An Introductory Critical Discourse Analysis of the World Bank's Report on Teacher Status in Morocco

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Abstract

This present study investigates the linguistic features of the Systems Approach for Better Education Results (SABER) report on Moroccan teachers prepared by the World Bank (2017) as a salient and controversial example of educational development discourse produced by a renowned international institution. For this purpose, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was adopted using the Hallidayan Functional framework as a more feasible methodological approach. More specifically, the report is analyzed using linguistic analysis techniques focusing most notably on labeling, nominalization, passivization, and modality. Corresponding results show that the report uses special vocabulary and structures which emphatically convey the idea that the situation of teachers in Morocco is at a crucial stage of a severe crisis and urgently needs drastic reform. It is argued that language in the context of the report at hand is used as an instrument to justify outside and supra-national intervention by means of attempting to exert financial and political dominance as part of hegemonic attacks undermining the sovereignty of developing countries. Based on this premise, it is highly recommended that development discourse be systematically scrutinized and critically examined.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), development discourse, World Bank

INTRODUCTION

Numerous reports are issued periodically by multiple Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), most prominently the World Bank (WB), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), tackling various problems at different levels. These reports routinely undertake the investigation of a wide range of sectors of countries for various reasons. Key sectors include the economy, healthcare, ecology and environmental issues as well as education. Although these reports are expected to present their respective analyses objectively, the language used arguably often reveals the traceable ideological biases of the authors of their corresponding NGOs, which are the very institutions that receive funding from affiliated contributing member countries. We could confidently and reasonably defend the thesis that, as a matter of principle and if need be, de facto conflict of interests should a priori be stated when dealing with such matters at such a high level.

That being said, we set out to consider the analysis of a relatively recent trend of discourse, the category of which the report at hand falls into, namely development discourse. We argue that it is attempted therewith to undermine the prospects and potential of certain sectors of developing countries and present them as dysfunctional and in dire need of structural reforms to justify future – arguably unnecessary at times– interventions. This is the main reason why the analysis of such reports is deemed necessary to identify and enumerate the ideological patterns and prejudices inherent to the ideas presented. Accordingly, the current study is divided into three parts. The first part is dedicated to a review of the literature on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Development Discourse (DD). The second section outlines a description of the methodology, while the third section is devoted to data analysis and discussion.

1. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

CDA emerged in the late 1970s. Originally, a group of linguists and literary theorists developed critical linguistics at the University of East Anglia in the United Kingdom. Their approach was based on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and critical theory

by the Frankfurt School in Germany. In the next subsection, we will proceed to defining key terms and then outline the dominant approaches to CDA which will constitute our main tools for analysis in the section that follows.

1.1. DEFINITIONS OF KEY TERMS

It is commonly held that language is more than just a means of communication. Habermas (1967) aptly contends that "Language is […] a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. Insofar as the legitimizations of power relations (…) are not articulated (…) language is also ideological" (p. 259). In this context of the intertwined relationship between language and ideology, language began to serve as the object of in-depth and systematic inquiry, especially in the last half of the twentieth century. This line of inquiry gave birth to what came to be called discourse analysis (DA). The notion of critique was subsequently added to the linguistic concept of discourse by Fairclough (1995), Wodak (2015), and Van Dijk (2015). CDA on the other hand is based on the perception that language is essentially a "social practice" (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak, 1997). Closely related to CDA is Development Discourse (DD) which pays particular attention to the international organizations' discourse on developing countries. The key concepts of CDA and DD will be defined in this section.

1.1.1 DISCOURSE

Many definitions of discourse have been proposed over time. Collins Dictionary of English defines discourse as a "verbal communication; talk or conversation". This shows that the discipline at hand – DA–is largely concerned with analyzing real authentic conversations. Another definition is proposed by Stubbs (1983, p.1), where he frames it as "language above the sentence or above the clause" and 'the study of discourse is the study of any aspect of language use. Similarly, discourse is seen as "the study of language in use" (Fasold, 1990, p. 65). A fourth definition whereby discourse takes new dimensionality is where it constitutes a social practice. In this vein, three dimensions of the social practice view are distinguished – knowledge, social relations, and social identity – and these correspond, respectively, to three major functions of language.

1.1.2 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)

CDA has been defined in light of the relation of language in its written or spoken form to ideological factors. According to van Dijk (2015):

> Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take an explicit position and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately challenge social inequality. This is also why CDA may be characterized as a social movement of politically committed discourse analysts. (p. 466)

As referred to above, CDA goes beyond what is written to what is implied in text and lies between the lines. When language is used in its written form, the fundamental building blocks comprising characters are used to build words and then form sentences. The choice of words and how they are structured in text reflects the attitudes of the authors towards that of which they write or speak. The choice of the author or speaker is "principled and systematic" (Fowler et al., 1979, p. 188) Therefore, misconceptions and misrepresentations are likely to arise from their language towards the addressed individuals, groups, ideas or acts.

