

Constructing the entrepreneurial-self: How Catalan textbooks present the neoliberal worker to their students

Pau Bori

Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, Serbia

Jelena Petanović

Independent researcher

Abstract

Since the year 2000 and the massive arrival of immigrants to the Spanish region of Catalonia, the Catalan language has vastly augmented its number of students. In the meantime, the Catalan government continues to apply educational and language policies from the EU related to the new public management and knowledge economy. Neoliberal technologies and policy initiatives include creating a responsible, self-managing, self-enterprising worker. By drawing on Foucault's concept of governmentality, this paper analyses work related units in six series of textbooks for teaching Catalan to adults taking into account the governmental rationality of neoliberalism. The study concludes that Catalan language textbooks may function as instruments of subject formation promoting the self-management of a future Catalan worker and helping to create enterprising individuals.

Keywords: *Neoliberalism, entrepreneurship, textbooks, governmentality, Catalan language*

Introduction

In recent years in the field of applied linguistics there has been an emergent interest to examine the relations between neoliberalism and foreign language education (Block, Gray and Holborow, 2012; Bernstein et al., 2015; Shin, 2015). With the outbreak of the global economic crises in 2008, several analyses of English language textbooks turned to neoliberalism as a key factor in shaping the present and the future of language education (Gray, 2010, 2012; Gray and Block, 2014). However, language textbooks have not been analyzed through the lens of neoliberal governmentality with its emphasis on the responsabilisation of the self and creation of enterprising individuals. Drawing on Foucault's idea of governmentality, the overall aim of this paper is to show, using foreign language textbook analysis, how neoliberalism influences the creation of a certain kind of subjectivity, related to the entrepreneurio-consumerist concept of society.

Neoliberal governmentality

Governmentality is a concept developed by Michel Foucault in the late seventies to explore how the practices of knowledge are produced through their relations to power (Peters, 2007). It is a neologism that combines ‘government’ and ‘mentality’ to study the links between the ways governments manage people’s actions through techniques of domination and the ways people conduct their own behaviour through techniques of the self. According to this concept the government of the people is a broad process which ranges from the governing of others to the governing of the self through a whole variety of authorities (Mitchell, 2006; Rose, O’Malley and Valverde, 2009). From a Foucauldian perspective, neoliberalism is not understood as an ideology or an economic policy but as a governmentality. With this in mind, Dardot and Laval (2013, p.9) describe neoliberalism as the rationality of contemporary capitalism, which “tends to organize and structure not only the action of the rulers but also the conduct of the ruled”. The main feature of this political rationality is “the generalization of competition as a behavioural norm and of the enterprise as a model of subjectivation” (Dardot and Laval, 2013, p.9).

Neoliberalism is based on the market as an artificially contrived, cultural artefact supported by “judicio-legal rules governing the framework within the game of enterprise” (Peters, 2001, p.68). The most important figure in this game is the new kind of *homo economicus*: the self-entrepreneurial, autonomous, and self-regulating individual (Foucault, 2008, p.226).

Nikolas Rose (1999) argues that one of the priorities of neoliberal governmentality is the governing through freedom: a freedom produced through relations to power. People are obligated to act responsibly either as consumers or employers, giving the government the means to govern not through traditional forms of oppression but through the creation of moral subjectivities (Eleveld, 2009). Freedom understood “as choice, autonomy, self-responsibility, and the obligation to maximize one’s life as a kind of enterprise” (Rose, O’Malley and Valverde, 2009, p.91) becomes one of the main features of neoliberal governance. An autonomous self-responsible individual is created by deploying rational knowledge and techniques of constant self-improvement (Eleveld, 2009).

Another key concept to understand power and subjectivity in the age of neoliberalism is governing at a distance, that is to say, mechanisms which shape the economic and social conduct of people without the need of direct political intervention (Miller and Rose, 1990, pp.14-15). One of the main resources of governing at a distance is the role of experts, who regulate the conduct of the population with their advice functioning “as non-political modes of authorities in relation to the state” (Fogde, 2007, p.6).

In order to create an enterprise society, the neoliberal way of governance, since the end of the WWII, has been gradually making substantial changes in the way modern societies are organized. Especially from the 1970s onwards, in many countries which followed the US model, public administration has been substituted with managerialism, the state's role as a guarantor of the general welfare has been diminished, public education has been commodified, and the burden of social responsibility has been mostly placed onto the individuals.

Governmentality was used as an analytical tool in the social sciences as early as the 1990s. The studies focused on governmentality have examined different research areas, but share a common interest in exploring strategies of governing the people and the way we govern ourselves (Simons and Masschelein, 2006, p. 420).

Governmentality has been developed to understand the mode of government of liberalism and advanced liberalism (or neoliberalism) in works such as those of Miller and Rose (1990), Barry, Osborne and Rose (1996), or Dean (1999). More recently, Dardot and Laval (2013) also used Foucault's governmentality to explain the rationality of neoliberalism. In the field of education studies, there is a growing interest in governmentality as a conceptual tool to explain neoliberal educational policies (Peters, 2001; Olssen and Peters, 2005; Feyes and Nicoll, 2008). These studies, among others, show how educational policies, discourses and practices become internalised by subjects (Fimyar 2008) through mechanisms of control such as lifelong learning.

Creating the entrepreneurial subject

The new rationality of the world, based on competition and entrepreneurship, affects all spheres of life. Not only do states and institutions tend to adopt an entrepreneurial form, but individuals must also be transformed to conduct themselves as personal enterprises engaged in a constant process of competition.

