial commodities [like human labour] informs subjectivity” (Kiersey, 2009 p. 383). While national stability was historically premised on negotiating external threats, contemporary nationhood has become increasingly vulnerable to internal pressures. These pressures have the capacity to negatively affect the economic security of the state. In this framework, the implementation of biopower, as confirmed by Foucault, is used to answer the pressing question of internal vulnerability. Foucault argues that modern liberal societies have attempted to mitigate this internal threat by actively seeking security within the biological existence of the population (Kiersey, 2009). Security imperatives become individualized and directly connected to the movement towards global economic interdependency. National security is a biopolitical enterprise; it is the management and protection of human life for the purposes of economic stability. Under the umbrella of human life, all forms of behavior and interaction become implicated within the drive towards economic security. As found in the work of Kiersey (2009) Foucault suggests that biopower was directly embedded in the development of capitalism. Capitalism would not have been possible without “the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes” (Foucault, 1990, p.141).
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Consistent with Foucault’s argument, Bruff (2009), whose work was heavily influenced by Gramsci, suggests that “human social practice is also conditioned by the values, norms and beliefs that comprise any conception of how to organise production…” (p. 346). The ability for the population to produce commodifiable goods is directly related to creating a surplus of supply and demand to ensure the continued success of the market, as well as safeguarding the position of the nation within a globally interdependent economy.

**Education as a Technology of Neoliberal Power**

Educational theorists have demonstrated important connections between biopower, economic imperatives, and education. As suggested by Sobe (2007), the goals of education are biopolitical; focusing on the management of life and survival. He argues that education is highly involved in the “politics of managing biological life, regulating individual conduct, and fostering desirable, “proper” social assemblages (Sobe, 2007, p. 46). While the focus of Sobe’s work looks at education within a very specific historic context and assesses the Interagency Network on Education in Emergencies (INEE) that were used in conjunction with relief work in 1944, he demonstrates that there are both political and cultural ideologies “embedded in the roles and social purposes that education is being envisioned to play in…early reconstruction” (Sobe, 2007, p. 45). Here, Sobe is suggesting that education serves a larger political purpose. Education in emergencies serves to reconfigure the way students conceptualize the world around them. It reinforces the value of community and encourages the optimization of the local
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population. The biopolitical reasoning presented in Sobe’s article is consistent with connections made by Foucault in his 1977 lecture series at the College of France on governmentality. Sobe suggests that the state has historically used schools to create modern governable subjects who are pacified into a state of docility and economic productivity, through an artificial sense of liberty and an increased emphasis on self-regulation (Sobe, 2007, p. 46). More recently neoliberal forms of governmentality have also been supplemented by an anti-terrorism rhetoric, which lends to personal choice made in the name of economic stability and safety in the wake of external threats (Giroux, 2005).

Sobe suggests that the goals of reconstruction in states of emergency are to return people to “proper” state of collective living. Emergencies are loosely defined as post-conflict and post–crises states, where the effected population is made vulnerable by trauma of significant magnitude, such as war, civil violence or natural disasters (Sobe, 2007). Relief efforts work to install ideas of freedom within the population based on notions of human flourishing and opportunity in three distinct, albeit interconnected areas; family, economy and politics. Sobe suggests that these goals are biopolitical and anatamo-politic in nature. Education in these settings, or education in emergencies, revamp national education programs and reconstruct learning around new conceptualizations of life, community and individual wellness. Not only do they focus on an individual’s ability to be a provider and producer, but also are concerned with maintaining a pro-social, community oriented disposition (Sobe, 2007). Sobe’s
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assessment of INEE reconstruction efforts is congruent with Fimyar’s (2008) discussion on modern governmentality within the context of educational policy-making in post-communist Ukraine. Sobe’s discussion on education, biopolitics and governmentality parallels modern expressions of neoliberal governmentality in a more current context. Furthermore, Sobe argues that: “…educational emergencies can be turned into opportunities for the extension of authority over others (control over life)…” (2007, p. 45).

As demonstrated by Foucault (2008), Lemke (2001), Kiersey (2009), and Sobe (2007), biopolitics works to manage the population by normalizing certain types of behaviour, controlling human life, and placing psycho-social and economic responsibility on the individual. Ironically, this rhetoric of responsibility exists predominantly within social and systemic conditions over which individuals have no control. It is within this framework that accepted modes of conduct become the necessary prerequisites to human flourishing. Moreover, ideas of individual and collective success are measured exclusively in economic terms. Power over life becomes directly implicated within, and influenced by, the economic power of the social market economy.

Power, and Official Knowledge – The Politics behind Learning

Foucault, and the many academics that have followed in his wake, have illustrated the irrefutable connection between knowledge production and power. Peters (2007), in his analysis of the birth of neoliberalism, suggests that unlike Marxists, Foucault believed
that practices of knowledge are produced through, and as a result of, power relations. Foucault suggests that within the context of modern governmentality, the knowledge that is circulated en masse, passively encourages subjects to monitor and mediate their own forms of activity (Kiersey, 2009). Simultaneously, it also actively encourages the subject to police the conduct of others. Neoliberal governmentality is known for perpetuating particular “ways of knowing” which work in favour of the social market economy, reinforce the theory of human capital, and push a global capitalist agenda. Biopolitical mechanisms are the means through which human behaviour is assessed, controlled and normalized.

Lazzarato (2006), in his discussion on biopower, suggests that the knowledge that is being disseminated in the public domain is concerned with the processes of life and the ways they can be manipulated and controlled. In accordance with this thinking, Sobe (2007) asserts that biopower is firmly entrenched in educational reconstruction, especially given the innate, lifesaving and sustaining capacities of education in situations of emergency. The reconstruction that takes place in post-conflict, post crises situation is geared towards facilitating the socio-economic well-being of the local population. Education in these environments has the capacity to offer psycho-social, cognitive and physical protection, and thus has the capacity to sustain life on both a physiological and ideological level. Biopolitics underscores these processes because of the way education is used reconstruct how life is conceptualized amongst local populations in states of emergency. This thinking suggests that education is not only a manifestation of biopower,
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but as an institution; it simultaneously uses power over life to promote specific psycho-social, political, and within a neoliberal context, economic rationalities. These rationalities are underpinned by a need to biologically maximize human potential, but also take on an ethical dimension by which biological wellbeing also becomes a measure of morality. As suggested by Sobe: “…health [is] no longer simply the avoidance of sickness and premature death, but [it is the] corporeal optimization that encompasses a wide range of factors and leads to overall “well-being”” (Sobe, 2007, p. 49). Sobe’s commentary on biopower and education is complimented by Peters’ work. Peters (2007) argues that knowledge is informed by political statistics and specific historic temporalities. When the knowledge based economy is explored within the context of modern neoliberalism, political statistics have a decidedly economic, and by extension, biopolitical trajectory (Peters, 2007). Statistics inform those in power on how to best manage the conduct of conduct and help determine what modes of thought are best implemented *en masse* to meet socio-economic and political goals. This vein of thinking echoes Foucault’s earlier work. For Foucault, modern politics, which he characterized as both a practice and knowledge, were inseparable from biopolitics and biopower and the truth of subjectivity (Peters, 2007).

Sobe’s discussion on INEE relief projects serves as an example of how education is fundamentally rooted in biopower and neoliberal ideologies. Moreover, it also sheds light on an on-going power struggle between the first and third world, especially within the context of the social market economy. In his work, Sobe illustrates the perpetuation of
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Western knowledge, ideology and governmentality on the developing world. Specifically he uses education in emergencies, or education that takes place in conflict and post-conflict societies, to articulate the stronghold that first-world oriented economic and epistemological shifts have on the knowledge that is perpetuated in vulnerable environments. In other words, official knowledge is implicated in a complex series of power relations that transcend geographic and cultural boundaries. The ideology of dominant groups, specifically those in more developed countries have, according to Sobe, a significant influence on vulnerable populations, especially those who are characterized as being in states of emergencies. Emergencies are generally characterized by instability resulting from large-scale national disasters and violent conflict (UNICEF ROSA, 2006). Consequently, knowledge that is external to post-conflict communities becomes engrained in local systems of schooling and works to propagate new modes of conduct and conceptualizations of life. Agencies like UNICEF and UNESCO work with third world communities in order to purportedly advance humanity through education, health care, principles of equality and individual protection. However as suggested by Sobe, veiled behind persuasive rhetoric promising to return distressed communities to a sense of normalcy, relief is premised on manufacturing communities to conform to INEE minimum standards. Sobe further suggests that community based action plans, such as the restructuring of education systems serve as, “…regulative social mechanisms, which embody political rationalities that specify what is proper for both the state and the individual” (Sobe, 2007, p. 51). According to Sobe, the INEE minimum standards
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establish community and individual responsibilities. They also “normalize enthusiasm, initiative, dedication, and perhaps volunteerism as the proper dispositions and behaviours of community ‘members’” (Sobe, 2007, p. 51). While these characteristics are not inherently problematic, within a neoliberal context they become powerful mechanisms of socio-economic and cultural control. Located within a neo-conservative and traditional Christian morality, these neoliberal characteristics become unassailable, making them inherently problematic because of their absolute and sanctimonious nature. Furthermore, post-emergency community membership actively perpetuates moral codes that are “anchored in principles that are held to be natural, obvious, incontestable, and appropriately universal” (Sobe, 2007, p. 51).

By shedding light on the INEE minimum standards, such as the formation of community education committees and “building professional expertise through training incentives,” and the push for local involvement in reconstruction, Sobe makes it blatantly obvious that such reform has historically demanded the flexibility and adaptation of local circumstances in order to achieve INEE goals (Sobe, 2007, p. 47). For example, Sobe argues that in some INEE relief efforts, education was used to reappropriate women’s roles, as well as gender expectations, in order to augment the impact women had on the economic productivity of the community and by extension, the state. These neoliberal undertones are a common theme in other social mechanisms employed by the INEE. Sobe’s findings indicate that instruments of relief, including foreign aid, agency personnel, and community based action plans and audits, work to “decentralize decision
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making and devolve [the] authority [of the state]” (Sobe, 2007, p. 51). Furthermore, ideas of community are formulated around INEE sensibilities, which as outlined in Sobe’s work, have a decidedly Westernized influence. He suggests: “…it would seem prudent to proceed with an awareness that the virtuous community and the civility that is supposed to accompany it, are contestable, idealized creations, as well as forms of governance specific to particular times and places” (Sobe, 2007, p. 52). Sobe’s work demonstrates that education is not only a biopolitical enterprise, but that Western influences that permeate post-conflict curricula in the developing world create a space in which neoliberal governmentality, and its subsequent economic rationalities, assumes unilateral control over knowledge production.

While Sobe’s work serves as a specific reminder of the inherent biopolitical nature of education, more general works cement the idea that practices of knowledge are used to refine the instrumentality of power “in its exercise over both individuals and populations” (Peters, 2007, p. 166). These practices help shape “constitution[s] of subjectivity” (Peters, 2007, p. 166). The contributions of academics like Foucault (2008), Lazzarato (2006) and Peters (2007) illustrate the more general effects that knowledge has on the development of individual and collective identity formation.

**The Influence of Neoliberalism on the Making of Educational Policy**

Academics, like Tickly (2004) and Sobe (2007), who have investigated the influence of neoliberalism on educational policy, have presented an irrefutable connection between the institution of education and modern forms of governmentality.
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The works of more contemporary scholars, like Fimyar (2008), reinforce this conjecture. Fimyar’s recent publication on educational policy demonstrates how policy making has been significantly influenced by neoliberal trends, especially within post-communist and post-colonial states. In particular, Fimyar’s research on the Ukrainian education system suggests that policy making in education can be understood as technologies of the government (Fimyar, 2008). While Fimyar’s work serves as a case in point of a particular situation at a specific geographic and historic temporality, it demonstrates the intersectionality of socio-economic trajectories. It is a specifically useful point of reference for this study on the Grade 3 Jamaica Integrated Studies textbook because the text is underscored by an economic consciousness that premeditates student learning. For example, Fimyar’s (2008) preliminary findings indicate that policy making in a national context is heavily shaped by external influences, governmental rationalities (governmentality) and dominant discourse (Fimyar, 2008). Specifically, she argues that external factors, such as economic globalization, neoliberal ideology, and international education and donor agencies, when combined with internal factors, like a lack of democratic history, transformational ambivalence, a government monopoly over policy making and pervading discourses of Europeanization, create the necessary conditions through which international prerogatives become national concerns and educational policy becomes a strategic technology used in the governmentisation of the population (Fimyar, 2008). Within this context, the governmentisation of the population is firmly rooted in modern forms of governmentality: “the effort to create governable subjects
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

through various techniques [designed to] control, normalize and shape peoples’ conduct” (Fimyar, 2008, p. 5). This theoretical position on the influences of neoliberalism on education is reflected in my own analysis of the Grade 3 Jamaican textbook. My work explores how instructional materials used in the Jamaican classroom have been reappropriated by the prevailing discourse of neoliberalism in order to shape the social, political, and cultural subjectivities of the student population. The socio-economic narrative that underscores the textbook creates a space for mechanisms of power, such as biopolitical governmentality, to perpetuate desirable modes of conduct that are conducive to a larger neoliberal agenda.

As suggested by Fimyar (2008), political reason and rationalities of power that are implicit in modern forms of governmentality were developed in response to specific historic temporalities. Fimyar’s research indicates that new forms of liberal governmentality primarily function as a means of stabilizing internal security. As mentioned above, liberalism serves as a form of economic government that is hinged on the optimization of the population for the purposes of state prosperity and overall security in the globalized economy. Central to the idea of governmentality is the problem of the population; the individual becomes something to be controlled and necessitates the administration of power over life; biopower. This thinking reinforces the biopolitical imperatives that are characteristic of neoliberalism. It is within this context that biopolitics, a form of intervention used to optimize and facilitate the productivity of the population, is used to achieve stability on individual, national and international levels.
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

Within this framework, the population becomes the object of governmental techniques and is accordingly placed within various apparatuses of security, in which education and schooling plays a major role. Neoliberal governmentality not only encourages the population to internalize capitalist interests in the name of *freedom*, but simultaneously individualizes the need for economic security in the name of personal wellbeing. Through the rhetoric of responsibilization and self-regulation, neoliberal imperatives become deeply personalized. Life is both autonomous and enmeshed in a domain of systematic administration (Fimyar, 2008). Mechanisms of power reinforce the idea that the individual is responsible for conditions over which they have no control (M. Lewis, personal communication, Aug. 2015). Biopolitics works in concert with neoliberal governmentality and security apparati. It is inscribed within social, cultural, environmental and geographic domains, and normalizes various forms of conduct that are conducive to socio-economic and political efficiency and success. Education, and by extension educational policy, is just one of the many governmental mechanisms involved in this process.

Tikly’s (2004) work serves as a precursor to Fimyar’s study of the Ukraine. His turn of the century publications examine neoliberal governmentality and its influence on education in what he categorizes as non-liberal contexts (Fimyar, 2008). Specifically he looks at post-colonial and post-communist states, and suggests that they lack liberal forms of government due to a relatively young and unstable democratic administration. It is within these illiberal states that Tickly argues there are no constraints against
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

biopolitical absolutism. Moreover, the developing world is still subject to colonial disparities between people based on symbolic ideas of blood and banal race thinking (Montgomery, 2005). As suggested by Tikly (2004), new forms of imperialism place the post-colonial state in a tenuous economic position, which makes it vulnerable to the Westernized/colonial formations of governmental rationalities. Consequently, the marriage of biopolitics and neo-imperialism in post-colonial contexts, has enabled a resurgence of biopolitical racism in modern forms of illiberal governmentality (Tikly, 2004).

Much like Fimya’s exploration of schooling in the Ukraine, Tikly’s work serves as a case in point as to how neoliberalism can be applied more broadly to education in post-colonial contexts. The Caribbean, given its status as a post-colonial nation state, in combination with the increasing demands of the free market economy, is subject to a unique manifestation of neoliberalism and globalization that lends to social reforms and mechanisms of power geared to controlling the population.

**The Implications of Neoliberalism on the Construction of Post-Colonial Politics**

Building on Tikly’s work, Crichlow and Northover (2009), illuminate the ways in which neoliberal governmentality is deeply embedded in post-colonial politics. Specifically, they look at Creolization and subject formation within the Caribbean, and discuss how both are influenced by and contribute to cultural politics, as well as processes of globalization, nationalization and regionalization (Crichlow & Northover, 2009). While they acknowledge that Creolization can be an emancipatory venture that
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

(re)produces space and (re)fashions subjectivity, they also recognize that Creolization is neither a unilateral process, nor is it exempt from the modern conduits of power that transcend geographic, cultural and political boundaries. Like Kiersey (2009), Crichlow and Northover’s understanding of power is both relational and implicated within Foucauldian governmentality. When used within this context, governmentality, while still concerned with governance, more accurately refers to a “specific form of representation; [and] defines a discursive field in which exercising power is rationalized” (Lemke, 2001 in Crichlow & Northover, 2009, p. 286). As suggested by Crichlow and Northover, Foucault’s theory of power and modern governmentality “provides a significant ontological conditioning that emerges with, enjoins, frames, shapes, and meets with agents’ complex and creative adaptivity, or their selective creation and cultural struggles in the making of modern subjectivities” (Crichlow & Northover, 2009, p. 289).

Moreover, they suggest that:

> The thixotropic (i.e. gel-like and conditionally fluid) tendencies that inhere in Creolization processes we contend have been largely articulated and translated through processes of modern governmentality: the conduct of conduct, emergent from liminal wombs of present spaces. (Crichlow & Northover, 2009, p. 294–295)

Crichlow and Northover articulate an important connection between subject formation, individual and collective representation and neoliberal governmentality. The influence of the social market economy and biopolitical mechanism serves to complicate
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

processes of self-actualization within post-colonial politics. Furthermore, it illuminates an omnipotent and ever-present power struggle between the first and third world. Crichlow and Northover expose the intrusive nature of a highly Westernized social market economy and demonstrate how human capital theory influences post-colonial populations.
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In order to thoroughly investigate the *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture* textbook as a neoliberal artifact, content analysis was used to unpack the ontological operations of power that underscore the information presented in Jamaica’s leading educational texts. Textbooks are one of the primary means of communicating knowledge within the context of schooling. As suggested by theorists like Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011), Foucault believed that knowledge is inextricably tied to power. Dominant ideologies, through mechanisms of power, have the capacity to create regimes of truth, which inform appropriate and acceptable forms of knowledge. In turn this knowledge establishes acceptable social values and socio-political and cultural discourses. Inversely, dominant social values can inform knowledge, making knowledge a phenomenological construct. According to Joel Taxel (1978), an early critical theorist, in his work on both children’s trade books (fiction) and textbooks, the knowledge presented in curriculum materials is not value neutral. He goes on to suggest that textual materials produced by dominant institutions have underlying political motives, which can
operate as a means of social control (Taxel, 1978). Moreover, he suggests that children lack the necessary experience to deconstruct the material they read. Taxel, quoting Jack Kean (1975) emphasizes that “what one reads or views affects how one views the world, that children’s perceptions of their own identity, their futures, can and are in some senses controlled, in fact warped, by what they have read” (Kean, 1975, p. 61). This statement supports the idea that material culture, such as textbooks, can have wide-ranging implications on the development of young minds. Empirical evidence suggests that primary textbooks are used to, and are especially effective in, transmitting social values and dominant beliefs. Textbooks influence how children construct their understanding of self as both an individual and as a part of a larger community.

The purpose of this study is to examine how textbooks function and produce knowledge in post-colonial societies. Specifically, I plan to look at the Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies textbooks that were released following the 2004 Task Force on Educational Reform. Some of the educational prerogatives of this reform were to develop a culturally aware citizenry and to foster a sense of Jamaican national identity (Davies, 2004). In a post-colonial context, the re-appropriation of individual and collective subjectivity is deeply embedded in the socio-political agenda of the formerly colonized (Hall, 1996). According to the Task Force document, these changes were to be reflected in the curriculum, and by extension, the textbooks. Using a post-colonial and neo-liberal framework, the texts will be examined for how they function as artifacts of these two aforementioned theories. This study is predicated on developing a better understanding of the role that textbooks play in the construction of young minds in post-colonial societies.
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

understanding of what technologies of power influence the ideas and common place beliefs that are being communicated to students through their learning materials. Given the neoliberal and postcolonial reality that shapes the socio-political/economic and cultural discourses of Jamaica, a thorough examination of governmentality, and its economic and biopolitical linkages, offers an important contribution to the well-established discourse of Foucauldian concepts of power in education.

**Research Problematics**

While this topic is multifaceted and encourages many types of analysis, the focus of this research hinges on how the textbook *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture*, when viewed through a neoliberal framework, serves as a neoliberal artifact and employs technologies of power to shape individual conduct. This thesis examines the phenomenon of how government sanctioned textbooks function within society; Jamaica serves as a case in point. Specifically, the aim of this project is to examine how Jamaican textbooks function as a neo-liberal artifact. The information generated from this study should not be generalized to other locales, but rather used to advance the discussion of the function of power in educational contexts.

**Rationale for Approach and Method**

Qualitative research methods have typically been used to generate meaning and to develop rich descriptions about a particular “thing” (Stake, 2010). Qualitative research is also referred to as interpretive research. Researchers are the instrument. Using a clearly
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

stated conceptual framework as the scaffolding, they are openly invited to interpret the data in order to further the understanding of a specific phenomenon within a particular context (Stake, 2010). These methods are premised on defining and redefining what is observed. Within the context of qualitative research methodologies, in this thesis the Grade 3 Jamaican Integrated Studies textbook is the *thing* under investigation. These textbooks are being examined for the specific purpose of generating rich descriptions and interpretations about how they function in the post-colonial society of Jamaica. Given the nature of what is being explored and the overarching purpose of this study, qualitative research methods, with their focus on interpreting and defining what is observed, are the most appropriate approach to this study.