1.1.3 DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE (DD)

Incidentally, Ziai (2013) talks about the discourse of "development" and why the concept should be abandoned altogether. On the one hand, the concept of "development" has historically been linked to Eurocentric, depoliticizing, dominating and authoritarian ideas and practices for discourse and is concerned with the way reality is constructed through language. On the other hand, the concept of development appeared initially after the Second World War. Many international organizations (e.g. the United Nations, the World Bank) began using such terms as "under-developed regions"and others. Development is described as the progress of "a good change" (Chambers, 1997 cited in Ziai 2013, p. 127). In economic terms, it can be measured by the gross national product or per-capita income.

In this vein, one may be compelled to support the proposition that we ought to

abandon the concept of development because it demonstrably has Eurocentric origins and a supremacist tone to it, which are indissoluble from the norms of European settlers in North America who have often been portrayed as ideal models for the rest of the world. It is understood thereby that nations which do not adhere to these norms can hardly be qualified as developed as this conception expresses the idea that "development is hard to be developed." (Ziai, 2013, p. 131)

Beyond economic concerns, development in DA has since its inception been associated to a whole host of concepts such as unemployment, growth, education, gender equality, empowerment, democracy, human rights and freedom. It was later redefined in part as it acquired new associations to endogeny, participation, sustainability, and human development. Some of these concepts have meanings which are fairly comprehended with no difficulty such as education. Conceptually and operationally, education is but only one facet of development. Some terms on the other hand are rather overarching and encompassing in meaning and can be understood differently in different contexts.One such term is development. Development as a term and as a concept is at the heart of misunderstandings resulting from the same signifier being linked to several signified. It is therefore recommended to use less ambiguous and less vague alternatives.

1.2 APPROACHES TO CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

CDA has evolved over time in a way that is rather interesting and the course of its evolution has been shaped by three prominent discourse analysts with their respective approaches, namely Fairclough (Dialectical-Relational), Van Dijk (Socio-cognitive), and Wodak (Discourse-Historical).These three approaches are discussed in order in the following subsections.

1.2.1   Fairclough's Dialectical – Relational Approach

In the Dialectical – Relational Approach (DRA), Fairclough (1995) divided discourse into three components, namely text, discursive practice, and social practice. The first component of the text is about description. The object of the text description includes verbal and/or visual texts. The second component is about interpretation. It is the process whereby the text is produced and received by individuals, groups or other entities, whereas the third dimension is about explanation. In other words, it seeks to explain the discourse in light of

the socio-historical conditions that govern and shape the text. In brief, Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse correspond to three stages of analysis, namely description, interpretation, and analysis, respectively.

1.2.2 Van Dijk Socio-cognitive Approach

Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach (SCA) deals with the interaction of discourse with cognitive aspects of memory, manifested in prejudice, stereotype, and power abuse. This approach is multidisciplinary as it draws on psychology in general and cognitive psychology in particular. Van Dijk (2015, p. 475) proposed three interrelated questions for critical discourse analysis research:

(1) How do powerful groups control the text and context of public discourse?

(2) How do such powerful groups control the minds and actions of less powerful groups, and what are the social consequences of such control?

(3) What are the properties of the discourse of powerful groups, institutions, and organizations, and how do such properties form power abuse?

1.2.3 Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach

The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) by Ruth Wodak investigates the historical contexts of discourse, especially on sexism and racism. Wodak & Ludwig (1999, p.31) argue that "discourse […] is always historical, that is, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before." Likewise, Wodak (2001) states that "the Discourse-Historical Approach attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of 'the social and political fields in which discursive events' are embedded" (p.65). To make a holistic analysis, there should be "the integration of experience, present events, and future visions" (Wodak, 2009, p. 11).

1.3 TECHNIQUES FOR DOING CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

CDA draws on the framework of the Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics in

developing toolkits for analysis. Halliday (1973) suggests three meta-functions of language. First, the ideational function is through which language structure represents experience. Second, the interpersonal function establishes relationships between the participants. Third, the textual function constitutes coherence and cohesion in texts. Most critical discourse techniques are based on the following linguistic features to analyze patterns that arise in texts.

1. Lexicalization refers to the choice of words in a certain discourse. For example, the word 'naughty' can be used next to"boy" to give the impression that the boy deserves what he went through in the following headlines: "a naughty boy was disciplined in a high school".

2. Patterns of transitivity and they refer to semantic actors, processes, and circumstances. Verbs determine other participants in sentences or events. There are transitive, di-transitive, and intransitive verbs. For example, the verb "eat" is transitive in the sentence "Ahmed eats an apple" as it takes one object. The verb "give" is di-transitive in the sentence, "I gave him a letter" as it takes two objects. The verb 'die' is intransitive in the sentence "his father died" as it takes no object. Transitivity involves participants and processes.