The world of work is one area of life where we can more clearly see the manufacturing of the entrepreneurial subject. In the same way that states are administrated through the new public management, that is, with the logic of competition and methods of government in private enterprises, individuals should also act as managers of themselves, becoming "a sort of permanent and multiple enterprise" (Foucault, 2008, p.241). Adopting managerial logic, workers should cultivate the so-called personal branding (Hearn, 2008). To become a brand, it is important to make visible the differences and particularities of oneself in comparison to other colleagues or competitors. Furthermore, workers should show passion and commitment to work, the willingness to innovate and even "act selfishly" as

recommended by Tom Peters (1997, section 5, para. 4), one of the most popular gurus of management.

The entrepreneurial man must be adaptable to great changes in a workplace marked by labour flexibility, increased job competition, precariousness and job insecurity (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2007). In this new context, individuals are the only ones responsible for maintaining their jobs or finding new ones. By virtue of this self-responsibilisation, individuals must be able to access adequate information, make rational choices and, consequently, be responsible for the risks they run, not only concerning employment but also in other vital spheres of life such as health, education, security or retirement (Peters, 2001, p.61). Through this calculative and competitive new subjectivity, individuals not only plan themselves into the future by making choices but above all seek to constantly perfect themselves through techniques of life-long learning in order to retrain themselves to the new sets of skills and abilities required by the neoliberal economy.

Language learning for entrepreneurship

From a Foucauldian perspective, the manufacture of the entrepreneurial man is both effect and instrument of the current neoliberal rationality promoted by states and supranational institutions like the EU, OECD, or IMF. In the EU, for example, two main macro strategies for the 21st century — the Lisbon strategy (European Council, 2000) and Europe 2020 (European Commission, 2010) — promote entrepreneurship, competitiveness and lifelong learning as their main goals to make Europe the most dynamic continent in a knowledge-based economy. According to Olssen and Peters (2005, p. 330), the increasing importance of knowledge as a form of economic capital is “the most significant material change that underpins neoliberalism in the twenty-first century”. The knowledge economy is based on a certain type of knowledge or a set of skills directly applied to the market. Urciuoli (2010, p.162) explains that “every piece of knowledge one acquires can be interpreted and assessed as a skill, an aspect of oneself that can be considered productive by prospective employers”. As a result, the role of education in neoliberal times is to “prepare students as enterprising workers with the prerequisite skills, knowledge and values to survive in a volatile and competitive global market” (Down, 2009, p.51). Regarding education and safety at work, for example, the EU has adopted a strategy (EU-OSHA, 2013, pp.8-9) by which teenagers and young learners should acquire “social and professional skills” which will “enable them to be stakeholders in occupational risk prevention”.

Foreign language learning emerges as a key skill in the knowledge economy. In the Lisbon Strategy language learning is considered essential for a prosperous economy, together with entrepreneurship, IT or technological skills (Krzyżanowski and Wodak,

2011). In a similar fashion, another official EU communication called “Rethinking Education” (European Commission, 2012, p.5) states that “the ability to speak foreign languages is a factor for competitiveness” and that “[l]anguages are more and more important to increase levels of employability and mobility of young people”.

In this context, language education has been increasingly influenced by the pragmatic purposes of teaching and learning languages to serve the interests of global capitalism. What is now important is “the usefulness of language skills in achieving utilitarian goals such as economic development and social mobility” (Kubota, 2011, p.248). Furthermore, instead of studying languages to grow intellectually and learn about new cultures, learners are now forced to choose those languages that will profit them in the marketplace. Thus “choosing and learning a language becomes an act of investment in itself” (Bernsteien et al., 2015, p.7). These ideas are connected with Foucault’s concept of governmentality, since language learning is nowadays a matter of both government and self-government. States and supranational institutions promote foreign language learning to foster their economical competitiveness and, at the same time, individuals must be responsible to learn languages to improve their own employability and to participate in the global economy.

The Catalan context

In the first decade of the 21st century, Catalonia received a large wave of immigration from regions outside of Spain. In the year 2000, foreigners with permanent residency in Catalonia represented only 2.9% of the total population, whereas in 2010 this number rose to 15.95%, according to the Catalan government’s official data (Idescat, 2015). This growing number of foreigners has provoked a significant rise in students of Catalan as a second language in Catalonia (CPNL, 2012), a region in which Spanish is also a co-official language. As a consequence, the number of textbooks for learning Catalan has also increased.

The latest migrations to Catalonia coincided with the years of the “Spanish economic miracle”, which was based on the application of neoliberal economic policies (Etxezarreta et al., 2012). Between the years 2000 and 2007, Spain experienced a great demand for cheap labour, especially in the sectors of construction and tourism. The economic growth was based on very unstable structures, especially the housing bubble, thanks to the alliance between the real state sector and the financial institutions which provided abundant and cheap credit to the construction sector and to families (Naredo, 2009). The outbreak of the global financial crises in 2008 led to a blowback in the Spanish economy that at first affected the construction business and then the rest of the economy. One of the consequences of the Spanish recession was the increase of unemployment that affected mostly the immigrant and young populations.

The governance of the neoliberal state in Catalonia grew accordingly to the laws of the central state, regional laws, but especially following EU supranational laws and policies related to the new public management and knowledge economy.

All EU initiatives in the realm of education such as those coming from the European Commission were widely accepted and applied in Spanish and Catalan formal and informal education. When it comes to second language education, since its beginnings in the 1980s, Catalonia has always followed the methods, programs and curriculums recommended by the Council of Europe. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, one of the instruments of the EU's neoliberal language education governance (Boufooy-Bastick, 2015), is at this point in time being widely used and promoted especially when it comes to the standardization of language assessment.