Previous studies indicate that qualitative methods, including content analysis, have been used in the study of texts. For example, Evans and Davies (2000), in their study of representations of masculinity in elementary school reading textbooks, used content analysis to examine how concepts of masculinity and femininity were introduced to young readers. Lewis (1987), in her work on the representation of Aboriginal peoples in children’s picture books, also used content analysis as a way of interpreting her chosen texts. Given that the purpose of my research is to investigate what the Jamaican Integrated Studies textbooks are communicating to students, content analysis can be used to explore what they do and how they produce knowledge about the specific topical areas under investigation.
Rationale for Content Analysis

According to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011), content analysis is particularly useful in the understanding of socio-cultural processes. As they suggest, "...we can learn about our society by investigating the material items produced within it" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 227). Content analysis is an approach premised on the notion that the things/materials produced in society reflect the sentiments of macro groups. As a research method it has both statistical and descriptive power. It can be used to explore specific patterns and themes in order to generate meaning and further understanding of specific phenomenon, including conceptions of culture, race, gender and geography in post-colonial societies.

Although content analysis can be used to examine many material aspects of culture, texts (such as textbooks) are most commonly studied using this research method. Texts are considered to be cultural forms, which in turn inform cultural processes and by extension society en masse. Furthermore, the production and propagation of texts are embedded in historically specific, context-based, power relations. As suggested by Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011): "Critical scholars explain that individuals are imprinted by their culture's power-knowledge relations, and researchers must use "texts" as their starting point to more accurately investigate social power" (p. 229). Based on inferences made from the material presented in the 2004 Task Force on Educational Reform, the Jamaican Ministry of Education is committed to using schooling as a way of raising awareness of Jamaican culture and national identity (Davies, 2004). Theorists such as Hall (1996b) and Thomas
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture* (2004) suggest that the appropriation of national identity and culture is something inextricably tied to post-colonial politics and how they are represented at the national and global level. Specifically, Thomas (2004), in her ethnography of the Mango Mount community, looked at the appropriation of racial and cultural identity in post-colonial Jamaica and how intersections of gender, race, and class were shaped by dominant ideologies surrounding nationhood and subjectivity (Thomas, 2004). Since texts have the capacity to shape our understanding, content analysis can be employed to describe whether or not, or perhaps more appropriately, how, these Integrated Studies textbooks, through their depiction of various topical areas, represent or challenge prevailing socio-political views, produce cultural knowledge and reinforce national identity in post-colonial Jamaica.

Content analysis is extremely versatile in that it can also be used to deconstruct images. Examining how the images and illustrations function in textbooks is important. This notion is especially apparent in Lewis’ 1987 study. Similarly, this thesis takes into account both the text and the images that are being presented to Jamaican students. Through the use of visuals, a deeper meaning and more comprehensive understanding can be inferred.

**Data Collection**

Purposive sampling was used to generate the data for this study. Given the very specific nature of the research question being asked, the theoretical framework that is being employed and the design of the study, the data was derived from one of the
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

Jamaican Integrated Studies Textbooks used in Grade 3 and released after 2004. Specifically, the text *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, will be the focal point of this analysis. In keeping with its title *Culture*, the textbook specifically looks at the traditions and nuances pertaining to life in Jamaica. Given that the purpose of this study is to examine the internal and external influence of socio-economic power on the everyday realities of the Jamaican population and how it lends to the construction of local and global subjectivities, the investigation of culture provides insight into this phenomenon.

This study aims to examine a particular historical juncture (post-2004). Consequently, using a text that has a breadth of general content and is congruent with the educational guidelines articulated in the 2004 Task Force on Educational Reform will offer in-depth insight into a phenomenon that is bound to a specific socio-political temporality. Furthermore, the cultural, political and neoliberal underpinnings of the task force document can be considered a by-product of Jamaica’s post-colonial condition. While not making direct reference to the Jamaican education system, Thomas (2004) asserts that post-colonial politics in Jamaica have historically been centered on cultural control and promoting a sense of individual industriousness and productivity. Coincidentally, similar political sentiments are reflected in the 2004 Task Reform.

**Selection Process/Rationale**

Primary textbooks were selected due to the impressionable nature of young children (Taxel, 1978). Jamaica was selected as the country of study because it serves as
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

a useful case in point for how textbooks operate in society. The textbooks were accessed and purchased online, via the website for Macmillan Caribbean. The Ministry of Education and Culture has indicated that the Integrated Studies textbook issued by this publishing company will not only be exclusively used in the primary grades across the country, but is also align with the existing Jamaican curricula (The Planning and Development Division: Ministry of Education, 2008).

**Collection Methods**

In this study, the textbooks serve as the data. One Integrated Studies textbook, was used for this analysis. This textbook, as well as the other primary textbooks in the series, are all published by Macmillan Caribbean (Macmillan, 2011) (see Table 1).

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade 1</th>
<th>Grade 2</th>
<th>Grade 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>All About Me</em></td>
<td><em>My Body</em></td>
<td><em>How Does My Body Work</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>My Family</em></td>
<td><em>Living Together</em></td>
<td><em>Culture</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>My School</em></td>
<td><em>My Community</em></td>
<td><em>My Environment</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The specific focus of this study is the Grade 3 textbook *Culture* written by M. Bailey, J. Blythe-Livingston, M. Byfield, B. Dinnall and W. Whittaker (2007).
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

**Recording and Storage**

As with all unobtrusive methods, the data exists independently of the research. All of the textbooks are publically available. Accordingly, confidentiality and ethics are of minimal concern as no human subjects were used in this study and there is no criteria dictating how the data, and the subsequent analysis and interpretations must be stored. The textbooks were, and continue to be, stored in the researcher’s workspace. They are easily accessible in order to accommodate an ongoing analysis. Information generated from the data were recorded in a basic word processing file, saved on my computer and backed-up on a USB specifically designated for the study.

**Data Analysis**

Content analysis is considered to be a hybrid amongst research methodologies, in that it uses both qualitative and quantitative techniques in its approach (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). While quantitative interpretations are possible, all of the data used in this study will be analyzed and interpreted in the qualitative tradition. Furthermore, it is important to note that data analysis and interpretation are not mutually exclusive processes; rather they are dynamic and occur simultaneously.

**Process**

In accordance with qualitative content analysis techniques, a spiral model, based on inductive reasoning, has been used to analyze the textbooks. The spiral model is an ongoing process of coding, analysis and interpretation, beginning with a topical area of
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

inquiry, which is examined in relation to the research questions. For the purposes of this thesis, the topical area under investigation is the textbook *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture*. It has been explored in relation to the research question and the theoretical framework guiding the study. Initial observations of the data were made. The data was then analyzed through a process of open coding premised on the fundamental tenets of neoliberalism. These codes can be both literal and analytical, with the latter being more interpretive and based on my insights. Coding was used to make meaning and to gain understanding. The initial coding began with a markup of significant segments of text that coincided with both the research questions and dominant themes of neoliberal ideology. This coding was more literal in nature. Through coding, commonalities, themes, and patterns will emerge. As was consistent with the spiral model, the data was reanalyzed and the new codes were applied. By doubling back and re-examining the data, codes were refined and meta-codes emerged, allowing for greater specificity and richer descriptions. This process was be supplemented by rigorous memo writing that allowed me to keep track of my thoughts, observations and associations, which were later used to develop the codes into more substantial themes. The memos were generally descriptive and allowed me to interpret and reflect on the data throughout the coding process. As suggested by Ryan and Bernard (2003), the purpose of this type of free-flowing analysis is to link codes, and coding categories together in theoretical models. Memo writing can significantly help investigators in this pursuit. The practice of re-examination, recoding and analysis was continued until I parsed out all the necessary
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

detail to effectively and thoroughly attend to my research questions. Although analysis
and interpretation is a fluid process, once this stage had been reached final interpretations
were made and tentative conclusions were formed.

Furthermore, a post-modernist, as well as a post-structuralist approach to content
analysis was also taken into consideration when analyzing and interpreting the text. The
post-modernist approach to content analysis is hinged on Foucault’s estimation of the
relationship between power and knowledge. All knowledge is contextually bound and
knowledge is inextricably tied to power. Hodder (2003) shares these sentiments
suggesting that written text, in their content and the knowledge they produce, can be
linked to strategies of centralization and codification and are used in the legitimation of
power. Accordingly, cultural texts, like *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture*,
which are specific to the island, need to undergo a thorough investigation to reveal how
they represent dominant ideologies and what they silence, in relation to a very specific
cultural context. Alternatively, post-structuralist thought advocates for a more
deconstructive approach. While this may be seemingly contradictory to the iterative and
inductive spiral model of Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011), the process of deconstruction
uses such methods and coding to interpret what truths are affirmed and how through this
practice, the other is created. The idea of truth, similar to the post-modernist model, is a
construction rooted in dominant power paradigms. The purpose of deconstruction is to
reveal what’s silenced and to challenge popular assumptions. While this is not the focus
of my research, it is important to acknowledge that post-structuralist models have been
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

used to examine textbooks in other qualitative studies. Moreover, it is also crucial to recognize that both post-modernist and post-structuralist camps subscribe to the commonly held belief that language and images have social meanings and both reflect power and are rooted within structural forms.

Lastly, since the data is comprised of both text and images a semiological analysis was used to examine how the textbooks construct meaning through signification and connotation. This form of analysis is premised on the idea that how images and text sit in relation to each other have the capacity to create meaning (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Using a semiological approach, images and text featured in Jamaican Integrated Studies textbooks can be explored, both independently and in tandem, in order to describe how aspects of culture, identity and geography are visually and textually represented and what the associations between the images and text signify.

**Organization**

The data and its interpretation are organized thematically in a word processing file. Due to the fact that the data cannot be easily imported into a computer software system all of the coding was done by hand and kept as a hard copy. In order to ensure consistency and clarity throughout the coding process, a codebook was developed during the various stages of analysis. Codebooks, as suggested by Ryan and Bernard (2003), are an organized list of codes that are developed and refined throughout the research process. These documents include a description of the code, the inclusion and exclusion criteria of that particular code (boundaries) and examples from the text. Not only did codebooks
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

make it possible to keep track of the coding process, but it was also incorporated into the ongoing process of reflection and refinement to further my understanding of how textbooks function and produce knowledge in post-colonial Jamaica.

**Trustworthiness**

Validity is of central importance to any type of research. Given the conceptual evidence based nature of qualitative studies, determining basis for the trustworthiness of the data is crucial to understand, especially since trustworthiness has been apprehended to take the place of truth (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Content analysis is particularly difficult to validate. Conventional methods of verification are not always useful, especially within the scope of my particular study. Instead, alternative methods must be employed to ensure the credibility of the findings. Neoliberalism, as it has been posited by theorists such as Lemke (2001), Kiersey (2009), Peters (2007), and Giroux (2005) will provide the lens through which the content will be examined and provide the necessary conceptual evidence to verify any interpretations of the data.

Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) suggest alternative ways to mitigate any threats to validity: validity as craftsmanship and communication validity. These criteria for validation are specifically designed for qualitative research methods in contrast to their quantitative counterparts and were used to help verify my own findings. Validity as craftsmanship examines the “credibility of the researcher and the research” (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 48). It directly challenges the integrity of the researcher by looking at how thoroughly their findings have been questioned and theorized. My conceptual framework
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

was thoroughly researched and meticulously crafted. All of my sources were scrutinized and cross-referenced with other academics within their respective fields of study. The time, energy, and scholastic rigor that went into establishing the framework for this thesis lends to its trustworthiness and validity in academic circles. Munby (2003) speaks to the importance of rigor. He specifically focuses on the importance of rigor within educational research to ensure the validity of the findings, especially in relation to the researcher’s professionalism/integrity. Given that this study required a significant amount of interpretation on my part, validity as craftsmanship and the subsequent focus on integrity when dealing with emergent complexities were essential in determining the trustworthiness of the data.

Lastly, communication validity, as outlined by Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011), is a critical way of establishing the trustworthiness of research. This form of validation exposes findings to the criticism and expertise of a wider community of researchers and sometimes even includes the community where the research was based. As argued in their work this type of verification creates a “give and take” dialogue surrounding the meaning of a particular work and how it contributes to a larger body of knowledge (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Cross-referencing my research, with the work of colleagues in my particular field and area of interest, in combination with an open dialogue surrounding the nature of my research, my methodological approach and the effectiveness of my conceptual framework, determines the trustworthiness and relevance of my findings to wider academic communities.
CHAPTER 4: WORK AND THE GRADE 3 TEXTBOOK, PRIMARY

MACMILLAN INTEGRATED STUDIES – CULTURE

Introduction

In this chapter I will explore how the textbook portrays the idea of work within the context of the Jamaican community. Work, more broadly understood as economic participation, is a key element of neoliberalism. It is a crucial aspect of a larger discourse of production and consumption and is central to the development of neoliberal subjectivities. In addition to describing how work is presented in the text, this chapter will also examine how the instructional material works to foster neoliberal subjectivities that are premised on self-investment, self-reliance and entrepreneurship. The aim of this thesis is to illustrate how Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture functions as a neoliberal artifact. By demonstrating the connections between neoliberalism and the way work is presented in the textbook, my research speaks to how some of the instructional material found in the Grade 3 Jamaican classroom work in congruence with a larger socio-economic agenda.

The textbook, Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture is the second installment in a three-part compilation, beginning with Section 7 and 8. Section 7, titled
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

“Who are the providers of goods and services we need?” introduces the idea of the community. In its six subsections it discusses the needs of the community and the role of community members and highlights the importance of working and playing together.

Section 7 is underscored by the theme of work. Work is a fundamental aspect of civic life and is vital to the health and wellbeing of the population as both individuals and members of the community. Section 8, titled “How do workers contribute to the development of my community?”, builds on the idea of work presented in Section 7. It uses a student-centered approach to entertain topics such as occupations, the role of the worker and cooperation. Most notably Section 8 gets students to actively think about their future careers and how they might contribute to their communities. The focus the narrative places on work and community corresponds with contemporary understandings of neoliberalism. As argued by scholars such as Apple (2000), neoliberal subjectivity is tied to entrepreneurial effort to enhance individual productive capabilities and participate with the local, and by extension global, economy. These two sections *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture* are dedicated to demonstrating the desirable modes of conduct that lend to socio-economic productivity. In this chapter I will demonstrate that they showcase the importance of characteristics such as entrepreneurship, responsibilization, and self-reliance within a socially constructed culture of work.

Moreover, individualism is couched within the broader narrative of “community” in order to effectively illustrate how economic participation as well as involvement in the workforce is central to individual wellbeing and is a vital crux to civic life. Information,
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

short stories, parables, and first person conversational prose are just some of the textual configurations that are used to highlight the type of behaviour and attitudes that are congruent with both neoliberalism and neoliberal communitarianism. In this chapter, specific anecdotes will be unpacked to demonstrate how the textbook places considerable emphasis on, and exemplifies, modes of conduct that are congruent with neoliberal discourse. The idea of the community, as it is presented in the textbook, will also be examined through a neoliberal framework to illustrate how it has become a mechanism of power and a form of governmentality used to manage the population.

**Governing Through Community**

Work is a prominent theme featured in Sections 7 and 8. Throughout these sections, a number of different jobs are introduced to underscore the important role they play in Jamaican society. The concept of work is contextualized through the idea of community. As emphasized in Section 7, labour is considered to be an important aspect of community life and is seen to contribute to the collective wellbeing of all community members. The working community is something that the text addresses at length and is used to outline the expectations of Jamaican citizenship. Both the concept of work and the community are enveloped within neoliberal discourse. Neoliberalism promotes economic participation as a means of harnessing available human capital. Labour is vital to fiscal wellbeing and enhances the competitiveness of both local and global economies. Furthermore, the community is reconfigured under neoliberalism to be a mechanism of
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*

power. Within this political context the community becomes redefined as a place of neoliberal communitarianism. Scholars involved in governmentality studies, like Schinkel and van Houdt (2010) argue that the community is a tool of cultural assimilation and becomes the arbitrator for desirable neoliberal behaviours, such responsibilization. As argued in their 2010 work, Schinkel and van Houdt state that: “Today a ‘governing through community’ (Rose, 1999) combines with a neo-liberal emphasis on the responsibilization of the individual, the ‘cooperation’ between citizens, state and civil society and a newly conceptualized contractual relationship between citizen and state” (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010, p. 699). The idea of the community appeals to the collective sensibilities of the individual and accordingly is able to mobilize its members based on a shared sense of belonging and obligation. Community membership is a coveted aspect of individual identity and something that is earned through an adherence to community values and active citizenship (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010). Accordingly the community has become re-appropriated as a means of governmentality, used to indirectly control the conduct of the population and imbue a shared sense of responsibility.

**Work and the Jamaican Community: Normalizing Economic Participation**

In this section of the chapter the concept of work, as it relates to the community, is explored at length. A neoliberal framework is used to unpack the information presented in sections 7 and 8 of the textbook *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture* to demonstrate how an emphasis on work is closely aligned with the socio-economic
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trajectory of neoliberalism. Moreover, the idea of community will be explored to illustrate how the textbook presents a very specific version of community that not only works as a form of governmentality, but also champions values and expectations that are commonly associated with neoliberalism.

Work is presented as an accepted reality of adult life and an expectation of community membership. The textbook actively tries to prepare students for their future role in society by outlining what is considered to be appropriate conduct in community environments. The textbook states that: “[Community members] earn a living in different ways. Some produce goods, which are sold and shared with their neighbours, while others provide services” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 6). This proclamation naturalizes the idea of work and gets students to think about how individual participation in the economy is essential to obtaining the things that they need. The text illustrates the reach and scope of civic participation. Invariably, what helps the individual also has the capacity to help others, especially when things people need are made available for public consumption. By unpacking the idea of labour into two discernable categories of goods and services students can create meaningful linkages between work – the labour of others, and the benefit it has to their own lives. For example, under the subsection “What is a community?” the textbook launches into a discussion of the importance of goods and services. The accompanying images work to demonstrate how labour in local Jamaican communities is all encompassing; it is enmeshed in all aspects of everyday lived experience. One of the most notable images is featured on Page 7 (see Figure 1). It is of a
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smiling old woman standing behind a variety of tropical fruit. Next to her is a sign in block text reading “HELP RAISE MONEY FOR OUR SCHOOL AND BUY MY FRUITS AND VEGETABLES” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 7).

![Help Raise Money for Our School, Buy My Fruit and Vegetables](image)

*Figure 2. Example of Service Jobs in Jamaica.* This image features a woman standing in front of a variety of tropical fruits. As indicated from the white sign behind her, she is attempting to sell them for the local school. Here, the selling of goods is depicted to have benefit for both the seller and the community at large (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 7).

In accordance with the information presented in the text, this woman is considered a provider of goods. Interestingly, the image makes a deliberate attempt to connect with its audience by addressing the shared experience of schooling. The woman is specifically selling fruit in a philanthropic effort to raise money for the local school. Her work is shown to help to benefit the community. This image teaches students that “work,” in general terms is of significant value. The vendor’s labour, which is done contently, as indicated by her smile and relaxed body language, resonates not because she is the provider of goods, but because the students can see themselves reflected in the
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work that she does. Through this image, students not only learn that work is important, but also that it has the capacity to influence their everyday lived experience.

This image is immediately followed by the statement: “Services are done to help people” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 7) and an illustration of a male doctor smiling over his young patient. The doctor has a reassuring hand placed on the boy’s head and the other resting on his stomach. The boy, who is immobilized in the hospital bed, has a pained look on his face, but is making eye contact with the doctor.

![Image of a doctor and a patient](image)

**Figure 3. Healthcare as an Example of the Service Industry.** A picture found in the text depicting doctors as a vital aspect of the service industry. The caption found underneath the image reinforces the ideas that jobs are integral to community wellbeing and associated with helping everyone get what they need (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 7).

It is clear that the Doctor is trying to help the boy and alleviate his discomfort. Again, the textbook attempts to present an image to which students can relate. The boy is of school age and, by virtue of being unwell, is a benefactor of the Jamaican service sector. Like the image of the smiling fruit vendor, the image of the Doctor and his patient
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courages students to think about the importance of work and the role of the labour force in the community. The doctor provides an essential service to the community that, as evidenced by the picture, helps students attend to their health care concerns and overall wellbeing. The images, in concert with the information presented in the text, teach students that participation in the labour force helps meet their needs. Moreover, they show that work and, by extension, the goods and services produced through labour, are an innate and a widely accepted part of everyday life. By making an appeal to students, as community members, the textbook encourages students to reflect on the various types of work and their importance. This exercise also gets students to consider the ways they can participate in the labour force and, by extension, contribute to their own communities and safeguard their individual wellbeing.

**The Working Community as the Antithesis to the Welfare State**

The focus placed on the working community is the antithesis to welfarism. The textbook’s proclamation that community members “work to make life better for the community…” and that “People in the community…have to earn a living” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 6) sets a precedent for an economically minded and work oriented population. Industriousness and a strong work ethic is naturalized as a community value. As suggested in the text: “Goods and services provided by the people in a community help everyone to obtain the things they need” (Bailey et al, 2007, p. 7). Consistent with neoliberal ideology is the amount of responsibility placed on the individual to satisfy his
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or her own needs. Through their labour, the individual becomes a contributor to their community. Interestingly, however, there is no mention of the support the community, and by extension governments and corporations, offer the individual. The textbook does not unpack who provides opportunities for labour and places the individual at the centre of pursuing their own place within the work force. Not only must community members work, they are also responsible for finding areas within the goods and service sector where they can actively participate in the labour market. Rights and responsibilities of citizenship are seemingly unidirectional. Individuals have a responsibility to their community to “cooperate with each other, share ideas [and] work to make life better for the community” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 6). The way that the community is presented in the Jamaican Integrated Studies textbook parallels the scholarship of Rose (1996), Cheshire and Lawrence (2005), as well as Schinkel and van Houdt (2010). All five scholars look at the community as a form of governmentality and a reconfigured way of managing problematized populations.