Corpus and methodology

The corpus used for this study consists of six collections of textbooks for learning Catalan as a second language that one of us analyzed in another study (Bori, 2015): *Veus 1, 2, 3* (Mas and Vilagrassa, 2005, 2008, 2010); *Curs de català bàsic 1, 2, 3* (CNLB, 2008a, 2008b, 2011); *Nou Nivell Bàsic* (Guerrero et al., 2010a, 2010b, 2010c) and *Nou Nivell Elemental 1, 2, 3* (Anguera et al., 2010a, 2010b, 2010c); *Passos 1* (Roig, Padrós and Camps, 2011) and *Passos 2* (Roig and Daranas, 2011); *Català Bàsic* (Esteban, 2012) and *Català Elemental* (Esteban, Sagrera and Campoy, 2011); *Fil per randa Bàsic* (Vilà and Homs, 2013a), and *Fil per randa Elemental* (Vilà and Homs, 2013b).

We consider this corpus to be quite exhaustive not only because of the quantity of books analyzed (18 in total) but also for the fact that the textbooks from all the main publishers who publish second language textbooks for Catalan were included.

We decided to analyze beginner to elementary level textbooks because they are the ones most frequently used in classrooms. We also aimed to choose textbooks that were (a) recent (published between 2005 and 2015), and (b) for general Catalan (we excluded materials for specific purposes or addressed to specific target groups).

We have adopted a methodology similar to the content analysis of textbooks used in other studies (Gray, 2010; Azimova and Johnston, 2012; Gray and Block, 2014), namely an initial quantitative analysis followed by a more qualitative examination of the data.

We began by counting the number of units in each textbook, which have work as the main topic and the number of work-related texts that appear in these units. Secondly, we counted how many of these work-related texts include practices and values associated with the entrepreneurial self such as 'flexibility', 'lifelong learning', 'self-

branding', 'self-responsibilisation' and 'risk management'. We recorded the number of texts in which such references occurred and then compared that with the total number of work-related texts.

Finally, following Gray's (2010) qualitative approach, we examined the value (positive or negative) texts attach to these neoliberal features and in which way they promote the construction of an entrepreneurial identity among learners. In other words, we analysed from which perspective these neoliberal values and practices are represented in work-related texts and activities, taking into account the voices of the authors or the characters that appear in texts, the experiences and results that are explained, the types of activity and tasks the textbooks give to students and visual content (if artwork was included). Since all textbooks were published in Catalan, the qualitative analysis was first performed in Catalan. Later, the quoted passages were translated into English.

Findings and discussion

As can be seen in Table 1, all textbooks include units, which have work as the main topic. In total, 22 out of 219 textbook units are centred on the world of work. The majority of work-related texts in these units mention some entrepreneurial features. In total, 78.8% of recorded texts about work refer in some way to neoliberal features, which means that four out of five work-related texts in our corpus contain practices and values associated with the entrepreneurial self.

Table 1. Work-related content and self-entrepreneurial features in the textbook sample.

Textbook's series	Number of units	Number of work-related units	Number of work-related texts	Number of work-related texts with self-entrepreneurial features	Proportion of work-related texts with self-entrepreneurial features (%)
<i>Veus</i>	18	1	14	7	50
<i>Curs de català bàsic</i>	30	3	27	23	85.2
<i>Nou Nivell Bàsic/Elemental</i>	42	6	55	46	83.6
<i>Passos</i>	48	4	29	17	58.6
<i>Català Bàsic/Elemental</i>	45	4	28	26	92.9
<i>Fil per randa</i>	36	4	36	30	83.3
<i>Total</i>	219	22	189	149	78.8

Labour flexibility, as one of the main characteristics of the neoliberal world of work, was recorded in all collections of textbooks. This includes various types of flexibility (Atkinson, 1984): work-time flexibility, which can consist of everything from part-time jobs to working long hours without pay, and location flexibility, which presumes

working from home or changing job location. This practice can be seen in the job interview in Example 1:

1. —Do you have experience working as a banker in foreign companies?
—Yes, I have been working as a banker for many years and I worked in London, Zurich and New York. The details appear in my CV, which I've given you.
—I ask you this because in the job position for which you applied it is very important to be flexible and well-disposed to moving often to different cities.
—You see, it's precisely because of the lack of mobility in other banks that I've decided to look for a job in your firm. As you can see I have very good references and have always been considered a good worker when leaving job positions to cope with new professional challenges. (Vilà and Homs, 2013b, p.18)

The entrepreneurial spirit in textbooks is represented through reinforcement of neoliberal working ethics. The world of work is presented to the Catalan language learner through the idealization of a certain type of worker, one that has no commitments or attachments, who is easily adaptable and adjustable to any kind of job condition, for whom insecurity is a form of a personal and professional challenge, and stability and life term prospects are outdated and therefore disturbing (Bauman, 2007, p.10). In one of the most habitual textual genres related to work – the job interview – the interviewers demand work-time flexibility as an indispensable condition from the candidates in order to get a job, as Example 2 illustrates:

2. —Good afternoon, I have read your announcement and I would like to work here.
—Have you ever worked in a store?
—Yes, as a shop assistant in my parents' supermarket in Roses.
—And how about bars or restaurants?
—Yes, I also work as a waitress during the summer season.
—We are looking for someone to be flexible with working hours because there isn't work all the time. Sometimes there are more people, sometimes less.
—I'm fine with that. I can work in turns, part-time or even only on weekends, whichever you prefer.
—And when can you start?
—Tomorrow. (CNLB, 2008a, p.157)

In Example 2, work-time flexibility is presented as a positive thing, not only for the interviewer, but for the job applicant as well, who demonstrates the willingness to work at times convenient to the employer without showing any concern.