While seemingly contradictory to the free-market capitalism and globalization, the community, with its pro-social undertones, actually works in concert with the neoliberal agenda. In his article, *The Death of the Social? Re-figuring the Territory of Government*, Nikolas Rose introduces the idea of the community both as a tool used to manage the population, and as an antithesis to social forms of government. Rose argues that with the dissolution of the welfare state the community has been reconfigured to accommodate the privatization of formerly public services. Rose highlights the
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connection between the transformation of the community and liberalized programs of government (Rose, 1996, p. 330). A shift in economic thinking, alongside the increasing globalization and marketization of national economies has problematized the population. The need for economic production and competition on an international scale has become paramount to late capitalist and neoliberal discourse. A departure away from the welfare state is a decidedly neoliberal reform. The dissolution of national and political boundaries, precipitated by both globalization and the emergence of the free market economy, required government to re-appropriate their efforts on the advancement of economic processes. As argued by Cheshire and Lawrence (2005), welfarism and an over-reliance on social programs are counter-intuitive to free-market ideology and economic progress. A social state is believed to “[distort] market signals and [breed] dependency on welfare-style payments” (Cheshire & Lawrence, 2005, p. 436). A movement away from welfarism encourages the population to adopt characteristics like self-reliance and competitiveness that operate concurrently with free market logic. Instead of implementing and supporting programs for the welfare of the population, the state shifted its focus towards creating the necessary foundation for economic competitiveness in an increasingly globalized market.

Central to this new line of thinking was the problematization of the population. Under neoliberalism the subject of government was reimagined as a socio-political problem creating a need for the population to become responsibilized in accordance with new forms of economic thought. As argued by Rose (1996):
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The human beings who were to be governed – men and women, rich and poor – were now conceived as individuals who are to be active in their own government. And their responsibility was no longer to be understood as a relation of obligation between citizen and society enacted and regulated through the mediating party of the State: rather it was to be a relation of allegiance and responsibility to those one cared about the most and to whom one’s destiny was linked. (p. 330)

It is within this context that a new understanding of community has emerged. Rose (1996) argues that networks of personal investment, including investment in one’s community, have become central to an emerging “ethos of [self] government” (p. 331). The “community” has become entrenched within a Foucauldian rationality, whereby it is used as a means of “governing society without governing society” (Rose, 1996, p. 328). The community is the site of regional or cultural assemblages to which the population and their families feel a particular allegiance and responsibility. A desire to belong to and maintain good relations with the community is considered to be a strong motivator for active participation and self-regulation in accordance with collective community values. Accordingly, the community has become a space of “mutual obligation” and personal concern. As argued by Rose, there is “a new emphasis on the personal responsibilities of the individuals, their families and their communities for their own future well-being and upon their own obligation to take active steps to secure this” (Rose, 1996, p. 327-328).

Accordingly, the idea of community has become reconstructed as a mechanism of power
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and a tool that is actively used in the government of populations that are loosely connected through localities, culture and shared experiences.

**Work as a Naturalized Feature of Community Life**

The textbook *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture* introduces the idea of the community in subsection 7.1 “What is a community?”. It cites the community as being “made up of people who live together in groups called families” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 6). A family is a group with which students can readily identify and in which they have a vested interest. This description puts the idea of a community in palatable terms while simultaneously commanding the allegiance of any person who identifies himself or herself as part of a family grouping. The text then launches into a detailed discussion on the role of people in the community, placing considerable emphasis on the productive capacity of community members and their ability to earn a living. It is here that the textbook alludes to the intersectionalities of the community and work. The textbook persuasively outlines the function of work and why it an essential aspect of community life: “People who live in communities work to satisfy various needs. These needs include food, shelter and clothing” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 12). It discusses the differences between the goods and services. It also highlights the types of jobs found in both industries and the vital role that participating in the labour market plays in community life. As described in the text:

Goods are things which are bought or sold. They can be seen, moved, handled and used. Goods include food items clothing, furniture and motor vehicles. Some
goods can be provided by the local community. Others come from factories elsewhere in the country or the world. (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 12)

Spider diagrams are featured alongside this information to show what types of jobs provide goods to Jamaican communities. Vendors/higglers, bakers, farmers, fishermen, butchers, dressmakers, carpenters, and tailors are just some of the providers of goods included in the diagram. The textbook places considerable emphasis on the different types of labour involved in the production of goods.
The following spider diagram shows some of the providers of goods in a community. Why do you think it is called a spider diagram?

Vendors/Higglers

Farmers

Bakers

Fishermen

Butchers

Dressmakers

Carpenters

Tailors

Think of some other providers of goods in your community.
Tell your classmates about them.

Figure 4. Spider Diagram Listing Providers of Goods. This Spider Diagram featured in the text highlights some of the many providers of goods in the Jamaican community. This diagram reinforces the idea that many different types of labour are necessary to community function. (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 14)
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Section 7 also addresses the importance of the service sector. As stated in the text: “Services are offered within communities because members depend on each other for help. The members also work together to make the community a better place to live” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 14). The description of the service industry featured in *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture* reflects some of the core values of neoliberalism. The idea of interdependence, and the shared sense of responsibility it imbues, is consistent with a larger neoliberal effort to make the population self-reliant and self-sustaining. Moreover, the textbook omits any reference to larger socio-economic and political structures that may or may not support individual efforts to become self-sufficient citizens and community members. A working community is central to both helping and, by extension, meeting the needs of all community members. The text goes on to highlight some of the key functions of Jamaican service providers, alongside the types of jobs associated with the industry. The text states that: “Services include providing protection for everyone and the maintaining of peace within the community. Police officers and soldiers offer these services. Examples of other service providers are the doctor, nurse, fireman, postal worker and bus driver” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 14). This section of the text not only demonstrates the scope of the service industry, but also speaks to the need for labour in order to ensure the success and safety of the community. These examples reinforce the importance of the goods and service industry and demonstrate how the labour of community members directly contributes to individual and collective interests. At the same time, however, the textbook omits any information about the role
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of Jamaican corporations or local governments in the wellbeing of the Jamaican population. By choosing to exclude the role of corporations and governments play in the social security of the individual, the textbook further amplifies how each person is implicated within the rhetoric of socio-economic responsibility.

The textbook also offers a few activities that the students are to complete to reinforce their learning. The exercises that correspond with the information on goods and services encourage students to reflect on the socio-economic organization of their own communities. In conjunction with the discussion on goods and services students, were asked the following questions: “Think of some other provider of goods in your community” and “Which people provide us with essential or emergency services?” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 14) Through these questions, students become enmeshed in the neoliberal discourse of community. The use of the word “your” in the first question, suggests that students have a certain degree of ownership, and by extension investment in their community. The structure of the question is underscored by an assumed loyalty that calls on students to become active participants in community life and work to meet shared community needs. Similarly, the purposeful use of the word “us” in the second question encourages students to identify themselves as a part of a community that is constructed around the idea of work. These exercises not only encourage students to consider the influence of labour on their own lives, but it also places them directly into a socio-economic narrative that is principally informed by neoliberal governmentality. The appeal for each student to be a responsible and contributing member of the community is
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not in itself problematic. Rather, it is the context in which this idea is presented that illustrates how challenging this type of neoliberal rhetoric can be. The textbook, as a neoliberal artifact, sets the precedent for active citizenship with little to know recourse or consideration for the social and systemic conditions within which an individual is expected to be successful (M. Lewis, personal communication, December 2015).

**The Community as a Technology of Power to Manage the Population**

The community is not only a site of labour, but it is also a benchmark of conduct. Not only are communities presented as places where there is a mutual sense of dependence and obligation, but they are also shown to be a cooperative space. This is especially evident in subsection 7.5 “The performing community”. Here, the conduct of community members is premised on a mutual responsibility for the safety of all community members. As stated in the text: “There are times when members of communities come together or unite to support a common cause such as a neighbourhood watch programme” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 21). It is in this context that the community functions as a form of governmentality. Governing through community is underscored by the idea of reform (Schinkel and van Houdt, 2010). The community, as mechanism of power, requires its members to adopt certain behaviours, like cooperation and a shared sense of responsibility, in order to meet overarching community needs. While the examples found in the textbook are not explicitly neoliberal in nature, the concept of governing through community is tied to the socio-economic imperatives of the neoliberal era. As evidenced by Cheshire and Lawrence (2005), this type of governmentality is
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premised on reforms of the state. The state expresses its influence through the implementation of strategies and policies designed to manage the population. At the level of community, these strategies are introduced to “enhance competitiveness, self-reliance and entrepreneurship in regional areas…” (p. 437). Governing through community shapes the conduct of the population in order to meet collective needs.

The almost exclusive focus on work and its relation to community life corresponds with the idea of “active citizenship” and “human capital” (Apple, 2006). Labour is vital to the free-market economy and central to neoliberal ideology. Economic involvement of the population, as both a producer and consumer of goods and services, is vital to the processes of the market. The emphasis placed on encouraging students to think about how work effects their community, and the type of goods and services that they encounter in their everyday lives, reinforces the neoliberal idea that the economy is an autonomous structure through which society operates (McCafferty, 2010). Moreover, the focus on community participation, as it is determined by an individual’s involvement in the workforce, is closely aligned to neoliberal belief that community membership is earned (Schinkel and van Houdt 2010), and reflects McCafferty’s (2010) critique that through education students learn about their role in labour through a larger global framework. Through the information presented in the textbook, students are taught that what they contribute to society has a profound impact on their everyday lives. McCafferty believes that this type of education “helps secure further acceptance of neoliberal ‘commonplaces’” (McCafferty, 2010, p. 546).
The Making of the Neoliberal Subject

The textbook uses anecdotes throughout Sections 7 and 8 as a means of conveying information to the students in an accessible way. These anecdotes are often parable-like in nature and their prose contains a lesson, that when viewed through a neoliberal lens, encourages specific attitudes and behaviours that are underscored by and speak to a socio-economic agenda. The story of 8-year-old Johnny, featured at the end of Section 8, is a cumulative synopsis of some of the key themes featured earlier in the text. Johnny is shown to be very concerned about what he would like to be when he grows up. Throughout the course of the narrative, Johnny goes on a pilgrimage to find out about the different types of work that are available to him. He ventures through both his own community and a neighbouring village to research various types of employment and the tools that are used in each job. He gathers this information for the purpose of future decision-making. The focus on work and Johnny’s desire to become a part of the labour force effectively reflects what students learn in Sections 7 and 8. Johnny’s experience within various communities reflects attitudes and values that are both consistent with neoliberal discourse and correspond with the configurations of community that are presented earlier in the text. Both locales are centered on the idea of the “working community.”

Through the use of this anecdote it becomes obvious that Johnny is depicted in a very purposeful and specific way. In spite of his age, he is presented as a reflective, responsible, self-regulating and labour-oriented 8 year old, with a considerable amount of
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forethought about his future role in Jamaican society. He is portrayed as self-reliant and entrepreneurial; using his exploration of various types of labour as a means to invest in himself. When deconstructed through a neoliberal framework, Johnny’s characterization corresponds to what theorists, such as McCafferty (2010), Pierce (2013), Agostinone-Wilson (2006) and Schinkel and van Houdt (2010) identify as neoliberal subjectivity. Johnny is both responsibilized and self-regulating. Johnny independently decides to spend his time “seriously thinking about what he would like to be when he grew up” (Bailey et al., 2007, p.56). Johnny dutifully comes up with a plan and sees it through to fruition without any external motivations or distractions. Johnny is presented as the arbitrator of his own time. Even on “One sunny day during the summer…” when his time is invariably unstructured, Johnny decides to sit down and “ma[k]e a list of the different jobs which people did” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 56). This text is complemented by an image of a young boy sitting at a table.

*Figure 5. An Image of Johnny Writing in his Notebook.* This image depicts Johnny’s working diligently to try and come up with a list of various jobs that he might like to do when he grows up. He is actively brainstorming ideas, based on his own experiences.
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The boy has his head down with his shoulders shrugged over a notebook. He is pictured poised with a pencil in hand. His elbow is resting on the desk, with his head leaning on his hand. He appears to be in deep thought, with full attention placed on his task. Johnny is alone in the image. His solitude reinforces the hyper-individualized, self-reliant and enterprising nature of the neoliberal subject. Johnny’s pursuit of work-related knowledge is a deeply personal and entirely self-regulated effort. In keeping with the pretense of neoliberal subjectivity, the textbook suggests that Johnny is in total control of what he will be when he grows up. What the narrative fails to mention, and what makes it extremely problematic, is that Johnny ability to secure gainful employment is dependent on conditions that are outside of his control. Factors, including his race, gender, and sexuality, alongside his family’s resources and socio-economic status, all impact Johnny’s ability to participate in the labour force. What neoliberalism fails to acknowledge is that there are systemic inequalities, including the economic status of one’s country, that directly impede a person’s ability to decide what type of work they would like to do, what type of opportunities they have, as well as the choices they can make.

**Entrepreneurship as a Form of Neoliberal Subjectivity: Investing in the Self**

Theorists, like Read (2009), argue that the idea of self-enterprise and entrepreneurship is central to the making of the neoliberal subject. The subject is brought to believe they have an unhindered ability to make choices that transcend the conditions in which they live. Moreover, neoliberalism’s appeal to community participation
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obligates people to make choices in order to meet the criteria of ‘good citizenship.’ If the individual, through the choices they make, is unable to actively contribute to their socio-economic wellbeing of their community, then their inability to succeed becomes their fault. This image is complimented by an illustration of Johnny on the following page. Here he is seen sitting by himself on a cobblestone fence. He is smiling and has a sandwich in hand. Beside him is his open notebook, where according to the anecdote he is “writ[ing] down the things he would like to find out” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 56). What is interesting about this image is that Johnny is alone. He is completely unaided in his pursuit to find out what he would like to be when he grows up. This image, like the preceding illustration, demonstrates that Johnny is entirely self-reliant. This trait is a by-product of neoliberal governmentality. Neoliberal subjects are expected to be self-reliant in order to discourage dependency on government-sponsored social services. As indicated by Rose (1996), a movement towards liberalism is characterized by a departure from the welfare state. Moreover self-reliance lends to the idea of responsibilization. Johnny is not only acting responsibly, but he is also entirely responsible for himself. While other people aid in Johnny’s search by telling him of the work that they do, there is very little external guidance. Johnny has to decide for himself whom he talks to and where he would like to go to search for information. Johnny, as the lone labourer on his quest for information, lends to the hyper-individualized nature of neoliberal thinking. As suggested by Read, neoliberalism dismantles the politics of work by reconstructing the labourer, not as a part of a collective, but rather “companies of one” (Read, 2009, p. 30).
Further, “…Neoliberal power works by dispersing bodies and individuals through privatization and isolation” (Read, 2009, p. 34).

For an 8 year old, Johnny is incredibly economically oriented and self-investing. He seems to be cognizant of future expectations and actively looks for ways in which he can participate in the Jamaican labour force and by extension, the economy. By virtue of the task he undertakes, Johnny demonstrates that he possesses economic values that coincide with neoliberal ideology. He is driven to find out about work and realizes that when he grows up work is going to be part of his reality. In fact, there is a certain degree of urgency behind his desire to learn about “the tasks each worker had to perform, the tool needed for each task and the importance of each job” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 56). The focus on the importance of work and various jobs is a reoccurring theme in Sections 7 and 8 and something that Johnny contemplates at length. However the fact that “Johnny decided to put his plan into action straight away…” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 56) is illustrative of both Johnny’s decision-making capacity and his trepidation about making sure he knows about, and can eventually be employed in, the Jamaican labour market. The textbook addresses at length the considerable work Johnny must do to search for information. In his search for information about the types of work in Jamaican communities, Johnny effectively becomes a labourer. Read (2009) examines neoliberal configurations of labour. He contends:

Labor is no longer limited to the specific sites of the factory or the workplace, but is any activity that works towards desired ends. The terms “labor” and “human
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capital” intersect, overcoming in terminology their longstanding opposition; the former becomes the activity and the latter becomes the effects of the activity, its history. From this intersection, the discourse of the economy becomes an entire way of life, a common sense in which every action--crime, marriage, higher education and so on--can be charted according to a calculus of maximum output for minimum expenditure; it can be seen as an investment. (Read, 2009, 31)

Johnny’s undertaking can be categorized as an entrepreneurial effort to invest in himself and his future. His actions are entirely self-interested, as evidenced by how isolated he is in his journey for knowledge. They are also very productive and coincide with a neoliberal economic rationale that is hinged on production, consumption and human capital. Johnny’s behaviour is consistent with contemporary forms of neoliberal subjectivity. Every action is an investment, or arguably a disinvestment, in human capital (Read, 2009). His efforts to learn about various types of work in his community are a form of labour in itself. Johnny’s carefully crafted plan is complemented by physical investment in his own “human capital”.

In the anecdote Johnny goes on a pilgrimage to learn about the different types of work, the tools each worker uses and what he might like to be when he grows up. His sojourn to find himself in the world of work attend to dominant themes that are consistent with neoliberal subjectivity and reflect a majority of the types of work outlined in Section 7 and 8. Critical to Johnny’s journey are the labourers he encounters. As stated in the narrative: “He had met policemen (sic), soldiers, fishermen (sic), garbage collectors,
lkers, farmers, teachers, doctors, plasterers, plumbers, tillers, dentists, nurses, architects and gardeners” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 57). On his second jaunt around a neighbouring community he also got a chance to connect with “a dressmaker, fireman (sic), barber, hairdresser, mason, electrician, butcher, public health inspector, postman (sic) and a very pleasant taxi driver who gave him a ride home” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 57). This journey can be seen as a deliberate form of self-investment. By gathering information, Johnny is actively making himself more prepared to participate in economic life. Moreover, the jobs he learns about are presented in such a way that the social status and accessibility affiliated with different types of work, alongside the economic returns of labour appear to be all the same. This sameness is inherently problematic given that the acquisition and accumulation of wealth is central to the individualized and competitive nature of the neoliberal subject. Johnny investment is not only ideological, but physical. His pursuit of knowledge is described to be actively working on the body. As stated in the text: “He walked to another community, which was about a mile away from his community” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 57). In addition to engaging in a form of physical labour, this example also shows Johnny making very deliberate choices for his future. The decision-making capacity of the individual and the focus on personal choice is central to a broader discussion on responsibilization and self-reliance. Neoliberalism affords individuals with the power to invest in themselves. Their ability to successfully fulfill their place within the free market economy is a natural arbitrator of those choices (Apple, 2000).
The Centrality of Choice to Neoliberal Subjectivities

While Apple (2000) contextualizes his argument through the vignette of schooling, his argument about choice can be extended to other socio-economic and political spheres. In his discussion on how the United States school voucher system and the convoluted notion that democracy has been redefined as a right to consumer choice, Apple states that: “When the poor “choose” to keep their children in underfunded and decaying schools in the inner cities or in rural schools…they (the poor) will be blamed individually and collectively for making bad “consumer choices” (Apple, 2000, p. 73). Apple demonstrates that neoliberal structures implicate the individual at the center of their own success and well-being. He also illustrates how the market, or rather an inability to participate in a market-based economy for lack of proper education, becomes a natural consequence of a failure to make appropriate investments.

Choice becomes central to neoliberal subjectivity. When analyzed through a neoliberal framework it can be argued that Johnny is strongly influenced by the effects of neoliberal governmentality. Johnny places considerable emphasis on making good choices, in order to better prepare himself not only for his future role in society, but to give him a competitive advantage within the labour market. This is especially relevant when socio-economic forms of governmentality are grounded on the idea of “[self]-interest, investment and competition” (Read, 2009, p. 29). Johnny is adhering to an ambiguous standard of Jamaican identity that is simultaneously rooted in securing a position in the workforce and entrepreneurship.
As an ideology and way of life, neoliberalism is all encompassing. As suggested by Read: “Neoliberalism can be viewed as a particular production of subjectivity, as a way in which individuals are constituted as subjects of ‘human capital’” (Read, 2009, 25). Read argues that neoliberalism is not just a political program but also a transformation of human nature and social existence. Read uses the work of David Harvey to illustrate how neoliberal thinking has become central to hegemonic understandings of the world. It is believed that this in turn affects how people come to live in and interpret their place in the body politic. Read notes that there is an essential intersectionality between the making of subjectivities and regimes of power/knowledge (Read, 2009). He believes that neoliberalism is “intimately tied to the government of the individual, to a particular manner of living” (Read, 2009, p. 27).

Characteristics of Neoliberal Subjectivity

Through the story presented in the textbook the students learn that Johnny is responsibilized, self-reliant, self-investing and economically oriented. Johnny provides the students who use the textbook with a “model” for neoliberal subjectivity. All of these qualities help prepare him for his future in the labour market. When viewed through a neoliberal lens, Johnny can be viewed as part of a larger neoliberal agenda. He is directly embedded in and conforms to the socio-economic emphasis placed on labour that is typical of neoliberal governmentality. Johnny represents the archetypal neoliberal subject. He is a homo-economicus; an entrepreneur. As highlighted in the work of Read
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture* (2009), the homo-economicus is typified as a person who is constructed as a rational and competitive economic subject, whose desire to compete is refined and naturalized as a homogenous aspect of human existence. The competitive nature of the neoliberal subject is especially important given that socio-economic conditions and a quest for profit means that there is not enough of the commodity of work to go around. Work in itself becomes a competition. The preparedness of the individual, alongside their entrepreneurial drive to optimize themselves for the workforce, becomes the chance arbitrator of economic success. Accordingly, individuals who are unable to successfully “compete” in the workforce are presumed to have made inappropriate choices or have not adequately prepared themselves for economic life and therefore only have themselves to blame for their socio-economic shortcomings (M. Lewis, personal communication, December 2015). Johnny does not only seem to accept that work is a natural part of his adult existence, but he also demonstrates a commitment to his future role in society. As stated in the text: “Two things he was sure about were that all jobs were important and he would have to study really hard to become a skilled worker” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 57). The focus of this anecdote appears to get students mentally prepared for their future as labourers. What Johnny, and by extension the students, are not told is that their ability to choose what type of job they would like to do is stifled by the competitiveness of the neoliberal market. In reality, people are not granted unencumbered access to jobs, nor is labour remunerated equally. The neoliberal subject is, by Foucauldian standards, an entrepreneur. Within the context of dominant neoliberal discourse, the homo-economicus
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is expected to be competitive, economically minded and self-regulating (Read, 2009). Johnny’s level of investment towards his future participation in the labour force is reinforced by his conviction that he will have to “study really hard” and by extension, self-regulate, to fulfill his productive potential (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 57). He is, as Read suggests, an entrepreneur of himself (Read. 2009).

Johnny is a character with whom students can easily identify. He is the same age as the students who are using the textbook and tackles many of the topics they have encountered in their learning. The similarities Johnny shares with the primary audience of the textbook, in combination with his reflections on work, a central theme that governs student learning, makes him more accessible to the Grade 3 population. Johnny’s anecdote introduces students to the values and attitudes they should have towards work and the type of effort involved in participating in the labour market. Exercises at the end of the story invite students to put themselves in Johnny’s position. The text asks students to reflect on how they would learn about different types of work: “If you were Johnny what questions would you ask the people you met about their jobs? Discuss with your partner” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 57). This task is not only collaborative, but encourages students to be forward thinking. By deciding what kind of job related questions they would like to ask people in their communities, students actively begin to consider what type of work they would be interested in doing and what their future role in society will be. When examined through a neoliberal perspective, this activity is a form of labour in

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itself and the story of Johnny becomes a tool of governmentality that is used to encourage students to conduct themselves in a manner that befits neoliberal subjectivity.

Scholars, such as McCafferty (2010), suggest that the pervasiveness of neoliberalism in the curriculum is something that has characterized the educational reforms of late capitalism. She argues that consistent with market imperatives, enterprise values, such as “‘self-transformation’, ‘competitiveness’ and ‘market responsibility’” are embedded in the curriculum both practically and ideologically (McCafferty, 2010, p. 542-543). The story of Johnny serves as an example of the practical and ideological implementation of neoliberal values in the textbook *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*. The anecdote itself is used to model the behaviour and belief systems that are consistent with neoliberalism on an ideological level, while simultaneously encouraging socio-economic participation. Moreover, neoliberalism is also practically implemented through the aforementioned exercise associated with the story of Johnny. It gets students to identify themselves with a larger neoliberal project and reflect on how they would conduct their own job related research as a means of self-investment.

**Conclusion**

Through anecdotes, an emphasis on work, community responsibility and the focus on self-reliant and economically oriented Jamaican citizens, the information found in the Grade 3 textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, actively promotes the making of neoliberal subjects. The textbook teaches students about appropriate attitudes
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and behaviours that are conducive to economic advancement, entrepreneurship and overall social security. Community membership becomes contingent on civic and economic participation. This chapter highlights how labour has been reconfigured to include all aspects of everyday life and that seemingly benign choices are implicated into a larger discourse of production and consumption, as well as an individual’s ability to become civically [read neoliberally] minded. Work is presented as a non-negotiable reality of Jamaican life and vital to individual and collective wellbeing. When explored through a neoliberal lens, the textbook suggests that individual conduct, within social situations largely outside individual control, premeditates a person’s ability to effectively participate in community, and by extension economic life. The work of governmentality theorists, like Schinkel and van Houdt (2010), Rose (1996), and Read (2009) demonstrate how many of the dominant themes found in Sections 7 and 8, such as community, labour, production and entrepreneurship, alongside the myriad of characteristics associated with economic subjectivity, are actually entrenched within a neoliberal discourse aimed at establishing the appropriate model for individual conduct. When viewed through a neoliberal lens, the textbook, itself, becomes a technology of power that, through biopolitical governmentality, sets the ideological parameters for life in Jamaica.
CHAPTER 5: SELF-REGULATION, WORKER ATTITUDES AND THE TEXTBOOK, MACMILLAN PRIMARY INTEGRATED STUDIES - CULTURE

Introduction

Self-regulation is a key feature of neoliberalism. Embedded in the rhetoric of choice, self-regulation is a means through which neoliberal subjects choose how to conduct themselves and assume responsibility for their actions and behaviours for the purposes of personal well-being and socio-economic gain. When analyzed through a neoliberal framework, the Grade 3 textbook, Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture, works to promote self-regulation as the barometer for individual conduct. This chapter explores the many ways in which the textbook actively prepares students to be self-regulating.

Through a focus placed on rules, the textbook teaches students not only the importance of obedience, but also places emphasis on mitigating negative consequences through appropriate actions. Self-regulating individuals, who make good choices that coincide with a larger socio-economic agenda, are better able to fulfill their roles as both producers and consumers within a globalized Jamaican economy. The rules found throughout the textbook are unpacked and examined through a neoliberal lens to
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demonstrate how the textbook advocates for self-regulation and ties it to an individual’s productive potential. In addition to the attention placed on rules, the textbook uses biblical allegories to reinforce the non-negotiable and omnipotent nature of the systems and policies put in place by arbitrary, albeit supreme authorities. These biblical references are explored in connection with neoliberalism and unpacked to illustrate how rules are presented as a natural and immutable reality that shapes the lived experience of the Jamaican population. Self-regulation is a vital characteristic of neoliberal subjectivity. The textbook’s seemingly innocent focus on conduct and by extension individual responsibilization speaks to a larger neoliberal narrative that is hinged on biopolitical governmentality to control the body for socio-economic purposes. Self-regulation is principal to neoliberal conduct and places the individual, not the state, at the center of his or her own wellbeing. Neoliberalism, with its decentralizing efforts and movement away from state responsibility, requires the individual to assume responsibility entirely for themselves, and negotiate socio-economic systems in a way which allows them to maximize their productive potential and actively contribute to both local and global economies.

**Learning about Rules: Establishing Appropriate Modes of Conduct**

Section 9 “How do rules help workers at the workplace?” actively teaches students to be disciplined and self-regulating. It focuses on the importance of rules at home, in school and abroad in order to demonstrate a unilateral need for self-
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management. Students are taught that an understanding and acceptance of as well as an adherence to rules will allow them to be successful. However, it also emphasizes that students need to be self-regulating and actively choose to follow the rules in order to create the necessary conditions for their individual happiness and wellbeing. The textbook works to demonstrate that rules, and by extension, self-regulation are a natural part of everyday life. It uses biblical examples, as well as social models at both home and school to demonstrate that rules are not just limited to the work place, but are a necessary function of society. Moreover, the text demonstrates that there is significant benefit associated with following the rules and becoming a self-regulated individual. Those who follow rules are able to lead “happy” and “enjoyable” lives and make provisions for their own social and physical wellbeing. As argued by the textbook: “Observing rules at home and school will help us keep safe from harm and danger. Without rules there will always be accidents that might threaten life and property” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 65). The textbook uses a combination of text and illustration to outline some of the many rules that students should follow at both home and school. All of the rules are underscored by an effort to maintain order and individual safety.

Rules that are to be observed in the home include: “Do not play with matches.” “Never allow strangers in the house.” and “Pack away toys when they are not being used.” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 66). It is the rules designed for the home that primarily focus on safety and resonate with the idea that rules “keep us safe from danger and harm” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 65). Both the matches, featured in the first illustration, and the
strangers, featured in the second, have the potential of endangering the individual. Picking up unused toys on the other hand helps maintain order and ensures that no accidents happen that could threaten property. Rules not only function to keep people safe, but implicit within the idea of self-regulation is the rhetoric of self-optimization. Those who follow rules are not only able to prevent unnecessary hardship and are thus happier, but they are also conducting themselves in such a way that will allow them to function at an optimal level and preserve their individual wellbeing.

Figure 6. Rules Observed in the Home. These are 2 images illustrate rules found in the home. They place great emphasis on following rules to maintain personal safety (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 66).

Rules that should be observed at school are primarily focused on maintaining order. Students are taught that at school they are to: "Form a line or queue to enter a
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classroom,” “Walk along corridors,” and “Play only on the playing field” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 67). These 3 rules are illustrative of neoliberal biopolitics. As a technology of power, rules work on the body to encourage the population to develop habits that work to reproduce the capitalist relationships that are necessary to sustain a larger neoliberal agenda (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013). They familiarize students with the idea of being integrated into a larger socio-economic hierarchy, where students, as future producers/consumers, understand the importance of obedience and self-regulation in contemporary social formations. Being able to follow rules is fundamental to success in neoliberal environments. As argued by Pierce (2013), neoliberal economics becomes the impetus behind contemporary forms of biopolitics/biopower found in systems of public education.

**Rules as Disciplinary Power over Bodies**

Neoliberal ideologies become a market driven disciplinary power over bodies. Biopower, as originally suggested by Michael Foucault (1990, 2008), is comprised of two prevalent “poles”. One pole is centered on anatomo-politics, which seek to “maximize its forces and integrate it into efficient systems” (Rabinow & Rose, 2006, p. 196). The second pole is focused on “regulatory controls, [where] the body [is] imbued with the mechanisms of life: birth, morbidity, mortality, longevity” (Rabinow & Rose, 2006, p. 196). Given both the physiological and cerebral functions of the body, alongside the variable of individual human potential, the body becomes the site on which power operates in order to optimize human functionality. It is in a biopolitical context that the
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population is viewed as a political problem that requires external regulatory mechanism to effectively control and condition. The population (as a problem) is exposed to disciplinary institutions, such as schooling, where “regimes of truth” dominate the ideological environment that works to govern “the internal ordering of individuals” (Pierce, 2013, p. 5). This type of biopower encourages individuals to adopt practices and habits through “bodily techniques of control imbued with moral and ethical pedagogies” (Pierce, 2013, p. 6). The rules presented in the textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, specifically those observed at school, work on the bodies to establish a sense of order and control. These rules coincide with an ethical pedagogy that promotes behaviours that are necessary for the formation of temporary labour markets (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013). Students are told that they must “form lines,” “walk” and play in certain spaces. They have to govern themselves in a way that is deemed appropriate by school administration and authorities. This form of governmentality encourages a certain degree of bodily discipline where students are told they have to control their movements in order to successfully negotiate the school environment.

Students not only learn that in the space of the home and school rules are designed with the purpose of preserving order and individual wellbeing, but also serve as a site where students can be self-regulating. Each rule is complimented by a corresponding image. Four out of the six images depict children acting alone without adult supervision. The image above the rule “Never allow strangers in the house” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 66) shows a little boy alone in the house turning a key to lock/unlock the
door. On the other side of the door there are the silhouettes of a man and a woman lurking in the dark. The image suggests that the boy is required to call on his own faculties to make the appropriate choice to protect himself from the potential danger of strangers. The images pertaining to rules observed in school are also telling of self-regulation. In all three of the images the students are depicted without the supervision of the teacher or a responsible adult. The first image, appearing alongside the rule: “Form a line or queue to enter a classroom” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 67), shows eight students, dressed in uniform, patiently waiting in line for their classroom door to open. The boys and girls are all smiling and standing shoulder width apart. They are all facing the same direction and do not appear to be speaking. The second image, found with the rule “Walk along corridors,” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 67) shows the same group of eight students exiting the classroom. While they are moving down the hallway in pairs, and are casually talking to each other, they are all depicted to be walking in an orderly fashion. The last rule in the section, “Play on the playing field only,” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 67) shows a group of boys and girls playing a game of soccer. While they are depicted to be running around, and appropriately located in the clearly marked playing field, they also appear to be very organized. They are well spaced out on the field and each student is clearly playing a particular position. All three of these images show students to be making decisions for themselves and for the greater good of the group. In order to be able to successfully follow the rules, students have to hold each other accountable for their behaviour to achieve a common goal, such as standing in a straight line. This point
Neoliberal Analysis of the textbook *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture* reflects Agostione-Wilson’s (2006) idea of teamwork and its place in the development of neoliberal subjectivities. The idea of teamwork is a neoliberal mechanism that builds on the notion of choice and accountability in an environment that is structured and self-governing. As argued by Agostione-Wilson: “the team itself provides discipline and surveillance” (Agostione-Wilson, 2006, p. 150). This is especially relevant in a place, like school, that requires productivity and efficiency. The lack of a teacher or authority figure in the illustrations, further amplifies the assertion that students need to be self-regulating. These images serve as an example for the type of behaviour that is expected and reiterates the idea of self-governance. All four images place the “child” or “student” in a position of accountability.

**The Universality of Rules in all Aspects of Society**

Complimentary to the importance of rules is the understanding that rules are found in all aspects of society, on both a local and global level. Students are taught that rules are globally universal and present in all aspects of life. As suggested in the subsection “Rules and Strategies” the text states: “Rules tell us how to behave. Rules are set at home, school, in the workplace and for the country” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 64). The textbook normalizes and naturalizes the idea of rules and by extension the type of behaviour that is expected in an increasingly globalized world. Moreover, the textbook asserts that the impact of obedience transcends the individual. Rather obedience to rules has local, national, and by extension, international implications. As stated in the textbook: “Rules guide us into making good decisions that will benefit ourselves, others, our
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community and our country” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 65). The rhetoric of personal benefit and national gain underscore the importance of rules in neoliberal organizations of society. While rules demand self-governance, they are also presented as the impetus behind individual and national success. The neoliberal success narrative that is implicated within the idea of rules is something that academics have explored in a variety of social contexts. Vassallo (2013), argues that within educational environments self-regulation and self-management are believed to not only promote agency and individual choice, but are also tied to academic success.

The idea of self-governance is easily transferred to social environments outside of school. It is in these non-academic spheres that the idea of a self-regulating subject can effectively manage themselves to be successful in social and economic arenas, achieves traction. Quoting Jarvela (2011), Vassallo (2013) points out that “Both students at school and adults at work have to make appropriate choices, prioritise and plan their work and lives strategically. They need to focus and adapt their behaviors and actions to fit each situation’s demands” (Järvelä, 2011, p. 297). The textbook demonstrates the scope of rules and self-regulation and connects both of these concepts to a larger socio-economic framework.

The numerous examples found in Section 9 of the textbook serve two distinct purposes. First, the text employs different examples of where rules are found to validate and essentialize their universal function in society, while simultaneously making an appeal for undisputed obedience. Second, the textbook uses these examples to illustrate
that there are different rules for specific environments, like at home or school, locally or nationally, when playing games with friend (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 68) or when engaging with tourists (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 138). It is here that the neoliberal success narrative is couched within the idea of being self-regulating, disciplined, and adaptive. Students are taught to be conscious of what is appropriate in different environments and use that knowledge to frame their interactions.

**Self-Regulations and Participation in Economic Life**

Davies and Bansel (2007) echo Vassallo’s idea that self-regulation is tied to economics. Paraphrasing Rose (1999), they argue that “Within this new set of [neoliberal] relations all aspects of social behaviour are rethought along economic lines” (Davies & Bansel, 2007, p. 249). By learning how to appropriately conduct themselves, students are inadvertently acquiring the necessary skills to negotiate and be obedient to market driven environments. The textbook teaches them that certain behaviours, like following rules, ‘help workers in the workplace’ (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 61). Moreover rules set the precedent for an obedient labour force. As indicated in the article by Selda Polat (2013), an obedient work force is less likely to take issue with existing conditions of labour if they are instilled with a conservative value system and an unwavering loyalty to their employer. She contextualizes her argument through an examination elective religion courses in the Turkish education system. She suggests that courses that promote
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obedience and a conservative value system work to help establish the necessary qualities found in an obedient labour force. As stated in the text:

> The role of elective courses about religion in creating an obedient workforce is obvious: a workforce that is disciplined in the market and that is loyal to the employer instead of unionizing, that transfers work accidents, and unfair opportunities to God, and sees demanding justice as otherworldly and describes the world and its order, not socially constructed, and therefore open to reform, but rather as the product of divine will. (Polat, 2013, p.174)

Given that the textbook’s overarching focus surrounds the idea of work and the acquisition of “foreign exchange” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 93), it can be argued that the emphasis placed on establishing an appropriate set of behaviours in institutional environments like school, or the private sphere of the home, ties into a larger neoliberal narrative. In fact, Garcia and De Lissovoy (2013) suggest that by learning to be self-regulating and following rules the hidden, or in the case of the Grade 3 textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, the overt curriculum in schools anticipates and reproduces the neoliberal “conditions of domination and abjection that students will encounter not only in the workplace or prison proper, but also in social life generally” (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013, p. 49).
Rules and the Workplace

The textbook illustrates how “rules” are found in all facets of society and in all aspects of everyday life. Its specific focus on the workplace, however, points to the overarching neoliberal narrative implicated in the Jamaican Integrated Studies curriculum. Section 9 outlines the “rights and responsibilities” of workers in the workplace. It begins by deconstructing the structure of the labour force, creating a distinct hierarchy between “employees and employers.” Earlier subsections of the textbook require that students actively think about how they are going to participate in the workforce. Section 9 uses a universally understood concept of “rules” to outline the correct parameters for individual productivity and subsequent involvement in Jamaica’s labour market. The idea of individual responsibility and self-management, two economically favourable traits normalized through neoliberal and pro-capitalist rhetoric, are introduced and cemented in subsection 9.1: “Rights and Responsibilities”. In conjunction with a broader discussion on labour, the textbook outlines six rules that “employees” must follow in order to be successful and productive in the workplace. As stated in the text, they must:

1. Attend work regularly and on time.
2. Give a fair day’s work for a fair day’s pay.
3. Obey safety and other rules.
4. Cooperate with other workers.
5. Respect each other.
6. Keep their environment clean. (Bailey et al., 2007, 61)

This subsection not only serves to introduce students to the idea of wage labour, but also connects the idea of self-regulation to success in the workplace. As suggested by the title, an observance of the rules actively “helps” workers effectively negotiate their role in the labour market. The 6 rules listed in the text work to shape correct worker attitudes. Rules 1 and 2 emphasize punctuality, effort, and production. The textbook teaches students that in their future role as labourers they are expected to conduct themselves efficiently, by coming to work regularly and on time, and they are also supposed to produce or “work” in order to be compensated “fairly” for their efforts. The level of production, or what is perceived to be a “fair day’s work,” is directly tied to an individual’s wage earning potential. What is absent from the textbook is an explanation of who decides the appropriate remuneration for labour or what is considered fair. Instead, fairness appears to be arbitrary. Moreover, in keeping with its neoliberal trajectory, nowhere does the textbook indicate that employees might have their own opinion on what is considered fair wages based on, for example, the skill required for the job and the number of hours worked. The tone of the text, alongside the absolute nature of rules, suggests that the terms outlined in Section 9.1 are unassailable. These rules set a precedent for employee performance. Rules 3 through 6 place a significant focus on the idea of regulation. They stress the importance of self-discipline, obedience, and cooperation. Students are taught that, as employees, they need to be mindful of the rules, their environment, and demonstrate respect for policy, their co-workers, and the
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workplace. The rules are presented in absolute terms and encourage students to adopt an appropriate work oriented attitude, centered on compliance, a strong work ethic, reliability, and a willingness to work with and respect others.

The rules also stress the idea that workers are responsible for themselves and their own self-governance. The overarching focus on following rules is tied to establishing the worker as an enterprising individual. By following rules, the worker is optimizing their productive capacity and is therefore more valued in competitive labour markets (Atasay, 2014). The textbook purposefully presents the idea of employees and employers as two separate entities, with more emphasis being placed on the role of the employee. Each role is associated with its own responsibilities. While this division serves to underscore the hierarchy of the workplace, the dissimilar rules outlined for each role demonstrate a minimal degree of overlap or interaction amongst employees and employers. The “rules” do not indicate that employers are responsible for supervising their workers. Their primary purpose is to “Pay workers on time,” to oversee the safety of the workplace environment and to “Provide the necessary tools for the job.” (Bailey et al., 2007, p 61).

The seemingly passive role of the employer places more responsibility for behaviour and productivity on the working individual. Rules, as a technology of power, serve as the primary guideline and provide the context through which employees can govern themselves to both meet the neoliberal demand for economic participation and act in the best interest of their employer. It is within this context that pedagogies of control, which formerly produced governable subjects to operate within state constructed forms of
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citizenship, shifted their focus to producing highly individualized subjects that govern themselves based on the economic imperatives of neoliberalism (Pierce, 2013).

This section of the textbook ties into a larger discussion on neoliberal governmentality and the economic imperatives behind the development of neoliberal subjectivities. As suggested by scholars like Agostinone-Wilson (2006) and Vassallo (2013), schools serve as a site where neoliberal pedagogy works to shape correct worker attitudes. Agostinone-Wilson argues that by placing an emphasis on “steering students towards ‘self-regulation’” institutionalized education is central to establishing attitudes that are congruent with a capitalist/neoliberal narrative. (Agostinone-Wilson, 2006, p. 1). This is closely aligned with more traditional forms of Foucauldian governmentality that is premised on the concept of the conduct of conduct. Students are not only asked to conduct themselves based on the empirical truths that are presented in the textbook, but through that conduct, become actionable subjects, creating truths of their own that become implicated in dominant forms of power.

**The Role of Schooling in the Dissemination of Neoliberal Values**

Agostinone-Wilson’s work suggests that education actively participates in shaping the conduct of student conduct: “Cultivating worker productivity involves massive amounts of behavior and ideological management on the part of the ruling elite…” (Augustine-Wilson, 2006, p. 130). She argues that a “major concern with school is monitoring the conduct of its students” (Augustine-Wilson, 2006, p.131). A focus on
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governmentality, through both classroom management and its corresponding curriculum, encourages students to not only familiarize themselves with the concept of management and being managed, but also encourages them to adopt necessary skills, such as obedience, self-regulation, and teamwork, that allows them to be successful in demanding and competitive environments. Agostinone-Wilson argues that the ultimate goal of education in respect to worker development is to foster a workforce that is “able to internalize procedures and carry them out unsupervised. This requires students to learn to self-monitor their behavior in class through the process of undergoing structured (high-stakes tests) and even less structured (hands-on group work) activities” (Augustine-Wilson, 2006, p.133). As evidenced in the textbook, students are not only taught how to regulate themselves in the school environment, but through explicit reference to the workplace, they learn that following rules and becoming self-regulating is integral to their participation in the workforce.