The entrepreneurial spirit in textbooks can be seen in the characters' personal desire for a job change. Two of the main characters in *Nou Nivell Bàsic 3* who work in a supermarket explain their plans to change their jobs. A supermarket replenisher plans to become a small business owner by opening her own jewelry shop (Guerrero et al.,

2010c, p.34), whereas a man who works as a courier at the same supermarket looks for a job in the IT sector (Guerrero et al., 2010c, p.70). This course book takes a positive attitude towards this practice through the general support other characters give to those who are in the process of changing a job. For example, when the supermarket supervisor discovers that his courier wants to quit his job and find a new one, he says: “Oh, very good! I’m sure you’ll find another one immediately!” (Guerrero et al., 2010c, p.70). Similarly, in a dialogue between two friends in another textbook, when one discovers that the other has lost his job he says: “You’ll find another one for sure; it might even be a better one” (Vilà and Homs, 2013b, p.15). The final task in one of the units dedicated to work asks students to imagine that they want to change their job, and through conversation with each other explain their previous and current jobs and compare them to the ideal one (Guerrero et al., 2010b, p.42). Job change and labour flexibility are presented in these textbooks as part of the everyday logic of Catalan society. The possibility of a job change, far from being seen as a problem, is almost always presented as an opportunity, a neoliberal feature also identified by Gray (2010, p.724) in his analysis of the world of work in global English textbooks. For the student of a foreign language who is mostly poor, uneducated or an immigrant and forced to low-paid labour, textbooks propose a world of great job opportunities. For this to become reality, however, it is suggested that the student would need to use appropriate strategies and develop ways to become a personal enterprise (Dardot and Laval, 2013). In other words, textbooks point out to their students that every obstacle of birth or environment can be surmounted along the way of their personal development if they follow the advice and adopt the techniques that could make them successful and rich.

The managerial discourse and texts like the ones in self-help guides to success play an important role in the process of neoliberal subject creation. Job consultants and career coaches have gained their place in today’s working environments as the so-called ‘experts in subjectivity’ (Rose, 1999; Fogde, 2007).

Example 3 is a text from a managerial guru who gives advice on how to find an ideal job. The text under the title “How to Find the Job of Your Life” talks about personal desires and personal fulfilment as crucial motives to satisfy yourself and subsequently your enterprise:

3. Many people form their decision based on salary, duties and responsibilities. This is a mistake. On the contrary, you have to ask yourself what is inspiring for you, what will give you energy and allow you to do a better job. [...] Here are the steps you should follow to assure that your next job will be perfect:

Make a decision to change your job without hesitation.

Dedicate time to find a new one.

Concentrate on what you like, not on what you hate.

Ignore the salary.
Ignore other irrelevant details.
Ask whatever you want.
Do your best so that the job turns out phenomenal.
Remember that you're free to quit your job whenever you like.
(Guerrero et al., 2010c, p.79)

According to Dardot and Laval (2013, p.313) managerial discourse uses the duality between performance and pleasure to prescribe the behaviour of the new entrepreneur who is not a mere conformist, a passive bystander in his job or life, but rather takes pleasure in his performance, becoming “the subject of total self-involvement” (p.288). Workers should take pleasure in their work and at the same time make their employers happy. This is done by aligning workers' and companies' goals and wishes. In the words of Nikolas Rose:

[T]he path to business success lies in engaging the employee with the goals of the company at the level of his or her own subjectivity. [...] Through striving to fulfill his or her own needs and wishes at work, each employee will thus work for the advance of the enterprise. (Rose, 1999, p.59)

The game of the market is played following certain rules and by governing yourself using determined values and practices like “energy, initiative, calculation and personal responsibility” (Rose, 1996, p.154). In this sense, the strategies from the advertising industry come in handy. Self-branding is yet another characteristic of the neoliberal regime which can be helpful in ones' positioning as a self-entrepreneur in a highly competitive environment. In order to succeed, a person should brand him or herself as a commodity to be sold on the job market. Self-presentation is a characteristic of both managerial discourses and lifestyle magazines, which stress individual responsibility for all the choices one makes from food and clothes to career success (Fogde, 2007). Health and wellbeing discourses with the emphasis on healthy diets and physical exercise serve the same purpose of self-responsibilisation as does the managerial speak about improving one's character or branding oneself in order to succeed in the job market. These discourses are often found in textbooks for learning any foreign language. Example 4 is a fragment from a job interview in which a young man is offering himself in the form of human capital to his potential employer. He is an example of a self-assured, energetic man willing to take initiative:

4. I believe that I am very well prepared to be an accountant in your firm: I have the experience necessary from the old firm in which I worked for five years; what's more I have with me two letters of recommendation from two firms I was with previously. I am a resolute, decided person and take initiative, things that I find important when it comes to

being an accountant. And I have an MBA from the University of Manchester. (Esteban, Sagraera and Campoy, 2011, p.188)

Labour flexibility and adaptability also appear when various characters from textbooks explain how they adapted themselves to work in a line of business unrelated to their university or other qualifications. So we meet a journalist who works as a secretary (Mas and Vilagrassa, 2005, p.25), a psychologist who works as a replenisher in a supermarket (Guerrero et al., 2010a, p.58) and another psychologist who works as a sales-person (Roig, Padrós and Camps, 2011, p.94). When one friend asks another, who is doing his MA in journalism, if he still works as a cashier at the supermarket he responds, “Yes, I still work there and to tell you the truth I really like it” (Guerrero et al., 2010a, p.81). Highly educated, ‘overqualified’ men and women take low paid jobs in which they can not use their university qualifications. These so-called skills mismatches are also one of the examples of the neoliberal work order. According to the European Commission, the only viable solution for preventing skills mismatching from happening is seen in constant training and lifelong learning (Van der Pas, 2001, pp.11-12). Still, the characters in these textbooks take this as something they have to get used to, never complaining or asking questions about the reasons behind any of the practices they perform.