Agostinone-Wilson (2006) suggests that trends in schooling have adopted a neoliberal ethos that encourages students to become self-monitoring and self-regulating. She argues that this type of behavioral management has been reconfigured as an employable skill, especially in part-time and temporary labour markets. The rules presented in subsection 9.1 echo these sentiments through the six “rights and responsibilities” maintained by the Jamaican workforce. Similarly, Vassallo (2013) demonstrates that there is a definitive link between self-regulation and neoliberalism. He highlights how the subjectivities are redefined in neoliberal terms and uses his own
research to demonstrate how contemporary curricula is entrenched in a larger economic narrative. Vassallo states: “that in order for the free market to function properly subjectivities must be constituted in ways that legitimize neoliberal relations…” and that “the subject must be (re)defined in terms of human capital and self-management, and must be guided by an imperative to pursue a kind of self-improvement that is aligned with an economic rationality” (Vassallo, 2013, p. 241). Section 9 of the text actively perpetuates neoliberal discourse through its focus on how to optimize productivity in a variety of socio-economic situations. Whether walking in a straight line, or respecting your work place environment, the textbooks shows students that their behaviour is implicated in a larger capitalist narrative where the choices they make inevitably effect their socio-political and economic well-being. The textbook suggests that by learning to follow rules student have the best possible chance of leading a productive, safe and happy life – all of which are aspects of neoliberal discourse and particularly defined through the all-encompassing lens of global capitalism.

The textbook’s overarching focus on workplace safety is also implicated in neoliberal biopolitics. The textbook presents a set of rules that are designed to prevent accidents and injury. However, these same rules also demand a certain degree of control over the bodies of the labour force. According to theorists like MacEachen (2000), “The worker body appears to represent a biopolitical site for expression…” (p. 324). Within neoliberal discourse the optimization of health is correlated with increased productivity and efficiency (MacEachen, 2000; Galvin, 2002). The textbook implores that: “At the
workplace, workers must respect rules in order to keep themselves, fellow workers and their environment safe” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 77). Many of the rules featured in Section 9.4 “The Importance of Rules”, exclusively focus on ways workers can protect their bodies from harm. Students are presented with an illustration of eight men working on a job site. The five men in the foreground are seen wearing work boots, hard hats, and long pants. There is a man using a drill that is pictured wearing earmuffs to protect him from the loud noise. There is also a man who is welding at a workbench. He is shown wearing a mask and a protective suit. The accompanying text outlines the rules workers must follow when on the worksite: “The workers have to wear hard hats to protect their heads from anything that falls by accident. That is one of the rules of working on a building site. It keeps people safe” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 77). It also addresses safety surrounding specific jobs: “One worker is wearing a mask over his face. He would not be allowed to weld metal without it. That rule keeps him safe” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 77). Through these examples, the textbook suggests that the purpose of rules is to keep people safe. However, when examined through a neoliberal lens, they also indirectly speak to Foucault’s idea of biopower as a means of controlling bodies to optimize the productive capacity of the individual. As suggested by Galvin, in his commentary on the labour force of the late 1940’s: “The health of the population became of prime importance for it was a measure of economic productivity, military strength and personal happiness” (Galvin, 2002, p. 115). These two rules teach the students that workers must control and protect their bodies, by wearing hard hats and masks.
Figure 7. Rules in the Workplace. This image of 5 working men, demonstrate some of the rules that must be followed in the workplace. The accompanying text reinforces these rules and suggests that workers who fail to comply with industry standards are unable to work. (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 77).

The individualistic narrative embedded in the text places the worker in a position of responsibility where their productive capacity is a measure of their being able to, in this example, stay safe on the job site. Using the example of the welder the textbook states: “He would not be allowed to weld metal without [his mask]” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 77). The welder’s ability to produce and participate in the labour force is contingent on
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a rule through its mandate for wearing proper protective equipment. This rule exercises very deliberate control over the body. These types of rules are consistent with configurations of neoliberal biopolitics, where the individual becomes directly liable for their own health and by extension productive capacity in competitive labour markets. It is consistent with Galvin’s image of the “good citizen” (Galvin, 2002, p. 108). Galvin suggests that “…within advanced liberal societies, it is becoming less acceptable to enter and remain in a physically incapacitated state: it clashes too uncomfortably with the image of the ‘good citizen’ as someone who actively participates in social and economic life, makes rational choices and is independent, self-reliant and responsible” (Galvin, 2002, p 108). Surveillance of, and control over, bodies is central to a larger neoliberal narrative. Rules that appear to be designed for the purpose of safety are firmly implicated in neoliberal biopolitics. Through their active encouragement physical wellness, responsibilized workers, and their subsequent ties to productivity, the workplace safety rules in the Grade 3 textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture*, teach students that the control of worker bodies is central to participation in the labour force.

Rules are presented as a mechanism of control. However, implicit within the idea of rules, is the idea of personal choice. The textbook acknowledges that while rules are “meant to be obeyed” people can choose to be noncompliant. The notion of choice, or rather the belief that one has a choice, is central to neoliberal ideology. Neoliberalism is premised on the idea that the individual believes that they are empowered through their freedom to choose. The individual is urged to believe that they are given the opportunity
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to make choices that work to enhance their wellbeing. More often than not, these choices have underlying economic motives. Given that in capitalist conceptualization of the world, success, and wellbeing are tied to the accumulation of wealth and financial security. Choice becomes a natural apparatus that is employed in neoliberal discourse to redirect the dominant socio-political narratives away from dependence on the welfare state and public sector services. It functions in economic opposition to the welfare state, while endorsing the fiscal benefits of private enterprise (Davies & Bansel, 2007).

Neoliberalism presents choice as the means of realizing the remunerations of global capitalism and free market logic. Through idea of “choice” the individual becomes both a producer and a consumer. By way of self-regulation and an economically oriented sense of responsibility, the individual can determine what kind of producer they want to be. Self-investment, adherence to and support of free market logic, and relevant decision making allows the individual to maximize on their productive capacity and in turn become more active consumers that can freely make choices about what they consume to suit their personal needs. Public sector services are seen as a financial burden; taking away from private profit and controlling the scope of capitalist enterprise. The public sector is associated with the welfare state and accordingly invests capital programs for the wellbeing of the population, when, as suggested through neoliberalism, the population should in fact be responsible for themselves. (Galvin, 2002; MacEachen, 2000)

Moreover, government programs are perceived to be restrictive, invasive, and limit an individual’s freedom to make choices. Within neoliberal discourse the individual is
reconfigured as a consumer. In keeping with free-market logic, the consumer withholds the right to choose what they consume. The public sector is allegedly charged with only stifling this fundamental right by only offering products that coincide with governmental interests. Accordingly, neoliberal ideology presents privatization as the seemingly natural and financially beneficial alternative to the rigidity of the public sector. Neoliberalism capitalizes on the idea of personal freedoms, and by extension, choice in order to validate and universalize the acceptance of globalization, capitalism, privatization, and the free market economy.

Following Rules Seen as the Exercise of Personal Choice

The rules presented in the textbook serve as an opportunity for student’s to exercise personal choice. As evidenced by the stark juxtaposition of obedience and punishment, students are taught that making the conscious choice to observe the “rules” whether at home, school, or the workplace, is beneficial to their individual wellbeing. This is consistent with the work of Agostinone-Wilson (2006) who sees the freedom of choice as an essential component of neoliberal subjectivities. She believes that the function of rules in schooling is two-fold. First, rules create a structure to which students have to adhere and simultaneously navigate. Second, rules allow students to exercise their individual freedoms, suggesting that as agents of choice, student have to be mindful of the reality that certain choices are tied to success, while others result in less than favourable outcomes (p. 135). The textbook admonishes any type of divergence from socially acceptable modes of conduct and uses the threat of punishment to encourage
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students to govern themselves in productive and responsible ways. A poem featured in Section 9.2, when investigated in concert with the other rule oriented sections of this chapter, speaks to the idea of choice and consequence. The poem, entitled “Rules”, normalizes and naturalizes the presence of rules in everyday life. It also reaffirms the idea of choice:

Poem: **Rules**

Rules are made to be obeyed

From these rules you should not stray

Rules are made to guide the land

Our creator wrote ten with his own hand

These ten rules are the commandment

To disobey them will lead to punishment

Children remember to obey your parents

This is a sign that you respect and love them. (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 64)

The intentional use of the word “should” in the second line of the poem highlights the idea of personal choice and self-management that is couched in the idea of “rules” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 64). The passive tone suggests that while rules should be obeyed, they are ultimately legitimized by the decision-making capacity of the individual. The poem also implies that rules are derived from a non-negotiable source – God. Human accountability and the freedom of choice gives rules their power. The poem actively teaches students that there is significant motivation to follow the rules. The biblical
references throughout the poem and the subsequent punishment that is suggested to befall those who challenge religious, and by implication, all authority, reinforces the idea that obedience is connected to self-preservation, happiness, and wellbeing. The verses “Our creator wrote ten with his own hand/These ten rules are the commandments” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 64) appeals to the conscientiousness and spiritual sensibilities of its audience. The moral absolutes associated with the Ten Commandments and the omnipotent authority of the “Creator” make rules seemingly irrefutable and a natural part of those who choose to uphold a Christian lifestyle. Christianity plays a vital role in Jamaica. As a faith based culture, religious affiliations are a significant part of Jamaican identity (Thomas, 2004). To create a deliberate association between obedience and an individual’s sense of Jamaicaness, the poem further naturalizes and simultaneously teaches student’s about the multi-dimensional impact of following rules. Being subservient is akin to being a good Jamaican Christian.

The poem also makes an appeal to students as children. In the last two lines of “Rules”, an alternative environment where rules are found is formally introduced; the home. More significantly however, it also suggests that parent-child dynamics are contingent on a child’s obedience. It is in these lines that the poem moves from a general audience and becomes pointedly directed at children. Through the verse “Children remember to obey your parents/This is a sign you love and respect them” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 64), the poem implicitly suggests that those who do not obey parents, and similar authority figures, are being inherently disrespectful and unloving. A child who chooses to
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be disobedient inadvertently threatens the fundamental relationship they need for both their emotional and physical wellbeing. By appealing to a child’s emotional sensibilities and their need for a positive and loving connection with their parents, the textbook creates another natural incentive for children to follow the rules. While no deliberate connections to the workplace are made in the poem, the reoccurring theme of choice and consequence reinforces the need for Jamaican’s to be compliant with existing technologies of power; “Rules [that] are made to guide the land”. Neoliberalism, organized around the promise of freedom and personal choice is entrenched in all levels of society. As argued by Davies and Bansel, the idea of choice is wide reaching: “Through successive ‘choices’, the social sphere and the conduct of each citizen has been circumscribed by and captured within the economic” (Davies & Bansel, 2007, p. 249). Moreover, it emphasizes that compliance is self-regulated and compels students to recognize that poor choices result in “punishment” or produce situations that directly affects their emotional and physical wellbeing.

**Disobedience and Consequence: Managing the Behaviour of the Population**

Section 9.3 “Keeping the Rules” is another example of how neoliberalism permeates student learning. This section explicitly reinforces the idea of self-regulation and student responsibility by introducing the concept of choice and consequence. In keeping with the biopolitical tone of the chapter, Section 9.3 specifically targets the body as a site where these “consequences” play out. The section demonstrates that poor behaviour results in both punishment and physical harm and has a significant psycho-
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social impact; creating a strong correlation between disobedience and sadness. This section also lends to the individualistic narrative commonplace in neoliberal discourse. The individual and their behaviour is problematized. The textbook suggests that it is inappropriate choices, made by the individual, that lend to hardship and unhappiness. The individual, through their decision making, can control the type outcome they experience. The textbook builds on the concept of rules found in earlier sections to show how deviation from established social guidelines in both school and home, and the community, are harmful to the individual. It uses the examples of four fictitious characters to outline the various things that can happen to people if they disobey the rules.

The first example of rules and consequence is found in the case of Maria. Maria is a student who had to stay in at break to do the homework she failed to complete the previous night. As stated in the text: “Tameika and Maria are best friends. At school they are always together and they play together. Today Maria is sad. She cannot go outside to play because she did not do her homework...Miss Reid told her to stay in the classroom at break time and do her homework” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 70). This text is complimented by an image of a girl with a frown on her face sitting alone at a desk, writing in her notebook. Her teacher is sitting two rows back at her desk, with her arms crossed. The teacher is sternly looking in the direction of the girl, scrutinizing her as she completes her schoolwork. Through this example students learn that if they do not follow the rules of the classroom and do not do their work, they will be punished and isolated.
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from their peer group. The consequences of not doing assigned tasks at home are biopolitical in nature.

As suggested by Garcia and De Lissovoy (2013) in their article, *Doing School Time: The Hidden Curriculum Goes to Prison*, present day schooling works to control bodies and movement. The combination of both the image and the text suggests that Maria’s body and movement is the subject of surveillance and control. She is forced to sit still and finish her work because she failed to do so during class time. It is this type of carceral consequence that Garcia and De Lissovoy speak to in their work. They argue that: “The schools, with the adoption and development of techniques of control that seek at all costs to “maximize learning time” become locations, like prisons, where domination becomes visible” (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013, p. 54). According to Garcia and De Lissovoy, technologies of control are a part of a larger neoliberal narrative, shaping student subjectivities so that they can effectively function within existing capitalist power dynamics. Using the work of Marazzi, Garcia and De Lissovoy argue that schools work to mold students to be amenable to the new ways of working. They state: “…participants in the workforce have to show devotion and obedience under the threat of losing their jobs; the “servility” of productive labor has increased” (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013, p. 53). Control and punishment of bodies, like making Maria stay in at break time (similar to recess), encourages students to develop appropriate social behaviours that allow them to optimize their performance in class, and as suggested by Garcia and De Lissovoy, later in the workforce.
The punitive and biopolitical nature of bodily control and punishment is echoed in the three remaining examples featured in Section 9.3. The examples extend beyond the classroom and look at how consequences affect individuals in everyday life. The textbook showcases the examples of David, Mr. Fleet, and Johnathan (see Figure 8) to demonstrate how a failure to follow rules can have significant and negative impact on individual wellbeing and lived experience. The inclusion of these examples in the school text lends to what Garcia and De Lissovoy believe to be the underlying socio-political purpose of schooling. They argue that: “Through the appropriation of school time, standardization of information, regimentation of thought and control and punishment of bodies, the accountability regime assures the reproduction of carceral social relations” (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013, p. 54).

Figure 8. Boy in Hospital Bed. This image features Johnathan who is seen looking unhappy in his hospital bed. His leg is elevated and resting out to the side and Johnathan is completely immobilized. The text that follows this image suggests that because Johnathan made a choice to chase his ball into the street he got injured (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 71).
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The text uses the example of David to show how a disobedience of rules in the home results in unfavourable consequences that have both a physical and emotional impact. “David is not allowed to watch television with his family because he did not tidy his room. He left all his toys scattered about when he was finished playing” (Bailey et al., 2007, p.70). The corresponding image shows a house split in two. On the left hand side of the house there is a family of four sitting in a clean living room watching television. On the right hand side there is a boy sitting cross-legged on his bed, with his head in his hands and a frown on his face. The boy, presumably David, is surrounded by toys and empty boxes. Clothes are strewn on the floor and his wardrobe is open with a shirt hanging off the door. According to the text: “David did not tidy his bedroom so he disobeyed a home rule” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 72) While the rule demands a certain degree of bodily regulation, like picking up toys and keeping his environment clean, the consequence of David’s actions further regulates his movement. David’s room becomes like a prison in that he is not allowed to leave and is isolated from his family until he agrees to follow the rules. His punishment is punitive, operates on the site of the body, and reinforces the role compliance plays in individual happiness.

The second example of Mr. Fleet shows an image of a police officer issuing a ticket to a man who is standing with his shoulders slumped and his weight unevenly distributed on his feet. His body language is passive. When seen in juxtaposition to the police officer, who is standing tall with his shoulders back, Mr. Fleet appears small and uncomfortable. The officer is reprimanding Mr. Fleet for a traffic violation. The officer
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states: “You drove at 100 kilometres per hour and the speed limit is 80. This is very unsafe. I am giving you a speeding ticket” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 71). This is reinforced with the text below the image, which reads: “The policeman gave Mr. Fleet a ticket because he was driving above the speed limit” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 71). The consequence of Mr. Fleet’s actions prevents him from getting to where he needs to be. He is not only reprimanded for his unsafe behaviour, but he is physically prevented from driving until he is issued a ticket. His movement and time becomes the subject of control because he chose to go “too fast so he disobeyed a traffic rule” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 72). It also speaks to the issue of surveillance where third parties, like police officers, parents, or teachers are present to uphold the rules and to help shape positive behaviour by systematically dealing with insubordination through omnipotent supervision and consequence.

The last example shows a boy with a frown on his face, lying in a hospital bed (see Figure 7). His leg is in a cast and elevated at the side of the bed. He has his arms folded on his chest and he appears to be contemplative and somber. There are no other people seen in the image. The accompanying text reads: “Johnathan wants to go to school and see his friends but he can’t because he is in hospital. He ran out into the road to get his ball without looking and he was hit by a car” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 71). The text and image, when analyzed in concert, suggest that Johnathan is sad. His injuries suggest that his body has become the site of punishment. Johnathan ran out on the road – which the text later tells us is a violation of a “road safety rule” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 72) Because
of his disobedience, he has to stay in bed and miss out on time spent with his friends at school. Within a neoliberal context, Johnathan’s lack of self-regulation not only makes it difficult to attend school and learn skills, which would allow him to maximize on his productive potential, but his injury is counter-intuitive to the neoliberal push to achieve optimal health. Had Johnathan followed the rules, he would not have succumbed to injury. Rather he would be able to continue to make choices, such as spending time with friends, which would have a direct impact on his emotional wellbeing. Johnathan’s actions also compromised his productive potential. His inability to move, a direct result of breaking the rules, has barred him from socio-economic opportunities that could otherwise lend to his happiness and wellbeing.

The use of multiple examples that focus the idea of consequence teaches students that there are guidelines they must follow in all areas of society, not just organized institutions like school. It also lends to Garcia and De Lissovoy’s belief that schooling is designed “not so much to teach students the habits of compliance as to directly control them through a low-intensity pedagogical assault” (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013, p. 63). Biopolitics become implicated in both the regulation and punishment of the population in order to ensure that neoliberal subjects are not only familiar with regulating themselves and their movements, but also with the type of consequences that operate at the site of the body and have psycho-social ramifications. Moreover, the examples speak to the neoliberal idea of personal choice and self-optimization. All four individuals, by failing to follow the rules arguably failed to fulfill their socio-economic potential. Maria did not
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complete her schoolwork in the allocated time, minimizing her chances at both enjoying herself at recess and developing the work ethic that will allow her to continue to do well in her schooling. David’s misbehaviour resulted in isolation and confinement to his room. Mr. Fleet was detained from driving his vehicle, making it difficult for him to get to where he needed to go. Lastly, Johnathan’s transgression jeopardizes his health, productive potential and by extension happiness. Similar to the idea of community participation, rules in themselves are not problematic. Rather it is the reappropriation of rules as neoliberal methods of enforcement that complicate the concept.

The text that follows the four examples reinforces the idea that the four individuals did not adhere to the rules: “Maria, David, Mr. Fleet and Johnathan all got into trouble because they did not keep the rules…” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 72). While the illustrations found in Section 9.3 demonstrate the degree to which punishments operate at the site of the body, the captions that accompany the images emphasize that poor choices also have a resounding socio-emotional impact. As argued in the text: “They all disobeyed a rule and this made them sad” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 72). While simple emotions are used to resonate with a Grade 3 audience, the focus on emotional wellbeing coincides with neoliberal rhetoric. Neoliberalism, which is premised on the acquisition of capital and the freedom of choice within certain socio-economic contexts, assumes that those who are able to make appropriate choices and positively invest in themselves are able to lead healthy and happy lives. The textbook argues that rules, which tie into the Foucauldian (2008) concept of “conduct of conduct,” are a vehicle that can be used to
achieve happiness: “Rules help us to keep order so we can be happy and enjoy our lives” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 72). Within the neoliberal narrative happiness in itself is a “feature of enterprise”, where people seek to optimize their emotional well being/potential in order to secure a more advantageous position “in a world of competitive actors” (Binkley, 2014, p. 15-16). According to Binkley, happiness is something that becomes coveted and scrutinized under contemporary neoliberal regimes. Subsequently: “Through the new discourse of happiness, individuals are invited to assess and transform their respective levels of well-being as a life opportunity” (Binkley, 2014, p. 13-14). Binkley deems that happiness is the antithesis of welfarism. As a technology of power, happiness requires the individual to scrutinize his or her own conduct and dependencies. It is believed that these “inherited dependencies” are promoted through the welfare state and are ultimately problematic. According to Binkley, they are regarded as “a retardation of the spirit for life…” resulting from an overinvestment of social government which acts as an “obstruction to the voluntaristic, self-interested, enterprising conduct that is the wellspring of (neoliberal) happiness itself” (Binkley, 2014, p 35). As suggested through the examples of Maria, David, Mr. Fleet, and Johnathan disobedience results in intervention. While a “social government” doesn’t serve as an arbitrating force, their self-government is called into question by external figures of power. It can be argued that an interventionist regime is counterintuitive to neoliberal subjectivities. The punitive power experienced by the four characters featured in Section 9.3 not only issued control over
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their bodies and movements, but also directly prevented them from actualizing their individual (neoliberal) pursuits, creating a universal feeling of sadness.

**Consequence and Well-being: Happiness as a Neoliberal Construct**

In its discussion on obedience/disobedience, the textbook asks student: “Which rule did each person fail to keep?” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 72). This exercise requires students to be self-reflexive. They are required to look at each situation and think about what rules would be appropriate for each situation. By actively getting students to engage with the discourse of rules and consequence, the textbook encourages students to think about self-regulation as a means of avoiding unfavourable outcomes. This is especially pertinent given that the textbook suggests that the four characters mentioned in the text “…all disobeyed a rule and this made them sad” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 72). In this context happiness becomes a neoliberal construct. As an antithesis to sadness, happiness becomes associated with the fulfillment of needs and wants and as a socio-emotional state, speaks to an individual’s ability to successfully negotiate neoliberal society. As argued by Binkley “…the problem of happiness speaks to the forward thrust of life itself, and to the subject’s vitality and ultimate capacity for a richer, fuller, happier life” (Binkley, 2014, p. 29).

The idea of unhappiness is further emphasized with the biblical example of Adam and Eve. The textbook uses the story of the Garden of Eden to highlight how disobedience can result in personal downfall and hardship. The text simplifies this story using the familiar concept of rules to reinforce the students’ learning. The illustrations
work in concert with the text to help show the emotional consequences of not following instructions. The story of Adam and Eve is situated within Section 9.3 *Keeping the Rules.* The juxtaposition of seemingly banal rules, such as those found in the home or school, and the rules found in the story of Genesis and Original Sin, gives rules a consecrated, and religious quality which further demands the compliance of the Jamaican Christian population. In the first image Adam and Eve are shown smiling with their eyes closed sitting under a tree. They appear calm and content, wrapped in each other’s embrace. They are positioned on a backdrop of soft, warm colours that add to the contentedness and serenity of the image. The second photo, found on a similar backdrop, depicts Adam and Eve plucking the “forbidden fruit” off of the tree. They are smiling and happy while they reach for the fruit. This is complimented by a snake featured in the corner of the frame. The text describes the snake as a “wicked” tempter, who is seen smirking at their disobedience. As biblical allegory would suggest, this tree is in fact the ‘Tree of Knowledge’. Metaphorically, Adam and Eve are being penalized because they choose to indulge in a fruit that is representative of knowledge instead of unquestioningly adhering to God as both a creator and ultimate authority. The mood of the final illustration contrasts the warmth of its two counterparts. Dark colours are used to highlight the ominous nature of Adam and Eve’s future. As stated in the text: “God gave them some rules to live by while they were [in the beautiful garden of Eden]. One of the rules was that they should not eat the fruit of a special tree” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 72). Their insubordination is described to have made God angry and “he made them leave the
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garden (sic) of Eden forever” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 73). Adam and Eve are shown to be running away, while lightning bolts, a visualization of God’s anger, are crashing around them.

![Image](image-url)

*Figure 9. The Disobedience of Adam and Eve.* These images and adjacent text highlight Original Sin and show how disobedience results in negative consequences. Adam and Eve are being chased out of the Garden of Eden by lightening bolts. (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 73)

This image, when placed in conjunction with the text, elucidates a significant change in mood. As stated in the associated caption: “Adam and Eve had disobeyed a rule and this made them very unhappy” (Bailey et al. 2007, p. 73). Adam and Eve do not appear to be happy as they run away from the Garden. The amount of dirt that is being churned up by their feet and the lightening that is seemingly chasing them away would suggest that Adam and Eve are not only unhappy, but also scared. The third image depicts the unfavourable consequences of their behaviour. This is especially relevant
when taken in a larger biblical context. Adam and Eve’s actions compromised their physical and spiritual wellbeing. More generally, however, it speaks to the negative consequences of breaking the rules. The use of this biblical allegory teaches students that breaking rules, no matter their significance, is akin to disobeying the moral absolutes set forth by God. Deviating from a sense of Christian morality and socially constructed rules not only results in punishment, such as leaving the Garden of Eden, but actively infringes upon individual livelihood and wellbeing.

The story of Adam and Eve also teaches students to be self-regulating. As evidenced in the text, God gave them rules. It was their choice to follow them. The story states that: “For a while they obeyed, but one day they allowed a wicked snake to tempt them into eating fruit from the forbidden tree” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 72). The use of the word “allowed” suggests that Adam and Eve are solely responsible for their own exile. The parable teaches students that it was their poor decision making that led to their own unhappiness. While the use of this allegory can be seen as one dimensional, implicit within the idea of punishment is the idea of personal gain. Had Adam and Eve followed the rules they would have been able to be happy and continue to live “in the beautiful Garden of Eden” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 72) in blissful ignorance, devoid of the understanding that comes with the fruits of the “Tree of Knowledge”. This idea is consistent with the larger themes found in this section, where the primary learning goal is to cement the understanding that: “Rules help us to keep order so we can be happy and enjoy our lives” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 72).
Self-regulation is tied to the pervasive rhetoric of responsibility that is disseminated throughout the section. Students are taught that the school, home and the workplace are organized around the idea of responsibility; they are responsible for their behaviour, responsible for their choice and most importantly responsible for fitting in with the complacent and dutiful status quo. Through their participation in various socio-economic arenas, students have to be accountable for their actions. Much like self-regulation, the inward focus of responsibility is congruent with the emergence of the neoliberal subject. The textbook places considerable emphasis on teaching students to be responsible decision makers. It highlights appropriate modes of conduct and rebukes negative behaviour. Moreover, it places the student, as an individual, at the centre of all decision-making processes. This is especially apparent in the self-reflexive questioning that is interspersed throughout the textbook. These questions are featured at the end of the textbook’s discussion on rules at home and rules at school. The first question asks: “Think of two more rules you should observe at home.” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 66) Followed by: “Think of two more rules you should observe at school.” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 67). Such questioning not only encourage students to actively think about rules, but reaffirms that students, as individuals, “should” make the appropriate choice to follow them. As stated later in the text: “Rules are very important and should be respected. Rules are set to guide people at school, work or play. At school there are rules that guide us in the way we dress speak and in general behaviour” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 76). The focus on reflexivity, in combination with the importance given to self-regulation and individual
responsibility, is consistent with the neoliberal push to create what Davies and Bansel (2007) refer to as responsibilized subjects. The focus on rules in skill-based curriculums is congruent with a neoliberal understanding of individuality. Neoliberalism is hinged on the ideal of hyper individualism where rules create an environment where students become entrepreneurial decision makers focused on self-improvement. Through their choices and behaviors Davies and Bansel claim that students are actively investing in their own future. They argue that: “A particular feature of neoliberal subjects is that their desires, hopes, ideals and fears have been shaped in such a way that their desire to be morally worthy, responsibilized individuals, who, as successful entrepreneurs, can produce the best for themselves and their families” (Davies & Bansel, 2007, p. 251). The idea of responsibility is consistent with the information presented in the textbook. As explicated in Section 9: “Each person must follow rules and take responsibility for what they do” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 61). Through its biblical references, juxtaposed with the ever-present threat of consequence and bodily harm, the textbook appeals to both the students sense of morality and fears in order to encourage appropriate conduct, as dictated by market values and socio-economic norms. Moreover, the theme of individual accountability that underscores Section 9.3 speaks to the idea of consequence found in the work of Agostinone-Wilson. Quoting Wong and Wong (2004), Agostinone-Wilson (2006) argues that “through discussion the students understand that their actions or choices result in consequences and that they will responsibly accept these consequences throughout life” (Wong & Wong, 2004, p. 153). Through deliberate modes of
questioning, in combination with the informative content found in Section 9, the textbook creates space for discussions to occur regarding behaviour. Students are taught that rules are a natural and integral part of Jamaican society and that self-regulation is tied to self-interest. Through appropriate conduct students learn that they can be successful in the workplace and at school, they can stay safe, have healthy relationships, enjoy life, and be good Christians. They learn that through moderating their behaviour they reap the benefits of playing with their friends, avoiding accidents and participating productively in the workforce.

**Conclusion**

This chapter demonstrates how the reoccurring and ubiquitous theme of self-regulation is consistent with some of the key characteristics commonplace to neoliberal discourse and the development of neoliberal subjectivities. The idea of personal choice and self-regulation, as it is found in this particular piece of instructional material, is inextricably connected to the economic. The focus that the textbook places on rules and teaching students how to conduct themselves in both public and private settings is unpacked at length to illustrate how a focus on obedience, acceptance of arbitrary authorities, and upholding specific codes of conduct is tied to socio-economic processes. Students are taught that making appropriate choices and regulating their behaviour in ways which optimize both their productive potential and their individual well-being are crucial to their effective participation in social arenas, such as school and the workplace.
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Students are also introduced to the idea of consequence. This chapter explores how the textbook’s discussion on choice, consequence, and individual responsibility coincide with a neoliberal narrative and the subsequent emphasis that biopolitical governmentality places on fostering a responsibilized, and self-regulating population. Students are taught that they have to assume full responsibility for the choices they make and oftentimes, inappropriate choices result in negative consequences that detract from their ability to fulfill their needs and overall wellbeing. They in turn have to live with and suffer the consequences of these choices. When contextualized through the work of governmental and biopolitical theorist like Vassallo (2013), Davies and Bansel (2007), and Garcia and De Lissovoy (2013), this chapter illustrates the biopolitical nature of rules. The value the textbook places on certain behaviours and characteristics, such as self-regulation and responsibilization, over others, speaks to a neoliberal push to create self-governing citizens.
CHAPTER 6: TOURISM AND CULTURE

Introduction

A discussion on Jamaican tourism is one of the many ways the Grade 3 textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, asserts itself as a neoliberal artifact. It offers a nuanced account of the ways in which tourism is connected to economic prosperity at both the local and national level. This chapter builds on the ethos of work featured earlier in the text and highlights how the textbook works to promote the commodification of Jamaican culture for economic gain.

The textbook demonstrates the remunerative potential of the tourism industry for both individuals and the nation, but does so through channeling a set of desired behaviours, attitudes, and a sense of Jamaican culture that is centered on creating an authentic Jamaican experience for those visiting the island. The text's effort to promote a tourist-oriented sense of Jamaicaness is particularly evident when its take on culture is compared with the ethnographic study by Deborah Thomas (2004). Her work, *Modern Blackness*, details very different forms of cultural expression that play into the politics of class, gender and race. While Thomas' study is not the focal point of this chapter, her work illustrates that there are alternatives to the cultural forms presented in the textbook.
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The Grade 3 textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, presents a very specific narrative of Jamaican culture and the Jamaican landscape that is rooted in traditional Creole values, spirituality, and post-colonial history. In this context, Jamaican culture becomes marketable; a valuable currency in Jamaican tourism that can be used for the purposes of economic gain. The textbook presents a version of Jamaican culture that is readily available for the production and consumption of culture. Through the emphasis that is placed on certain types of culture and the importance placed on facilitating a positive tourist experience, the textbook not only actively commodifies Jamaican culture, but also coincides with a neoliberal biopolitics that works to control the conduct of the Jamaican population, especially those involved in the tourist market. The body becomes a site of cultural expression and performativity. Through technologies of language and select representations of Jamaican culture, the textbook highlights the type of cultural behaviours that are appropriate when interaction with tourists.

The types of culture presented in the textbook and the exercises used to reinforce student learning were explored in conjunction with the work of contemporary critics to demonstrate the how the students are only exposed to certain cultural narratives. The work of Scher (2011) and Wearing and Wearing (2006) was explored to illustrate how these hegemonic cultural forms are embedded in a larger neoliberal discourse and are used for the purposes of economic gain. Lastly, a discussion on how cultural performativity is reinforced through the perspective of tourists is used to display the pointed connections between tourism, culture, and foreign exchange. An exploration of
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these key features of the text not only demonstrates how biopolitics were used as an expression of neoliberal governmentality, but also reinforces the neoliberal trajectory of the Jamaican integrated studies learning materials.

**Tourism and the Jamaican Economy**

The section on tourism reinforces the idea of work found in earlier sections of the text. Jamaican students are primed to join the work force and the textbook argues that tourism is a profitable way of doing so. The text states: "The tourist trade offers employment to many Jamaicans. Those who benefit include hotel workers, farmers, craft vendors, construction workers, restaurant and bar employees" (Bailey et al., 2007, p.112).

The types of work suggested in this subsection mirror the some of the desirable occupations presented in Sections 7 and 8. This builds on what the students already know and reinforces the connection between work and national development. In fact, most of the textbook’s discussion on tourism is hinged on the idea that the tourist industry has the capacity to enrich both individual and national wellbeing. Among its many advantages, tourism is directly cited as having an “important role in the development of the country" (Bailey et al., 2007, p.114). Tourism becomes directly associated with economic stability and growth. Like in earlier sections of *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, the idea of foreign exchange is a common theme found in its discussion on tourism. As stated in the text: "1. The foreign exchange earned from tourism is used to pay for goods and services that we get from other countries" (Bailey et al., 2007, p.114), and "2.
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Tourism provides employment for a number of workers" (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 114). As student’s learned earlier in the text, goods and services, especially those acquired from other countries, are essential to individual and national well-being and are vital to Jamaica’s modernising efforts. Furthermore, employment is presented as essential to community participation, individual choice, and security. Consequently, tourism is cast as a positive force in Jamaica on an individual, national, and global level. In fact, the text’s depiction of tourism is so overwhelmingly favorable that only two disadvantages are mentioned. The emphasis placed on the economic benefits of tourism and the textbook’s attempts to promote the desirable aspects of the industry, such as ample employment, is consistent, with a neoliberal push to create uninhibited market spaces as well as an economically oriented population. The textbook deliberately underscores its discussion on the industry with references to its economic profitability, and urges students to exclusively look at the industry from the position of an economic actor. In accordance with neoliberal governmentality, students are encouraged to adopt attitudes that endorse the industry. The reflection exercise featured in the subsection “Advantages and Disadvantages of Tourism”, speak to the text’s efforts to create governable economic subjects. The activity asks students to: “Think of another advantage of tourism. Think of another disadvantage of tourism. Discuss it with your partner.” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 114). By asking students to consciously think about the benefits and drawbacks of tourism, they use what they learned to create their own associations with the industry. What is important to note, however, is that a majority of what students have acquired
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from the textbook is centered on the value of tourism. The inclusion and exclusion of information in learning materials has the capacity to shape student thinking and elicit desirable responses that are congruent with the beliefs of dominant ideological camps. (Apple, 1993). In this case, neoliberalism serves as the dominant ideological framework.

**The Commodification of Jamaican Culture for the Tourist Market**

The textbook illustrates the tourist industry as a necessary and profitable staple of the Jamaican economic landscape. In conjunction with a neoliberal reading of the text, tourism is not only rationalized through the wealth it brings to the country, but also naturalized through its attachment to culture. The textbook suggests that it’s not uncommon for people to want to experience environments, foods, and traditions that are different, especially when culture is so abundant, easily shared, and essential to Jamaican national identity. The emphasis placed on Jamaican culture, in combination with the implicit notion that Jamaica’s value to tourists is embedded in a certain performance of Jamaican culture, is consistent with a neoliberal push to commodify local traditions and spaces for economic gain. The textbook presents students with a structured idea of what Jamaican culture should look like, how it should be portrayed, and in particular what aspects of culture are most desirable to tourists. The text’s focus on creating hegemonic models of culture, as well as the emphasis it places on the profitability of the industry, is congruous with recent scholarship on neoliberalism and the tourist industry. For example Scher (2011) argues that "...neoliberalism produces an emphasis on culture (a non-competitive market niche), yet also provides the hegemonic model of what counts as
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culture; that which is remembered and recalled by consumers as appropriate and legitimate to a region, is shaped by both global factors and local history or tradition" (Scher, 2011, p. 8-9). This idea is also nested in the work of Wearing and Wearing (2006). They argue that the tourist industry is premised on "Neoliberal Utopias embedded in local host cultures" (Wearing & Wearing, 2006, p.146). Scher's work in particular details the nuances of neoliberalism in tourist economies, especially those that rely on their heritage to bolster the industry. In Scher's model, a country’s heritage, history, and traditions are accompanied by a free market logic that views culture as a unique and saleable product. The textbook promotes a type of heritage tourism that is contingent on the country's colonial history, food, music, and folk tradition. Moreover, only cultural forms that are consistent with the aims of the industry are legitimized in the Grade 3 learning materials. For example, when discussing some of the island’s points of interest it emphasizes that: "Many tourists visit villages and towns to talk with local people and to enjoy our cultural heritage" (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 112). The text makes reference to sought after attractions dating back to the colonial period. In doing so, it canonizes the more historicized aspects of Jamaican culture. When discussing the reasons why tourists visit the island, the text explains that "Tourists visit Jamaica for recreational activities and to enjoy the friendliness of the people. They also visit historical sites such as Giddy house in Port Royal, Rose Hall Great House, Devon House and the Bob Marley Museum" (Bailey et al., p. 137). These examples are illustrative of the considerable value the text places on Jamaica’s history as a colony. It also demonstrates the value placed on the
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wants and opinions of tourists. By starting each sentence with the noun “tourist,” the textbook seemingly appoints those who visit the island as its cultural authorities. The textbook indirectly suggests that what is considered to be of cultural value is legitimized by tourists and maintained through their ongoing interests and patronage. This type of rhetoric in combination with the promotion of very specific types of Jamaican culture is consistent with neoliberalism where "...culture...is seen as a marketing force (Scher, 2011, p. 7). The textbook promotes very specific types of Jamaican culture and traditions that, through the text’s narrative style, are seemingly endorsed by tourists themselves. Given that the textbook cites tourists as being responsible for earning “Jamaica millions of US dollars each year,” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 112) the type of Jamaican culture that tourists want to experience is arguably the type of hegemonic culture found in this learning material. While only a few examples from the text have been addressed here, it's important to note that the focus on marketing Jamaican culture and the tourist’s role in dictating cultural norms is reinforced multiple times throughout the body of the text becoming a prominent theme in student learning.

It is also worth mentioning that culture is not the only thing the textbook attempts to commodify. The textbook actively promotes Jamaica’s natural attractions and presents them as one of the many noteworthy charms that draw tourists to the island. As stated in the text: "Tourists visit Jamaica for many reasons. They come to enjoy the beauty of the island - the waterfalls, the white sand beaches and the sea" (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 136). Like culture, nature becomes implicated in the neoliberal economy and is introduced to
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students as a marketable feature of the tourist industry. While the ecological aspects of Jamaican tourism are not discussed in depth, they serve as just one of the many examples of how the textbook functions as a neoliberal artifact.

**The Biopolitics of Culture and Heritage Tourism**

Cultural and heritage tourism are implicated within contemporary forms of neoliberal governmentality, especially given its explicit connection to cultural performativity. The textbook’s focus on Jamaican culture and heritage is arguably embedded in biopolitical processes that work to control the behaviour of the population. The commodification of culture is contingent on creating a cultural product that can be reproduced and sold to the tourist industry. Accordingly: "The result is a greater investment in managing cultural products and practices in order to preserve their economic potential and serve the expectations of consumers" (Scher, 2011, p. 9). When viewed through a neoliberal framework, the textbook teaches students that Jamaicans are valued for their role as harbingers of local culture and for their welcoming attitude towards tourists. This idea, when combined with the work-oriented rhetoric of the textbook, encourages students to actively support and participate in the tourist economy. Furthermore, positive tourist experiences result in more revenue: "Tourists also take our culture abroad. When they visit and shop for souvenirs they spend their money (foreign exchange). When they take part in our music festivals and other sporting activities they are participating in our cultural feast" (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 224). With economic imperatives at the forefront of the textbook’s discussion on culture, the biopolitical aspect
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of neoliberal governmentality becomes more apparent and "Physical regulation of such performances becomes imperative to the commodification process..." (Scher, 2011, p. 18).

**Biopolitics, Hegemony, and Cultural Performativity**

The textbook depicts ideal forms of Jamaican culture intermittently throughout the latter sections of the text. The section immediately following the discussion on tourism is laden with specific forms of speech, culture, and customs that champion antiquated traditions and very controlled modern forms of expression. The textbook’s focus on culture, as earlier suggested, is where it is most obviously coincides with neoliberal biopolitics. According to Scher (2011), culture is performed. In a tourist-based economy, these performances and practices are reproduced, especially when traditions, customs, language, and food are commodified, and by extension marketed for the purposes of economic gain. The Grade 3 textbook very clearly highlights specific forms of Jamaican culture and indirectly associates it with the accumulation of “foreign exchange.” Neoliberalism is premised on an uninhibited capitalist market and creating a population that is attuned to these values. It requires individuals to conduct themselves in ways that facilitate the success and profitability of the market. Culture plays a central role in the Jamaican economy. The textbook, in its work as a neoliberal artifact, promotes very specific forms of Jamaican culture that it urges students to replicate in order to ensure tourists enjoy their stay on the island. It presents learners with dated traditions and customs that while important to Jamaican history, are only a small portion of the island’s
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cultural mosaic. This is especially pertinent given that sociologists, like Deborah Thomas (2004), have illustrated that Jamaica has a very prominent subaltern aesthetic that builds on, and reconstitutes, traditional cultural forms.

Academics like Scher have looked at issues of culture through a neoliberal lens. Scher argues that "The commodification process for the performance based cultural forms implies the use of what Foucault called "biopower"" (Scher, 2011, p. 16). Notably, the textbook’s very purposeful inclusion of certain types of culture over others, alongside the emphasis placed on creating a positive tourist experience is laden with biopolitical undertones. The Grade 3 textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, indirectly demands certain types of behaviour towards tourists. It uses anecdotes, conversations, and national rhetoric to subtly advocate for the support and performance of traditional culture forms. Aside from the economic incentives tied to cultural performativity, the text also appeals to the student’s sense of nationalism. National belonging, much like community participation found in Sections 7 and 8, is seemingly tied to folk culture. When viewed through a neoliberal lens, the emphasis placed on Jamaican heritage and culture is inextricably connected with the biopolitical management of the population. This is especially relevant given that Jamaican heritage is of interest to tourist and is subsequently tied to the acquisition of foreign exchange.

The Jamaican culture presented in the textbook is attached to historicized traditions, customs and values passed down by “older generations.” Section 13.5 entitled “Customs”, is just one of the many examples of how the textbook accentuates folk
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culture and presents it as a hegemonic cultural form. Through an anecdote about Aunt Muriel, the textbook reinforces why certain Jamaican customs are important and need to be passed down from generation to generation. In the narrative, Aunt Muriel is featured as the storyteller. The character of Aunt Muriel is pictured sitting in a chair addressing three children who sit at her feet. Described in the text as a “kind old lady” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 157), Aunt Muriel tells the children of the importance of cultural forms like Jamaican dances. Aunt Muriel sites the Quadrille, Kumina, Dinki Mini, and Brukins as tradition dances that are an “important part of their culture” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 160). She also implores that: “[The children] should learn the dances so they can be passed on to the next generation of Jamaicans, and not forgotten” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 160). She also points out that: “It is Jamaica’s customs that give it a unique identity.” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 156) Aunt Muriel’s discussion on the importance of preserving traditions is also strengthened by similar examples of Jamaican tradition featured throughout the latter sections of the text. For example, the dances that Aunt Muriel tells the children about are discussed in detail in Section 14.2, entitled “Dance in Jamaican Culture and Heritage”.