In these textbooks, the responsibility to maintain a job or to look for one depends solely on the individuals, and should be considered part of the self-managing entrepreneurial process. In Example 5, a psychologist gives advice to the unemployed suggesting how to manage future job opportunities:

5. Like the rest of us, you must have met a lot of different people during your life. Try to do this: make a list of some of them, the most important ones, per topics, places...Which people appear most? Identify ten or twelve of them. You don't have a job now, but these people can convert into your contacts. You can try it out today.” (Vilà and Homs, 2013b, p.88)

Individual responsibility is just as important to neoliberal order as market competitiveness. Just as Dardot and Laval explain:

[N]eoliberal rationality produces a subject it requires by developing the means of governing him so that he really does conduct himself as an entity in a competition, who must maximize his results by exposing himself to risks and taking full responsibility for possible failures. (2013, p.290)

This can be seen in a dialogue between a head of a company and his employee who has recently been coming late to work because he has three little children and his mother-in-law in the hospital. Although his personal situation is complicated, his

superior insists on his lack of punctuality and the employee completely agrees that it is definitely his own fault: "You are right. This has happened because of my lack of organization. The situation with my mother-in-law has taken us by surprise. I am asking you to forgive me." (Vilà and Homs, 2013b, p.153).

Another pre-requisite for an ideal worker closely related to self-responsibility is managing work-related risks. The notion of risk in the world of work has changed significantly during the last decades. The states have less and less responsibility for the workers' security and this responsibility is placed in the hands of the workers (Gray, 2009). Behind risk management lays a more important practice and that is of self-regulation, which includes "strict abstention from dangerous practices, constant self-control, and a regulation of one's own behaviour that blends asceticism and flexibility" (Dardot and Laval, 2013, p.186).

Treatment of this subject is evident in several textbooks. *Passos 2* dedicates an entire unit to occupational risks (Roig and Daranas, 2011, pp.58-67). It starts with a text from the Construction Association about the occupational risks and hazards in which the students are given the definitions of occupational risks, accidents and illnesses and what is to be done to prevent them. It is stated that "prevention means acting responsibly by the company and the worker respectively in order to avoid accidents. Prevention means being informed" (p.60). Having access to proper information in order to prevent accidents and act responsibly sounds like Ewald's (1991) explanation of modern society. He points out that the society of individual risk presupposes the information society in which public authorities and enterprises should provide reliable information about the labour market, education and health (Dardot and Laval, 2013, p.370). In order to inform students and make them responsible in handling risks, the textbook includes a drawing of a construction worker with a series of advice such as: "You always have to wear adequate and comfortable work uniforms" (Roig and Daranas, 2011, p.63). In the final task students are to think of all the means of prevention for various types of occupations and write them down.

Similarly, *Nou Nivell Elemental 1* dedicates extensive space to occupational risks with examples of professions and the risks they carry (Anguera et al., 2010a, p. 27) followed by a newspaper article on farmers not being responsible enough when it comes to preventing risks and two short personal accounts about accidents that happened (p.28) or can happen (p.29). In all texts dedicated to risk there is an emphasis above all on personal responsibility and enterprise-worker collaboration when it comes to finding solutions. The state, local government and syndicates are mentioned only as intermediaries between workers and enterprises whose job is to

draw up campaigns and regulations to ensure that individual responsibility is applied, as we can see in Example 6. In a text from a daily newspaper it is said:

6. National syndicate coordinator, Joan Caball, thinks that to readdress the situation it is of the utmost importance for the administration to invest in campaigns for risk prevention, especially for farmers (Anguera et al., 2010a, p.27)

Other textbooks do not treat the topic of occupational risks so extensively. However, they all have units related to health and wellbeing, which are mostly dedicated to personal responsabilisation for being healthy and accident free. On the one hand, textbooks generally provide guidance to future workers on how to handle occupational risks and hazards and on the other help to improve health and wellbeing, thereby also minimizing the risk of injuries and illnesses. In the European Agency for Safety and Health at Work Report for 2013 a lemma appears that seems to fit perfectly with the textbooks' treatment of this topic: "Safety and health at work is everyone's concern. It's good for you. It's good for business." (EU-OSHA, 2013, p.1).

Another important practice associated with neoliberal self-entrepreneurship is lifelong learning. Lifelong learning analyzed from a Foucauldian perspective (Olssen, 2008, pp.37-38) can be seen as "a global discourse for the flexible preparation of subjects", or a "technology of control" closely connected to the concept of self-responsibilisation of the future worker to acquire transversal skills especially those that would allow greater adaptability and mobility between businesses and countries. In the last decade lifelong learning has been transformed into one of the pillars of educational policies in Europe and across the globe and is seen as 'a magical solution' for unemployment and the crises of schooling (Nóvoa, 2002). Self-responsible individuals are to be prepared for a life of constant "skilling and reskilling, training and retraining" (Rose, 1999, p.161) in order to find a proper position in the job market and at the same time help the rise of their countries' overall competitiveness (Nóvoa, 2002).

In textbooks for Catalan as a second language this practice is usually presented as a solution for the unemployed. In Example 7, a friend explains to another that when he lost his job he immediately started a course in occupational training:

7. Now I'm doing a course in occupational training, because I'm unemployed. Didn't you know that my contract at the restaurant has not been renewed? I went to the local employment service and I started with a course immediately. (CNLB, 2008b, p.69)

Similarly, in Example 8 we find another dialogue between two unemployed friends where retraining is explained as an opportunity for the unemployed to open their own business:

8. Mirta: Oh, well, I am unemployed now and I want to dedicate myself to [study] and be up to date.

Nora: Very good! When I was unemployed I did a course for women entrepreneurs that lasted 300 hours and it was great. Look, after six months I [opened] my own firm.

(CNLB, 2011, p.105)

The perspective towards lifelong learning in Example 8 is clearly positive. We notice it from the cheerful tone of the conversation coming from both interlocutors (although Mirta is unemployed) and from the professional success Nora has accomplished.