The textbook explains how the dances like the Kumina, Quadrille, Bruckins, Dinki Mini, Maypole, and the Jonkunnu are important to the island’s culture and heritage. Each dance is explained at length and is accompanied by colourful illustrations of their respective folk costumes. For example, the Jonkunnu depicts two men in brightly coloured, striped and spotted clothing and fabricated animal headpieces. One man is wearing a colourful bird mask while the other is on all fours wearing a headpiece of a horse. Moreover, the
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text notes that the dances are primarily derived from Jamaica’s African and English roots, further cementing the textbook’s focus on folk culture and post-colonial heritage.

While the textbook doesn’t explicitly link these customs and dances to tourism, these examples of folk traditions are embedded in a larger conversation on the profitability of Jamaican culture in the tourist market. These dances are explicitly connected to Jamaica’s heritage. Given that the textbook also cites that tourist’s visit the island to enjoy Jamaica’s cultural heritage, the textbook, as a cultural authority and neoliberal artifact, implicitly suggests that traditional culture, exemplified through English and African dances, is the type of culture sought after by those who visit the island. By extension, a knowledge and performance of this type of culture becomes economically valuable in Jamaica’s tourist market. Scher’s (2011) work supports this line of thinking. He argues that cultural performance, while not traditionally associated with biopolitical controls, is in fact subject to regulatory forms of governmentality. Based on Foucault’s understanding of the population as a political problem, in combination with a movement towards establishing a self-regulating and controlled society, there is an effort to "[manage] the populations as an aspect of sovereignty that is, ultimately, charged with preserving the productivity of the constituency" (Scher, 2011, p. 17). Scher’s work on heritage tourism in the Caribbean, alongside Wearing and Wearing’s review of post-colonial otherness and the tourist experience, demonstrate that in post-colonial Caribbean societies the productivity of the population is hinged on their collective participation in the tourist industry. Performing a cultural narrative, that is consistent with the consumer's
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perception of said culture, is central to the country’s ability to profit from tourism. Subsequently, "national behaviours" are scrutinized and control over bodies, through biopolitical technologies, intensifies (Scher, 2011).

The neoliberal push for traditional Jamaican culture becomes more evident when the cultural truths presented in the Grade 3 textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, are compared to more contemporary and objective studies on Jamaican culture. The dances and songs featured in the textbook are not, by comparison, representative of what academics like Thomas (2004), have determined to be popular and modern forms of cultural expression. For example modern blackness is a subaltern aesthetic and a form of politics that challenge creolization. This is especially evidenced in language, where Jamaicans were noted to speak a variant of English known as patois, instead of the Standard Jamaican English presented in the Grade 3 textbook. Modern blackness is also associated with a ghetto culture. It draws on Rasta ideology, takes pride in racial difference and blackness, and rejects the status quo (Thomas, 2004). This is often seen as a working class movement and is most visibly differentiated from Creole culture through music. Folk songs are replaced with the more radicalized genres of dancehall and ska. Instead of advocating for a hegemonic view of Jamaican culture, modern blackness acknowledges race and class based inequalities. Inversely, Creolization, found in Creole multiracial nationalism, is hinged on folk culture, middle class Christian values, with an emphasis placed on Jamaica’s connection to Africa. Folk
blackness is linked to the Creole multiracial nationalist project and is reflected in cultural policy and institutions (Thomas, 2004).

Thomas notes that education has been historically charged with maintaining Creole values. In fact she argues that education has traditionally been tasked with reforming “bad culture.” Education and teacher training was revamped to include local artistic expression, Jamaican history, and heritage to reinforce moral codes and to stimulate national pride and by extension a more productive economy (Thomas, 2004).

While Thomas’ work is not representative of Jamaican culture in its entirety, it is comprehensive and representative of a specific demographic of the Jamaican population. As such, the contrast between more radical forms of cultural expression like dancehall reggae and patois, and Jamaican culture as it is presented throughout the Grade 3 textbook, demonstrates how the textbook purposefully functions to promote traditional folk culture over subaltern or radical cultural forms. The structure of the textbook, the information it chooses to emphasize in combination with what is left out, or mentioned in a superficial way, speaks to the type of culture and Jamaican nationalism that the text chooses to endorse and what type of cultural performance is expected.

Reinforcing the Commodification of Jamaican Culture Through Classroom Activities

The exercises that accompany the latter sections of the textbook ask students to make connections between culture and tourism. In the subsection “Jamaica Goes Abroad”
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students are asked to look at their island from the perspective of the tourist and reflect on what they think about it. The text states: “What impressions do you think tourists get when they visit Jamaica? Discuss your idea with your classmates” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 224). This exercise gets students to identify what is most notable and appealing about the island. It encourages students to use what they have learned about Jamaican culture, the island’s main tourist attractions, and the significance of the island’s history in order to formulate their responses. It also gets students to think about their interactions with tourists and what type of characteristics Jamaican’s are best known for, such as friendliness (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 228). In keeping with neoliberal governmentality, the text appears to be utilizing biopolitics to regulate the public behaviour of students, especially within tourist-centred spaces. It subtly urges students to adopt the characteristics and attitudes tourists respond to in order to generate capital. The exercise also gets students to reflect on the appropriate expressions of Jamaican culture, standardizing and normalizing cultural performances. The exercise requires students to use their prior knowledge to reflect on what aspects of the island and its culture are the most marketable and what impression it will have on the tourist population. This concept, when combined with the textbook’s overall drive for the increase of capital, nurtures intrinsically motivated cultural performances that are attuned with the tourist market. Moreover, when this type of reflection exercise is contextualized through the rhetoric of treating tourists well, the biopolitical interventions that are featured alongside the performance of culture become naturalized in local landscapes. The textbook states: “It is
therefore important that we make their visit safe and enjoyable as possible. They will tell other people what a good time they enjoyed and come back again in the future” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 138). Positive tourist impressions are laden with the promise of future trips to the island and the accumulation of more “foreign exchange.” Although the first question begins, with the word “What,” the question encourages reflection and requires students to think about their own performances and how they contribute to a tourist impression of the island.

This same idea is reinforced towards the end of the textbook, under the subsection “Foreign Exchange”. Here, the text presents students with a challenge that calls on their ability to reflect on what they have learned and apply their own understandings of Jamaican culture. It states:

Imagine you work for the Jamaican Tourist Board. You have been asked to write a leaflet telling people about Jamaica. What do you think are the most important things to include? Discuss your ideas with the rest of the class. (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 228)

Much like the first exercise, this challenge gets students to actively evaluate all of the things that they have learned about Jamaican music, food, language, dance, natural attractions, and history. They are then asked to determine what they feel are the most important cultural features to include in promotional materials about the island.

The placement of this exercise is also significant. It is nested in a larger discussion on tourism and culture, and immediately follows a cartoon that specifies what
tourists enjoy about visiting the island. This exercise not only reinforces the importance of Jamaica’s heritage, but it also gets students to reflect on what aspects of Jamaica, especially what cultural forms, they can sell to the tourist market. With the knowledge that tourism significantly contributes to the Jamaican economy, in combination with the understanding that tourists are drawn to Jamaica for very specific reasons, students can tailor their answers to what they think tourist would enjoy.

**Figure 10. Tourist Comic.** A comic detailing the things tourist enjoy about visiting Jamaica. It highlights both the local culture as well as some of the natural attractions (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 227).

Consistent with neoliberal governmentality, students are asked to think in an economically oriented way and identify aspects of Jamaican culture, which can be used to promote the tourist industry. Moreover, it’s important to note that both of these exercises utilize peer feedback as a means of reinforcing and/or refuting the ideas. This process
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coincides with one of the central tenets of neoliberal governmentality: the conduct of conduct. Learners are asked to speak to, and by extension, moderate the ideas and conduct of their peers. The group discussion allows students to create a shared ideology around their attitudes towards and participation in Jamaican tourism. It also creates a space where hegemonic views on Jamaican culture can be strengthened through peer-based consensus.

These two exercises, the emphasis they place on immediate peer based feedback, and their reflective structure, exemplify the function of neoliberal biopolitics in the Grade 3 textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture*. Scher suggests that:

> Unlike inanimate commodities cultural performances involve individual behaviour and appearances that may be translated to represent the 'nation'. The communication of culture requires the regulation of human activity to shape it into recognizable, repeatable and salable forms. Thus the selling of culture always carries with it regulation, or perhaps 'quality control', and because the selling of culture has become an economic necessity in much of the Caribbean, the global markets that require commodified performances yield biopolitical interventions in order to regularise those marketed forms. (Scher, 2011, p. 18)

The questions and exercises presented in this section of the textbook are not only evidence of peer based “quality control”, but also speak to the regulation of individual behaviour, or in the case of the exercises, thinking, in order to capitalize on the tourist market.
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**Nationalism and Identity Formation: Establishing a Tourist Oriented sense of Jamaicaness**

Culture is also deliberately embedded in national rhetoric. Throughout the textbook Jamaican nationalism is tied to folk culture and the national narrative is constructed around a marketable form of Jamaican heritage. Through its associations with culture, nationalism becomes implicated in a larger neoliberal agenda. National identity is implicitly connected to the population’s adherence to what the textbook has defined as Jamaican culture. Section 14 titled “What is Culture?”, eloquently summarizes the cultural imperatives of the textbook, as well as their ties to Jamaican nationalism. It states:

Culture is passed from one generation to the next. It is what makes groups of people different from each other. Culture includes our language, the way we dress, our music, our religion and how we prepare our food. Culture is also expressed in our beliefs, our folklore, dance, history, national symbols and our art and craft. No country has exactly the same culture as Jamaica so our culture is what makes us Jamaicans. It gives each of us a feeling of belonging, which is known as a ‘national identity.’ (Bailey et al., 2007, p.169)

Within a neoliberal context, national identity, much like culture, is performed. Host populations are representative of the nation and, within a tourist economy, are in turn required to present themselves in a way that is consistent with tourist expectations.
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By explicitly creating linkages between culture and national identity, the textbook suggests that Jamaican nationalism, like culture, is part of a co-constructed neoliberal reality that is biopolitical in nature and susceptible to the trends of the market (Scher, 2011). Just as cultural performances are embedded in complicated host/visitor relationships and coincide with the needs of the tourist market, national identity is also constructed around a cultural narrative that is informed by economic imperatives. Scher speaks to how nationalism and national identity is implicated in larger neoliberal processes. He argues that "the nation, reconfigured under neoliberalism imperatives, participates in the cultural activities of its citizens as a form of governmentality via a kind of semi-privatized nationalism" (Scher, 2011, p. 16). Scher also suggests that:

> Nationalism is directly related to a specific industry in the sense that because local or national culture is being promoted, the degree to which, as a citizen, one contributes to the health of that industry is the degree to which one contributes to the health of national culture. (Scher, 2011, p. 17).

While it’s important to note that the textbook makes no direct associations between national identity and tourism, what it means to be Jamaican, and the unique sense of identity therein is a prominent theme throughout the textbook. It is also worth mentioning that discussions of nationalism in the textbook are rooted in a form of Jamaican culture that has been refined by market interests.

Appropriate and desirable modes of Jamaican culture are reinforced through the single frame comic that highlights the perspective of tourists. Under the subheading
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“Foreign Exchange” the textbook launches into a discussion on the main tourist areas in Jamaica and reinforces the relationship between tourism and economic gain. Underneath a map of the island is a paragraph that begins by asserting how lucrative the industry is for the country: “Tourism earns Jamaica a large amount of foreign exchange” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 227). Here, the neoliberal imperatives become more apparent, as the textbook reiterates both the importance of tourism and how Jamaicaness can be commodified to capitalize on the tourist market. The textbook seemingly becomes a tool used to teach children ways of securing “foreign exchange” which as suggested in earlier sections, is not only vital to individual wellness, but also the development of the nation.

![Map of Jamaica](image)

*Figure 11. Map of Jamaica.* This map and the corresponding text highlight the main tourist areas in Jamaica. This figure reinforces the connection between tourism and the Jamaican economy and emphasizes the amount of capital (foreign exchange) that can be procured from the tourist market (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 227).

The bulk of the content focuses on what tourists enjoy about the island and why they choose to visit Jamaica. Through illustrations and thought bubbles, the textbook
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gives examples of desirable aspects of the island from the perspective of tourists. Some of the tourists featured in the image come to Jamaica because “[They] love the sea and white sand beaches” while others come because “[There] family enjoys the music festivals” or “[They] like to meet the friendly people” (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 227). Many of the tourists depicted in the text use positive adjectives like “love,” “like,” and “enjoy” to highlight desirable aspects of Jamaican culture. Interestingly, by exploring and validating cultural forms through the lens of tourists, the textbook encourages students to adopt a manufactured sense of Jamaicaness that not only privileges the position of the tourist within the host-tourist relationship, but also encourages a cultural performance that is inspired by the allure of monetary gain. Here it would seem that the text is aligned with cannibalistic tourism that is characteristic of a tourist based neoliberal society (Wearing & Wearing, 2006).

**Neoliberalism and Commodification of Identity**

As suggested by Wearing and Wearing (2006), within host tourist communities there is a co-constructed knowledge that produces a hybridity of being which allows for the "inscription, codification and commodification of hybrid identities in the new order of neoliberalism and global marketing" (p. 146). While the authors acknowledge that these hybridized identities do have the capacity to be subversive they also can be read as “a mode of self-betrayal to Western oppression” (Wearing & Wearing, 2006). As illustrated through their work, cannibalistic tourism is embedded in neoliberal power structures and “implies [that] hegemonic constructions from below are as much about the host self-
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identifying and manufacturing identities in the commodified and normalizing tourist spaces” (Wearing & Wearing, 2006, p. 146). They go on to suggest that: “Host communities are in effect “eating themselves” with the cultural logic of profit and capital accumulation and cultural values of Western imperialist discourse” (Wearing & Wearing, 2006, p. 146).

The ideas of cannibalistic tourism are particularly relevant given the focus that the textbook places on using culture as a means of securing foreign exchange. Furthermore, a comparison between contemporary ethnographic works, like that of Thomas (2004), and the very regulated, and in some cases imperial, forms of Jamaicaness that are validated through the specific examples of customs and traditions highlighted throughout the textbook, demonstrate the extent to which the regimes of truth surrounding Jamaican cultural expression are influenced by an overarching “culture” of profit. Not only is the rhetoric of profit present in this section, but it also indirectly builds on the idea of cultural performativity, as well as the biopolitical controls therein, that are featured in tourist based economies.

**English: The Language of Commerce**

Deborah Thomas (2004) in her work *Modern Blackness* is one of many scholars that looks at the complexity of language in Jamaica. Most notably, Thomas looks at how Creole or patois, is the first language and everyday vernacular used by a majority of the Jamaican population, especially the Jamaican working class. Interestingly, however, the language featured in the Grade 3 textbook *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies* -
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*Culture*, is identified as Standard Jamaican English (SJE), a form of English that is considered to be the accepted national norm. The text actively champions the use of SJE, at the expense of local forms of language. While it is the prerogative and commonly accepted practice of the national curriculum to standardize English language learning, appropriate and traditional forms of communication, much like culture, has been fused with contemporary forms of biopolitical governmentality that are congruent with neoliberalism. Under current socio-economic models the English language has been reconstructed to reflect and participate in global economic trends and market based ideologies (Kayman, 2004).

When used in the textbook, Jamaica’s local vernacular, patois, is most often presented as a cultural artifact. Section 16.4 entitled “Culturama” antiquates Creole. It historicises the language and suggests that it is passed down by older generations via oral tradition. The textbook details a project completed by a fictitious Grade 3 class. It states: "As part of the project they invited senior citizens from their community into school to tell them about the past. They listened to songs and stories of long ago..." (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 229) The song, “Chi chi bud O!” is all in patois and the instructions direct the student to get their teacher to help them sing it. Here the textbook suggests that patois is an important cultural product of the past. It is preserved by the elderly and shared in informal learning environments like the home and community. Creole is also featured in Section 7.5, in the subsection “Work Songs”. "Sammy Plant Piece a Corn," "Manuel Road" and "Carry Mi Ackee" (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 23) are three songs that are used in
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the text. Each song is categorized as "traditional" and accompanied by illustrations of men and women dressed in period clothing, manually completing their tasks with old-fashioned tools. For example, underneath the lyrics for "Manuel Road" (see Figure 11) are two people seen using pick axes to break down pieces of rock. One of the workers appears to be a woman. She is wearing a triangular shaped wide brimmed straw hat, a white shirt, and red baggy skirt like bottoms that fall to her knees. The other, a man, is also adorned with a straw hat. Unlike many of the other uniformed workers illustrated in the text, this man is wearing brown pants, a white collared shirt, and a vest. His clothing does not appear to be job specific, or practical for the type of work he is doing. Rather, it appears to be a part of his everyday ware. The clothing and tools featured in this illustration, especially when compared with many of the other images of the text, seem out of place, predating a movement towards modernization (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 22). Positioning these images next to Creole folk songs, suggest that the language and its use is encapsulated in a specific historic temporality. It appears that much like the old fashioned tools seen in the illustrations, Creole is a historic cultural artifact.
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**Figure 12. Jamaican Work Song: Manuel Road.** This image shows two people using pick axes to break through rock. Their heads are down and they are in mid swing. They are both wearing wide brimmed hats and period clothing. The lyrics that accompany this image are written in Creole. Underneath the song is the word “Traditional.” It is italicized and implies that the song is rooted in Jamaican tradition and antiquated in the history of the island. (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 13)

**The Normalization of Standard Jamaican English (SJE)**

Exercises in sentence structure, verb tenses, and proper nouns serve to promote and normalize the use of Standard Jamaican English (SJE). Conversations between characters that are featured in the text also encourage the localized and everyday use of SJE. For example, many of the casual dialogues that take place in the narratives and
communication within the textbook utilize SJE instead of more dominant and localized forms of language, such as patois.

While the use of SJE seems commonplace within a national curriculum, it’s important to note that the use of SJE, when combined with how it functions and the role it plays in the textbook, actually compliments a greater economic agenda. Neoliberalism champions English as the language of commerce. It is a universal form of communication that underscores emergent forms of economic thinking and globalization. Kayman (2004), in his discussion on the English language, argues that globalization and economic processes are tied to technologies of communication, whereby the English language with its imperial history has actually become a technology in itself. He argues that: “the intimate association of English with the technological means of communication reinforces its claims as the pre-eminent medium of globalization: branded in fact, as the language of communication par excellence” (Kayman, 2004, p.13). The connection between English and global economic processes reinforces how neoliberalism is diffused in English language learning. The connections between neoliberalism and the use of standard forms of English becomes especially apparent in the latter sections of the textbook, where deliberate connections are made between the use of English and the tourist market. Large portions of Section 13 and 16 are dedicated to the positive effects of tourism on the local economy and how Jamaicans, through their use if language, can and should contribute to such a lucrative industry. It is in this context, in a subsection entitled
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"From Creole to Standard English," (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 228) that the connections to neoliberal governmentality are most evident.

**The Commodification of Creole for Capital Gain**

Standard Jamaican English (SJE) is deliberately used to commodify, while simultaneously delegitimize, local forms of expression for the sake of economic gain. The textbook manages the type of language that is spoken, when it is used, and who are privy to what forms of communication. The emphasis that is placed on SJE encourages students to regulate their speech and to use appropriate modes of communication in various socio-economic settings. They are required to govern their actions in order to cater to the tourist market and to speak using either Creole or SJE to authenticate or facilitate a positive tourist experience. Implicit within language learning is a neoliberal biopolitics that actively manages how students govern their own speech in a variety of social situations for the purposes of economic gain.

Section 16 begins by acknowledging that "The first language of many Jamaicans is Creole or patois" (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 228). The text then actively economizes language; Creole becomes a form of culture that serves as a point of interest for tourists visiting the island. As presented in the text: "This language (Creole) is a part of Jamaican culture and tourist who visit our island will be interested to hear it spoken" (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 228). Building on earlier sections of the textbook, the commodification of Creole, for the purpose of bolstering Jamaican tourism, coincides with a larger economic agenda. Simultaneously however, the text also cautions against the misunderstandings
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describes that Creole has the capacity to be interesting, it is also deemed confusing to others. As stated in the text:
"...[Tourists] may not understand it so we should try and speak Standard English when addressing tourists" (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 228). The textbook suggests that cultural expression comes secondary to capital gain. Not only is this conceptualization of culture inherently problematic and a point of future exploration, but it is also consistent with the processes of economization that coincide with neoliberal rhetoric.

When seen as a cultural novelty, Creole is deemed an acceptable form of expression. However, when viewed as a means of everyday communication in a country that values the relationships it maintains with "the world" (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 90), trade (p. 96), the acquisition of "foreign exchange" (p. 93) and most importantly "tourism" (Bailey et al., 2007, 112), Creole is deemed secondary to the more economically competitive and globally oriented form of SJE. The use of SJE is purposefully naturalized, and in many ways depoliticized, to facilitate economic gain. It is in this section of the textbook that the language and its connections to neoliberalism are most evident. Scholars such as Martin Kayman (2004) and Marnie Holborow (2006) demonstrate the centrality of English to neoliberal projects and market-based ideologies. For example, Kayman (2004) in *The State of English as a Global Language* argues that an economic need for English makes it seem natural. Language becomes so embedded in market values that its use is an inevitable reality necessitated by global economic trends. He also suggests that in the neoliberal state of the world, where Standard English has
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become the universal language of commerce and tourism, English is actively used to promote social progress (Kayman, 2004). Holborow's work builds on these ideas. In accordance with a neoliberal push to transcend geo-economic borders and promote market interests, Holborow argues that the English language is perceived to be imbedded in a pro-capitalist ideology that reinforces the preeminence of the global market place, as well as the West (2006).