In *Passos I*, in a unit dedicated to lifelong learning (Roig, Padrós and Camps, 2011, pp.187-193), foreign students of Catalan are given a list of possibilities on how to go back to school and try to find a better job. In a conversation between Raquel and Gloria (p.190) we hear that Raquel, who worked as a part time babysitter, is now taking an occupational course to become a geriatric assistant. It is organized by a civic centre and she says it will give her the opportunity to have a job with social security. In the examples of this textbook, lifelong learning refers to permanent adult education and the courses that are presented are conducted with the help of the state or non-governmental organizations. This textbook focuses on a view that lifelong learning should be backed by the state through voluntary accessible education for adults, as was the case in earlier decades, when permanent education was part of organized social contexts (Tuschling and Engemann, 2006). Today's concept of lifelong learning in which the individual learner creates spaces for learning in all environments possible is not in total dissonance with the older one. Both concepts stress the need for a self-reflective, self-responsible individual who will accept the learning process as a natural state of his/her emancipation. What has changed, however, is the role of the state, which once had the obligation to provide social contexts and funding for learning which was seen as a personal right, while now it obligates its citizens to learn in order for their countries to keep up with the global economy (Biesta, 2006).

Lifelong learning is not only presented as the solution for the unemployed. It is also seen in the possibility for the continuing specializations of students often offered by the companies. One of the textbooks (CNLB, 2011, p.70) explains that universities offer their students training in companies, which is seen by the students as a very positive practice because they can demonstrate their “value to the company” or because it gives “added value” to their curriculums.

The construction of a self-employable subject is also seen in techniques and practices such as writing a CV or preparing for a job interview. These practices found in all textbooks are preceded by readings of job announcements, writing presentation letters or reading or listening to advice from job experts on how to prepare for an interview. Similarly to the managerial texts, which give advice on the attitudes and behaviour in

reaching an ideal job, the preparative techniques for getting a job are to contribute to learners' employability.

A typical unit introducing these practices can be found in *Català Elemental* under the title "Interview for a new job" (Esteban, Sagrera and Campoy, 2011, pp.180-192). It starts with a series of job announcements, which students are to analyze according to certain references (such as knowing languages, having a drivers' license or personal vehicle) whether these are important for obtaining the jobs advertised. Later, there is a model CV that learners read and then write a similar one using their own personal information. Students are also asked to comment on their experience with job interviews and how they should prepare themselves for one. The unit continues with an activity in which students give their suggestions about the questions they would ask a potential candidate in a job interview. After that they are to compare their questions with those given by 'an expert'. Example 9 shows how this expert explains what you need to do to successfully pass a job interview:

9. When introducing and presenting yourself, you need to shake hands in a decided and cordial manner. It is advisable to show kindness and to smile. Try to avoid being the first one to talk. It is convenient to wait for the interviewer to be the one with the initiative [...] (Esteban, Sagrera and Campoy, 2011, p.186)

After reading four short fragments from job interviews, students are to simulate one with one group of students posing as interviewers and others as job applicants. In *Fil per randa Elemental*, in a unit called "I have a job interview" (Vilà and Homs, 2013b, pp.8-19) students are to follow a similar path of exercises, from reading and writing CV's and motivational letters, filling the forms with adjectives that best describe their character and looks, to the simulation of a job interview and a final task of writing a job announcement for their imagined company. The textbook gives advice to students on how to make their advertising campaign more successful: "The advertisements serve to convince. So, you have to present the company as important, one that can help both workers and other companies!" (Vilà and Homs, 2013b, p.19).

Similarly to some governmental or non-governmental organizations, especially those dealing with the unemployed, which use the same techniques in order to make people employable, textbooks for learning a foreign language play the role of a job advisor, coaching students on how to behave and what to do in order to get a job.

Conclusion

This study has shown that Foucault's concept of governmentality can be used as an analytical tool to examine questions of power and knowledge in language textbooks. Governmentality allows us to explore the ways in which power is manifested in

language textbooks by transmitting certain knowledge and discourses that conduct the behaviour of people and enable individuals to govern themselves. This paper has connected top-down governmental policies related to the new public management and knowledge economy with discourses, values and practices of self-manageable individuals that appear in work-related content in Catalan language textbooks.

The findings of our analyses suggest that Catalan textbooks present a type of worker with self-entrepreneurial features, that is, a flexible, self-responsible and branded worker who is engaged in risk management and lifelong learning. Through the positive reactions of the characters to their constantly changing working conditions, these textbooks tend to present the neoliberal work order as desirable and the entrepreneurial individual as the ideal worker. The textbooks also include managerial discourse in the form of expert advice for learners to become an entrepreneurial self. Furthermore, the textbooks teach techniques such as CV writing and job interview simulations which students should practice for success in the new work order. Catalan language textbooks thus emerge as instruments of neoliberal governmentality, since they have a guiding role in subject formation, teaching students not just how to perform linguistically, but also to adopt certain techniques of the self.

References

- Anguera, X., Roig, M., Tomàs, N. and Verdugo, M. (2010a). *Nou Nivell Elemental 1*. Barcelona: Castellnou.
- Anguera, X., Roig, M., Tomàs, N. and Verdugo, M. (2010b). *Nou Nivell Elemental 2*. Barcelona: Castellnou.
- Anguera, X., Roig, M., Tomàs, N. and Verdugo, M. (2010c). *Nou Nivell Elemental 3*. Barcelona: Castellnou.
- Atkinson, J. (1984). Manpower strategies for flexible organizations. *Personnel management*, 16 (8), pp.28-31.
- Azimova, N. and Johnston, B. (2012). Invisibility and ownership of language: Problems of representation in Russian language textbooks. *The Modern Language Journal*, 96 (3), pp.337-349. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-4781.2012.01356.x
- Barry, A., Osborne, T. and Rose, N. (eds.) (1996). *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, neoliberalism and rationalities of government*. London: UCL Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2007). *Consuming life*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bernstein, K., Hellmich, E., Katznelson, N., Shin, J. and Vinall, K. (2015). Introduction to Special Issue: Critical Perspectives on Neoliberalism in Second/Foreign Language Education. *L2 Journal*, 7 (3), pp.3-14.
- Biesta, G. (2006). What's the point of lifelong learning if lifelong learning has no

- point? On the democratic deficit of policies for lifelong learning. *European Educational Research Journal*, 5 (3-4): pp.169-180. doi: 10.2304/eerj.2006.5.3.169
- Block, D., Gray, J. and Holborow, M. (2012). *Neoliberalism and Applied Linguistics*. London: Routledge.
- Boltanski, L. and Chiapello, E. (2007). *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Verso.
- Bori, P. (2015). *Anàlisi crítica de llibres de text català per a no catalanoparlants adults en temps de neoliberalisme*. [Critical Analysis of Catalan Language Textbooks for Non-Catalan Adult Speakers in Times of Neoliberalism]. PhD. University Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona. Available at: <http://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/350798> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2016].
- Boufooy-Bastick, B. (2015). Rescuing language education from the neoliberal disaster: Culturometric predictions and analyses of future policy. *Policy Futures in Education*, 13 (4), pp.439-467. doi: 10.1177/1478210315571221
- CNLB (Centre de Normalització Lingüística de Barcelona). (2008a). *Curs de català bàsic 1*. Barcelona: Centre per a la Normalització Lingüística and CNLB.
- CNLB (Centre de Normalització Lingüística de Barcelona). (2008b). *Curs de català bàsic 2*. Barcelona: Centre per a la Normalització Lingüística and CNLB.
- CNLB (Centre de Normalització Lingüística de Barcelona). (2011). *Curs de català bàsic 3*. Barcelona: Centre per a la Normalització Lingüística and CNLB.
- CPNL (Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística). (2012). *Memòria 2012*. Available at: http://arxius.cpnl.cat/arxius/consadm/93/memoria2012_digital.pdf [Accessed 8 Apr. 2016].
- Dardot, P. and Laval, C. (2013). *The new way of the world: on neoliberal society*. London: Verso Books.
- Dean, M. (1999). *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Down, B. (2009). Schooling, productivity and the enterprising self: beyond market values. *Critical Studies in Education*, 50 (1), pp.51-64. doi: 10.1080/17508480802526652
- Eleveld, A. (2009). Government through Freedom. The Technology of the Life Cycle Arrangement. In W. Zeydanlıoğlu and J.T. Parry, eds., *Rights, Citizenship & Torture: Perspectives on Evil, Law and the State*. Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, pp.167-189.
- Esteban, J. (2012). *Català Bàsic*. Barcelona: Teide.
- Esteban, J., Sàgrera, M. and Campoy, M. (2011). *Català Elemental*. Barcelona: Teide.
- Etxezarreta, M., Navarro, F., Ribera, R. and Soldevila, V. (2012). Boom and (Deep) Crisis in the Spanish Economy: The Role of the EU in Its Evolution. *Boletim*

- de Ciencias Económicas*, 55, pp. 1–56.
- EU-OSHA (European Agency for Safety and Health at Work). (2013). *Occupational safety and health and education: A whole school approach*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. Available at: <https://osha.europa.eu/en/tools-and-publications/publications/reports/occupational-safety-and-health-and-education-a-whole-school-approach> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2016].
- European Council (2000). *Presidency conclusions—Lisbon European council 23–24 March 2000*. Brussels: Council of the European Union. Available at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm [Accessed 8 Apr. 2016].
- European Commission. (2010). *Communication from the Commission: Europe 2020 – A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth*. Brussels: COM (2010) 2020. Available at: <http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2010:2020:FIN:EN:PDF> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2016].
- European Commission. (2012). *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: Rethinking Education – Investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes*. Brussels: COM (2012) 669 final. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52012DC0669&from=EN> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2016].
- Ewald, F. (1991). Insurance and risks. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller, eds., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, pp.197-210.
- Fejes, A. and Nicoll, K. (eds.). (2008). *Foucault and lifelong learning: Governing the subject*. London: Routledge.
- Fimyar, O. (2008). Using governmentality as a conceptual tool in education policy research. *Educate~Special Issue*, 1 (1), pp.3-18.
- Fogde, M. (2007). How to write your CV: advice, expert knowledge and job seeking skills. Paper presented at *The Fifth Critical Management Studies Conference*, Manchester, UK, July 11-13. Available at: <http://www.management.ac.nz/ejrot/cmsconference/2007/proceedings/managingtheself/fogde.pdf> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2016].
- Foucault, Michel. (2008). *The birth of biopolitics: lectures at the Collège de France, 1978–1979*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gray, G.C. (2009). The responsabilization strategy of health and safety neo-liberalism and the reconfiguration of individual responsibility for risk. *British Journal of Criminology*, 49 (3), pp.326-342. doi: 10.1093/bjc/azp004