With the textbook making explicit connections between the tourist industry, national development, and the acquisition of foreign exchange it is clear that the position of and value placed on integration and success in the global market is substantial. A neoliberal reading of the Grade 3 textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture*, text suggests that SJE is just one of the many vehicles used to both reinforce and actualize the country's market values. This is especially pertinent given that tourism is a leading Jamaican industry. This lends to the prominent role that, as suggested by the textbook, SJE plays in servicing the tourist market.

Language, and its centrality to the tourist experience, as well as its role in reaping the economic benefits associated with the industry, substantiates the neoliberal underpinnings of English language learning. As Holborow points out, English language is "branded" (Holborow, 2006). English has become inculcated in and associated with the dominance of the free market. She argues that the experience of learning the English language in itself bares certain economic connotations given its relationship to economic, and by extension global power (Holborow, 2006). With the indirect connections between
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SJE and economic prosperity, the English language learning featured in the text is consistent with this type of neoliberal thinking. As suggested in the textbook, the everyday use of SJE amongst Jamaicans creates a universalized mode of communication between host and tourist populations that offer the framework through which economic transactions can take place. The use of English becomes a mechanism of power that allows the host population to effectively capitalize on English-speaking persons and markets that dominate the globalized world.

**The Biopolitics of Language Learning**

In keeping with the biopolitical nature of neoliberal governmentally, the textbook also actively tries to control how students speak and think about their use of language. After addressing the importance of using SJE when speaking to tourists, the textbook offers a table of commonly used Creole words and phrases and their SJE counterparts. For example, "Mi a go" is translated to "I am going," "De bwoy dem" is "Many boys," and "Mi drink wata" is expressed as "I drink water" (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 228). Looking at translations of patois offers students a more market friendly alternative to traditional forms of expressions. The reputed commonness of the translations accompanied by the plausibility that they could be easily integrated into everyday conversation make SJE more accessible to the local population. Here the textbook actively encourages students to use standard forms of speech and naturalizes English as the preferred global norm.
Figure 13. Translations of Creole to Standard Jamaican English. This table offers the English translation of common Creole phrases used as a part of the everyday vernacular. The phrases are simple and conversational (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 228).

The economic rationale behind the use of SJE provides incentive for Jamaicans to adopt its use. When looking at the text as a whole, students are primed to participate in the labour force. As mentioned in earlier chapters, this call to engage with the economy at a local level is fortified by the possibility of enhancing individual wellbeing. Producing goods for trade, or being involved in an industry like tourism "earns Jamaica millions of US dollars each year," (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 112), and inevitably allows Jamaican's to earn money to "satisfy their needs" (p. 97). In this context, SJE becomes an instrument that can be used to achieve individual fulfillment. English, as a technological tool of communication, becomes a currency of trade. The work of scholars, like Evans (2001), Kayman (2004) and Holborow (2006), substantiate this line of thinking. Evans (2001), for example, argues that SJE is associated with dominant social and economic classes. Implicit within this claim is the idea that English is tied to individual wealth and social mobility. Venn (2007) reinforces the neoliberal and biopolitical push to secure capital.
arguing that control of wealth is something that governs the actions of the individual at the local level. When looking at English, it becomes evident that a command of the language is a vital resource in the individual pursuit of wealth. Moreover, Kayman suggests that within a neoliberal organization of the world the English language is believed to be a vehicle used to promote social progress. As suggested throughout the textbook, this idea of social progress is contingent on the work and productive capacity of individual Jamaicans. It is within this framework that the implementation of Standard English is aligned with a vital push for economic growth on an individual, local and global level and in a cursory way, becomes attached to the fulfillment of individual needs.

The final exercise at the end of the subsection demonstrates the textbook's continued function as neoliberal artifact. Specifically, it exemplifies one of the many ways neoliberal biopolitics are used to control the way Jamaican students think about communicating. The textbook asks students to think about the following: "How would you welcome a tourist into your community in Creole?" (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 228) This question is multifaceted. While it reinforces the idea that Creole is primarily used for the benefit of tourists, it also demonstrates that language is a tool that can be used for economic gain. The question itself is reflexive. It gets students to actively think about how language can be used to cater to a lucrative market. Moreover, the students can draw on the translations presented earlier in the section to craft the appropriate greeting for people visiting the island. Through this kind of questioning, the textbook promotes very
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specific forms of communication that require students to use both SJE and Creole in the appropriate context. Simultaneously, it also makes them attuned to the underlying market interests that are attached to language and how it can be used to promote market interests. The content of the textbook is consistent with forms of neoliberal governmentally which claim language as a means of advancing economic rationale. It seemingly controls the biological, sociological, and cultural aspects of speech further demonstrate how all aspects of life, including the way Jamaicans communicate in their own communities.

**Conclusion**

A majority of the Grade 3 textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, is dedicated to Jamaica's involvement in the globalized world. The focus placed on Jamaica’s participation in the global economy, the relationships it maintains with other countries and how both of these have become integral to Jamaican culture, naturalize the totality of economic processes in everyday life. Moreover, the focus that is placed on the individual's inclusion in these processes, through cultural performativity, reinforces some of the central tenets of neoliberal ideology. As in the Sections 7, 8, and 9, the neoliberal undertones featured in the latter sections of the text are fundamental to the creation of economically oriented subjectivities that are attuned to the advancement of Jamaica's global economic interests. The textbook places considerable emphasis on Jamaica as a tourist market and a site of cultural production. In keeping with the neoliberal overtones of the text, students are encouraged to modify their actions,
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behaviour and speech in order to cater to Jamaica’s many visitors. The textbook
indirectly nurtures a form of biopolitical governmentality that both serves as the impetus
behind culture performativity and makes Jamaican heritage a valuable form of global
currency involved in processes of foreign exchange. While Sections 10, 11, 13 and 16 do
not overtly attempt to manipulate, and by extension control, the conditions of individual
life, the subtle forms of governmentality that are present are attached to a sense of
national security that, if preserved, lend to wellness on an individual level. Like Sections
7, 8 and 9, these four sections reinforce the economic tone of the text and demonstrate its
function as a neoliberal artifact.
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Introduction

This final chapter offers a summary of my findings. It demonstrates that through the focus on work, community, rules and Jamaican tourism, the Grade 3 textbook *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture* functions as a neoliberal artifact. I will offer a brief synopsis of my substantive chapter, and the themes therein, to illustrate how the textbook speaks to neoliberal discourse, biopower, and biopolitical governmentality. Drawing on the work of Apple and Christian-Smith (1991), I demonstrate how schooling works to disseminate prevailing ideology, while speaking to its pedagogical capacity to inform the way in which students construct meaning. I use this to illustrate the profound impact that instructional materials have on student learning. My thesis aims to unpack how the Grade 3 Jamaican Textbook is influenced by socio-economic and free market trends that operate in conjunction with neoliberal governmentality. While my research looks at a specific case in point, this thesis shows that there can be explicit connections between learning materials and a larger socio-economic agenda. This work clearly exemplifies the linkages that exist between knowledge and power, and offers a thoughtful analysis on how dominant ideology can be circulated through commonplace concepts,
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such as rules, that are encapsulated in everyday lived experiences. My thesis offers a nuanced understanding of the tacit knowledge is disseminated through instructional materials and specifically demonstrates how textbooks can function as a mechanism of power within a larger socio-economic agenda. Moreover, this chapter will outline areas of future study that can be pursued in relation to both critical curriculum theory and qualitative textbook analysis.

**The Neoliberal Narrative that underscores the Grade 3 Textbook**

The Grade 3 textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, is underscored by a neoliberal narrative that encourages students to adopt attitudes and behaviours that are central to contemporary understandings of neoliberal discourse and its adjacent subjectivities. The textbook is ensconced within a socio-economic framework that promotes global capitalism, self-reliance and entrepreneurship in accordance with free market logic and the fundamental pillars of neoliberalism. Through my research I have identified and unpacked a number of ways in which the textbook functions as a neoliberal artifact. Using qualitative content analysis and a neoliberal framework, this study looked at the structure, content and by extension the implications of the instructional materials used in the Grade 3 Jamaican classroom. The text features, including the illustrations, informational content, the exercises, examples and fictional anecdotes, speak to themes that are consistent with neoliberalism, neoliberal governmentality and neoliberal biopolitics. Moreover, scholarship in educational politics
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has illustrated how powerful and effective instructional tools can be at disseminating knowledge in both overt and implicit ways. While their work is somewhat dated, both Michael Apple and Linda Christian-Smith (1991) speak to the tacit knowledge that is disseminated through instructional materials. While their work is focused on the politics of the American school system, their argument that the political process of determining “official knowledge” (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 3), is largely influenced by dominant ideology and systems of power, can be more broadly applied to education as a whole. As argued in their work, *The Politics of the Textbook*, Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) believe that textbooks and other instructional materials create particular regimes of truth that reflect existing power relations. They argue that textbooks “signify - through their content and form – particular constructions of reality…” (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 3). As stated in their work:

> Texts are really messages to and about the future. As part of a curriculum, they participate in no less than the organized knowledge system of society. They participate in creating what society has recognized as legitimate and truthful. They help set the canons of truthfulness and, as such, also help re-create a major reference point for what knowledge, culture, belief and morality really are.

(Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 4)

Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) identify that as a form of pedagogical influence “the text participates in both bodily and ideological regulation” (p. 8). Based on the extensive politics that are woven throughout the Grade 3 textbook *Macmillan Primary*
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*Integrated Studies - Culture*, this piece of instructional material encourages students to assume a collective and cultural identity fashioned around neoliberal ideology. The textbook employs biopolitical technologies of power in order to shape the behaviour and attitudes of the student population and in doing so presents neoliberal subjectivity as the desirable social norm.

My findings illustrate three dominant ways in which the textbook *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture* functions as a neoliberal artifact. First, it encourages students to adopt behaviours and attitudes that are consistent with neoliberal ideology. Second, the textbook’s focus on work naturalizes, and by extension promotes, economic participation, while encouraging students to become responsibilized neoliberal subjects. Lastly, the textbook reappropriates Jamaican culture for the purposes of economic gain. It discusses at length the benefits of the Jamaican tourist economy and how it contributes to the acquisition of foreign exchange. It details how the individual Jamaican can positively contribute to this market and the types of behaviours that are most conducive to capital gain. Wrought with economic undertones, the textbook’s focus on Jamaican tourism coincides with a neoliberal push to commodify all aspects of life, including culture, encourages cultural performativity, and speaks more broadly to the emphasis neoliberalism places on integrating local economies into the globalized world. These topics, as they are found in the textbook, are engrossed in a larger discourse of power over life. Neoliberalism, with its social and economic implications, promotes
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certain behaviours and attitudes that shape individual subjectivity and become the benchmark for appropriate social conduct.

**Work and Community Participation in Jamaica**

As demonstrated in Chapter 4, I have shown that the textbook places considerable emphasis on both work and individual participation within the local Jamaican economy. Within neoliberal discourse the population’s participation in the labour market is paramount economic success on both a local and global level. Work is the antithesis to welfarism. The textbook discusses at length the importance of various jobs, including but not limited to doctors, nurses, teachers, construction workers, fishermen, vendors, higglers and those working in the tourist market. It also uses the broad categories of the goods and services sector to demonstrate that work is relational and done for the benefit of the population. The preeminence of labour in all facets of society speaks to the idea of labour as a necessary and natural function to life in Jamaica. The concept of work is connected to the social and emotional well-being of the individual. Moreover, work is presented as a benefit to the community. The textbook appeals to a shared sense of belonging and community obligation. Economic participation yields financial resources that allow for community development. As suggested by the textbook, a cooperating community requires the work and economic participation of all community members. The community is directly implicated within the economic and as such becomes a site of neoliberal power. Within the context of neoliberal communitarianism, the community is a
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mechanism that has the capacity to govern the conduct of its members (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). According to this theory, the community appeals to the individual’s sense of self and belonging. Community loyalty can mediate the behaviour of the population to conform to certain economic standards of conduct that are seen to benefit the population as a whole. Work is also presented as a highly individualized and entrepreneurial pursuit. Anecdotes, featuring identifiable protagonists are used to highlight this concept and to encourage students to actively think about how they will fulfill their future role as members of the Jamaican work force. Neoliberalism champions the idea of the responsibilized entrepreneur. It seeks to optimize the productive capacity of the population in the form of human capital to promote economic participation and productivity. In keeping with neoliberal subjectivities, the student becomes an actor that is encouraged to make choices that will help them actively participate within socio-economic arenas. Furthermore, this idea of personal choice makes the individual assume all responsibility for their actions and future outcomes. What is left out of the anecdotes and information presented in the textbook is the reality that individuals face systemic barriers of race, gender and class that influences the opportunities they have and the choices that they are able to make.

**Behaviours and Attitudes Established Through Rules**

As suggested previously in Chapter 5, the textbook functions as a neoliberal artifact because it encourages behaviours and attitudes that are congruent with some of
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the fundamental pillars of neoliberal subjectivity. In keeping with neoliberal
governmentality, the textbook encourages students to become self-regulating and
responsible; shaping their behaviour around standards of conduct determined by
arbitrary rule making authorities. Through a detailed discussion of different types of rules
found in various social settings, the textbook encourages students to become self-
regulating in the service of employers or other persons of authority. It urges them to
follow rules on their own merit, with little direct supervision from an external governing
body. Moreover, rules are shown to be implemented in all aspects of life including the
home, the school and the workplace. Rules, and the self-regulation they imbue, are
presented as a natural and highly normalized part of existence. This is especially apparent
given the biblical allegory used in the text to demonstrate the importance of rules. The
story of Adam and Eve is reduced to a narrative of disobedience and a violation of God’s
rules. The textbook attaches self-regulation to the concept of self-optimization. It does so
by showcasing the negative and impairing consequences that occur when individuals fail
to comply with appropriate standards of behaviour. A failure to self-regulate, as
demonstrated through a series of anecdotal and informational text, results in an inability
for the individual to perform at an optimal level. Implicit within the discussion on rules
and self-regulation is the idea that wellbeing and self-optimization is tied to an
individual’s ability to make appropriate choices that reflect the behavioural norms that
are tied to neoliberal discourse.
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**Jamaican Tourism and the Economization of Language**

In this work I have shown that the Grade 3 textbook, *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture*, places a considerable emphasis on Jamaican tourism. It discusses the economic advantages of tourism at length to bolster acceptance for, and participation in, the industry. The textbook seeks to inculcate pro-tourism attitudes within the student population. It presents tourism as an abundant source of foreign exchange and uses an appeal to nationalist sentiments, alongside economic incentives, to optimize the population for work in the tourism market. The economic and biopolitical undertones that supplement the information presented on this topic expound the textbook’s function as a neoliberal artifact. Tourism, under a neoliberal framework actively seeks to commodify culture for the purposes of economic gain. The textbook, in its discussion of Jamaican tourism, presents aspects of Jamaican culture and heritage in relation to what tourists might like to experience when visiting the island. Culture becomes something that is performed in order to best meet the expectations of the visiting population. Reflective questioning is used to get students to think about how they can contribute to the tourist economy and what aspects of Jamaican culture and landscape are most interesting to the island’s many visitors. The textbook reinforces what commodifiable Jamaican culture should look like and advocates for the reproduction of values, behaviours, and cultural identities that coincide with economic profitability. Moreover, the textbook actively economizes English Language Learning in order to better communicate and meet the needs of tourists. It outlines the appropriate and standardized form of language that
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should be used in various socio-cultural situations in order to ensure that tourists can easily navigate and learn about their surroundings and feel comfortable when visiting the island. The management of speech is a biopolitical enterprise that is employed for the purposes of economic gain is just one of the many ways in which the textbook functions as a neoliberal artifact.

**Future Areas of Explorations**

This type of qualitative content analysis lends to future research in the area of critical curriculum analysis. My study is phenomenological in nature, however studies of other Jamaican textbooks and their corresponding workbooks can offer a broader illustration of how power and dominant socio-economic trends influence instructional materials. Moreover, this type of analysis could be extended beyond the developing world. As a post-colonial country, whose economic structure is hinged on neoliberal policies and structural adjustment programs, Jamaica’s economic and democratic development has been significantly curtailed (Brown, 2013). Examining the textbooks and other instructional tools found in a first world context may help to uncover whether or not “official knowledge,” as it is constructed with a neoliberal agenda in mind, is universalized across geo-economic boarders. Looking at the instructional materials and textbooks produced in other countries offers a point of comparison that can be used to create a richer and more detailed analysis of the ideological underpinnings that accompany student learning.
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A more substantial sample could point to emergent global trends in official knowledge and education. The biopolitical nature of this study demonstrates that neoliberalism exercises a certain degree of control over the bodies of the population. With this in mind, future research on instructional materials, like textbooks, can be used to determine if there is any correlation between the ideological controls placed on the body and the geographic and socio-economic position of the country for which the materials are intended. In keeping with the thinking of Foucault, perhaps certain populations are more problematized than others. The population has become an economic variable which, given the potential disorder of biological life, is something that actively needs to be managed in order to effectively actualize a neoliberal agenda. Foucault was of the belief that biopolitics and biopolitical governmentality was a systemic response to errant groups who needed to conform to the standards of conduct that were determined by those in positions of power. The connections between neoliberalism, biopolitics and human capital theory mark a need for the socio-economic optimization of populations for the purposes of economic gain. Within a neoliberal context, the socio-economic disparities between the developed and developing countries, alongside the willingness and inclination of the population to become independent actors in an increasingly globalized world, may warrant different forms or emphasis placed on bodily control. For example, the Jamaican textbook analyzed in this work placed considerable focus on getting students to follow rules and be self-regulating in order to better prepare them for a life of obedience, self-control and responsibility in an increasingly globalized world. The
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textbook presented a number of rules that specifically worked on the body, such as lining up straight before entering the classroom and only playing in designated areas, in order to naturalize and create a precedent for the idea of bodily control. It is presented as a normal aspect of everyday life that enhances individual wellbeing and optimizes a student’s ability to participate at school and as a productive member of society.

Other instructional materials found in the Jamaican classroom, or those that are used in higher-grade levels may emphasize different mechanisms of power that work on the body to encourage individual production, consumption and socio-economic participation. Alternatively, the idea of rules might remain a prominent feature that underscores textbooks and other teaching materials however, depending on the age and grade level, these instructional tools might present the concept in more nuanced and complex way.

Neoliberalism is both a gendered and racialized concept. According to Roberts and Mahtani (2010), neoliberalism has significant racialized impacts specifically for minority labourers. Moreover, McDowell (2004) in her research on labour identifies that under the umbrella of neoliberalism “[the] gendered division of labour is not only a fundamental feature of industrial societies, it is also a site of inequality” (McDowell, 2004, p. 148). She postulates “neoliberalism itself embodies idealized hegemonic masculinist values” (McDowell, 2004, p. 156). The racialization and gendered nature of biopolitics lend to the possibilities of future research in both neoliberal discourse and pedagogy. As suggested by Ziarek (2008), the body has been a site of biopolitical control
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and directly implicated within the political. A more detailed analysis on the socio-economic nature of body politics can be explored to illuminate how they are involved in a larger global narrative of production, reproduction and consumption.

**Conclusion**

The textbook *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies – Culture*, when analyzed through a neoliberal framework, is laden with economic undertones that infiltrate the socio-economic and cultural aspects of everyday life. The textbook, through the mechanisms of biopower, exercises control over life to reinforce neoliberal ideology and the adjacent subjectivities that accompany neoliberal governmentality. It employs informational content, illustrations and reflective questioning to encourage students to adopt attitudes and behaviours that are congruent with neoliberalism. Major themes found in the textbook, such as self-regulation and economic participation are consistent with neoliberal modes of conduct that are associated with self-optimization and economic prosperity. The topic of Jamaican tourism, its attachment to culture, and its connections to foreign exchange also speak to the textbook’s function as a neoliberal artifact. The commodification of Jamaican heritage for the purposes fiscal gain is closely aligned with a neoliberal push to commodify all aspects of life, including cultural traditions. Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) implore that education is incredibly political. Moreover, Batsleer, Davies, O’Rourke and Weedon (1985) argue that: “We must acknowledge and understand the tremendous capacity of dominant institutions to regenerate themselves
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“not only in their material foundations and structures but in the hearts and minds of people” (Davies, O’Rourke & Weedon, 1985, p. 5). Given the capacity for instructional materials to “…signify more profound political, economic, and cultural relations and histories” (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 3) the textbook *Macmillan Primary Integrated Studies - Culture* can be read using multiple lenses. When examined through a neoliberal framework it becomes clear that the textbooks used in the Grade 3 Jamaican classroom are the by-product of the socio-economic and cultural conditions that emerge from dominant relations of power. The textbook tenders a neoliberal narrative that works to shape the conduct of the students who use the text. It becomes both a site and mechanism of power, creating a regime of truth that incorporates the economic into all aspects of everyday life.
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Appendix: Thematic Coding

An example of thematic coding taken from my notes that I used to write Chapter 4: Work and the Grade 3 Textbook, *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture* and Chapter 6: Tourism and Culture.
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This Cluster Web was a part of my codebook for Chapter 4: Work and the Grade 3 Textbook, *Primary Macmillan Integrated Studies – Culture*. The centre features a common theme found in neoliberal discourse, entrepreneurship. The branches detail aspects of the textbook that coincide with the theme. For example, the blue branch discusses the concept of information gathering that is found in the story of Johnny. The extending limbs, unpack what Johnny does in response to the task he assigns himself. The final branch details the page in the textbook where the theme is reinforced through exercises found in the text which get students to actively think about workers in their communities.

The theme of entrepreneurship was found in a number of articles that I used to develop my conceptual framework. Peters (2007), Read (2009), Kiersey (2009), Mccafferty (2010), and Garcia & De Lissovoy (2013), are just a few of the academics that discuss entrepreneurialism in conjunction with neoliberal governmentality. They all postulate that developing the entrepreneurial self is a crucial to fostering neoliberal subjectivities. This information was used to unpack Johnny’s actions as he ventured through two different communities. The choices he made were analyzed through a neoliberal lense and through cross referencing with academic scholarship it was determined that Johnny’s actions were congruent with neoliberalism.