- Gray, J. (2010). The branding of English and the culture of the new capitalism: representations of the world of work in English language textbooks. *Applied Linguistics*, 31 (5), pp.714–733. doi: 10.1093/applin/amq034
- Gray, J. (2012). Neoliberalism, celebrity and ‘aspirational content’ in English language teaching textbooks for the global market. In D. Block, J. Gray and M. Holborow, eds., *Neoliberalism and Applied Linguistics*. London: Routledge, pp. 86-113.
- Gray, J. and Block, D. (2014). All middle class now?: Evolving representations of the working class in the neoliberal era: the case of ELT textbooks. In N. Harwood, ed., *English Language Teaching Textbooks: Content, Consumption, Production*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.45-71.
- Guerrero, I., Mercadal, T., Roig, M. and Rovira, M. (2010a). *Nou Nivell Bàsic 1*. Barcelona: Castellnou.
- Guerrero, I., Mercadal, T., Roig, M. and Rovira, M. (2010b). *Nou Nivell Bàsic 2*. Barcelona: Castellnou.
- Guerrero, I., Mercadal, T., Roig, M. and Rovira, M. (2010c). *Nou Nivell Bàsic 3*. Barcelona: Castellnou.
- Hearn, Alison. (2008). ‘Meat, Mask, Burden’ Probing the contours of the branded ‘self’. *Journal of consumer culture*, 8 (2), pp.197-217. doi: 10.1177/1469540508090086
- Idescat (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya). (2015). *Evolució de la població total i estrangera. 2000-2015*. [Evolution of the total and the foreign population. 2000-2015]. Available at: <http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/?b=0> [Accessed 11 Jan. 2016].
- Krzyżanowski, M. and Wodak, R. (2011). Political strategies and language policies: the European Union Lisbon strategy and its implications for the EU’s language and multilingualism policy. *Language Policy*, 10 (2), pp.115-136. doi: 10.1007/s10993-011-9196-5
- Kubota, R. (2011). Questioning linguistic instrumentalism: English, neoliberalism, and language tests in Japan. *Linguistics and Education*, 22 (3), pp.248-260. doi:10.1016/j.linged.2011.02.002
- Mas, M. and Vilagrassa, A. (2005). *Veus 1. Llibre de l'alumne*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Mas, M. and Vilagrassa, A. (2008).. *Veus 2. Llibre de l'alumne*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Mas, M. and Vilagrassa, A. (2010). *Veus 3. Llibre de l'alumne*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Miller, P. and Rose, N. (1990). Governing economic life. *Economy and society*, 19, pp.1-31. doi: 10.1080/03085149000000001
- Mitchell, K. (2006). Neoliberal governmentality in the European Union: education,

- training, and technologies of citizenship. *Environment and planning D: society and space*, 24 (3), pp.389-407. doi: 10.1068/d1804
- Naredo, J.M. (2009). La cara oculta de la crisis. El fin del boom inmobiliario y sus consecuencias. [The hidden face of the crisis. The end of the housing boom and its consequences]. *Revista de Economía Crítica*, 7, pp.118-133. Available at:
http://revistaeconomiccritica.org/sites/default/files/revistas/n7/6_la_cara_oculta_de_la_crisis.pdf [Accessed 11 Jan. 2016]
- Nóvoa, A. (2002). Ways of thinking about education in Europe. In A. Nóvoa and M. Lawn, eds., *Fabricating Europe*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, pp.131-155.
- Olssen, M. (2008). Understanding the mechanisms of neoliberal control. In A. Fejes and K. Nicoll, eds., *Foucault and Lifelong Learning: Governing de subject*. London: Routledge, pp.34-47.
- Olssen, M. and Peters, M. (2005). Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: From the free market to knowledge capitalism. *Journal of education policy*, 20 (3), pp.313-345. doi: 10.1080/02680930500108718
- Peters, M. (2001). Education, Enterprise Culture and the Entrepreneurial Self: A Foucauldian Perspective. *Journal of Educational Enquiry*, 2 (2), pp.58-71.
- Peters, M. (2007). Foucault, biopolitics and the birth of neoliberalism. *Critical Studies in Education*, 48 (2), pp.165-178. doi: 10.1080/17508480701494218
- Peters, T. (1997). The brand called you. *Fast Company*, 10 (10), pp.83-90. Available at: <http://www.fastcompany.com/28905/brand-called-you> [Accessed 7 Apr. 2016].
- Roig, N., Padrós, M. and Camps, S. (2011). *Passos 1. Llibre de classe. Nivell Bàsic*. Barcelona: Octaedro.
- Roig, N. and Daranas, M. (2011). *Passos 2. Llibre de classe. Nivell Elemental*. Barcelona: Octaedro.
- Rose, N. (1996). *Inventing Ourselves: Psychology, Power and Personhood*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, N., O'Malley, P. and Valverde, M. (2009). Governmentality. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 2, pp.83-104. Available at:
<http://ssrn.com/abstract=1474131> [Accessed 7 Apr. 2016].
- Shin, H. (2015). Language 'skills' and the neoliberal English education industry. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, pp.1-14. doi: 10.1080/01434632.2015.1071828
- Simons, M. and Masschelein, J. (2006). The learning society and governmentality: An introduction. *Educational philosophy and theory*, 38 (4), pp.417-430. doi: 10.1111/j.1469-5812.2006.00202.x

- Tuschling, A. and Engemann, C. (2006). From education to lifelong learning: The emerging regime of learning in the European Union. *Educational philosophy and theory*, 38 (4), pp.451-469. doi: 10.1111/j.1469-5812.2006.00204.x
- Urciuoli, B. (2010). Neoliberal Education. In C.J. Greenhouse, ed., *Ethnographies of neoliberalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp.162-176.
- Van der Pas, N. (2001). Address by the European Commission. In *Adult Lifelong Learning in a Europe of Knowledge*. Conference Report. Sweden: March 2001, pp.11-18.
- Vilà, C. and Homs, L. (2013a). *Fil per randa Bàsic. Llibre de l'alumne*. Barcelona: Barcanova.
- Vilà, C. and Homs, L. (2013b). *Fil per randa Elemental. Llibre de l'alumne*. Barcelona: Barcanova.

Acknowledgments

We would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the editor Prof. Dave Hill for taking into consideration our article on second language textbooks to be published in a journal that has been a source of inspiration for us for many years. Also, we would like to thank both reviewers for their comments and suggestions which were beneficial for this article and will also be beneficial for us in our future work.

Authors Details

Pau Bori holds a Ph.D. in linguistic communication and multilingual mediation from the Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona. He is currently working as a lecturer in Catalan language at the University of Belgrade. His main areas of interest and research are language education, critical pedagogy, textbook analysis and translation.

Jelena Petanović has an M.A in Applied linguistics and TESOL from the University of Jaén (Spain) and is currently working as a translator and an independent researcher.