3. The passive voice is used in discourse to hide the agent. This is used to conceal the identity of the doer of the action and to foreground the object of the action as in "the city was bombarded".

4. The use of nominalization. This refers to deriving nouns from verbs to hide the agent. For instance, instead of saying "the attack destroyed houses", the reporter may say "the destruction of Palestinian houses" to conceal the agent of the criminal act.

5. The choice of mood. This refers to choices between imperative and indicative. The indicative choice includes sub-choices between declarative and interrogative. The analysis of mood is more effective in conversations when one can give orders, ask questions, and the like.

6. The choices of modality or polarity refer to the use of modals in a certain discourse. Halliday (1994, p.75) explains that modality is the "speaker's judgment of the

probabilities or the obligations involved in what he is saying". Modal verbs indicate the attitudes of the author or participants, which can express certainty, probability, or possibility, among others.

7. The thematic structure of the text is analyzed by thematic analysis and it is about identifying meaningful categories or themes in a body of data (Fulcher, 2010, p. 5). It is a limited cluster of categories gained through inductive research. According to Mogashoa and Tebogo (2014, p. 109) "a theme is a cluster of linked categories conveying similar meanings and usually emerges through the inductive analytic process which characterizes the qualitative paradigm."

8. Intertextuality and it refers to the link of any text to a chain of texts, reacting to, drawing on, and transforming other texts.

In general, CDA applies these techniques to analyze discourse and reveal ideologies since language choices are ideologically informed by users.

1.4 CRITICISM OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)

CDA has been criticized as being itself an ideology and thus representing a contradiction in terms of its position as it is in and of itself what it purports to criticize. It is argued that it assumes negative aspects of language. Instead, Martin (2004) has suggested Positive Discourse Analysis (PDA) as an alternative development and its fundamental premise is that discourse analysts should start focusing on constructive aspects that promote hopefulness, optimism and positivity. As a response to this new approach, CDA should be understood as focusing on positive and negative aspects in addition to construction and deconstruction. It is believed that the use of language has inevitably subjective elements to it. Even when using discourse that purports to be objective as in scientific discourse, we are far more likely to be subjective as "when we speak or write we always take a particular perspective on what the world is like" (Gee, 1999, p. 2). Furthermore, Fowler (1991) elaborates more on the issue contending that "anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position" (p. 101). Critical Discourse Analysis, hence, comes to analyze this form of subjectivity to reveal the inescapable underlying

ideological presence behind language use.

In brief, the aforementioned section presents the theoretical framework for the current study. At the beginning, the key terms of discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Development Discourse (DD) were concisely defined. Then, we discussed the three main approaches to discourse, namely Fairclough's DRA, Van Dijk's SCA, and the DHA by Ruth Wodak. Further, attempts have been made to explain the Hallidayan Functional Linguistics as a framework essentially used in major CDA studies. This endeavor involves investigating passivization, nominalization, labeling, and modality in addition to others. Finally, the section ends with the criticism of Martin (2004) leveled against CDA as being negative and assuming bias of discourse.

2. METHOD

This section delineates the methodology adopted in the context of the present study. It states the relevance of the study, discourse theory and approach, and the adoption of discourse analysis as a method of qualitative research, in addition to an emphasis on the importance of reports and report as a genre.

2.1 RELEVANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

Language has been and is used for ideological purposes. The use of certain words, expressions, and structures in discourse in general and the discourse of NGOs can easily misrepresent reality or be used to stir tensions. The reports of the WHO on the COVID-19 pandemic stirred tensions between the president of the United States, Donald Trump, and the President of the WHO, which resulted eventually in cutting funding from the United States to the organization as has been reported in the media.These tensions have manifested themselves in part discursively and linguistically. Another example is the report by Amnesty International on the Status of Human Rights in Morocco. It has caused tensions between Morocco and the international organization as it was accused of purposefully misrepresenting the country and disseminating a misleading rhetoric about the country's human rights practices. Additionally, reports on the status of education in Morocco by the World Bank represent the Moroccan educational system as under-performing despite the extensive and continuous efforts provided systematically and consistently. In this context then, critical

discourse analysis is called upon to expose some of these underlying biases reports on developing countries.

2.2 DISCOURSE THEORY AND APPROACH

Discourse has been simply and straight forwardly defined as language beyond the sentence level. It can be either written or spoken. Discourse analysis is considered one of the qualitative data tools in the qualitative research approach. It focuses on collecting textual or spoken data.

2.3 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS A METHOD OF RESEARCH

As previously mentioned, DA analyzes discourse at the supra-sentence level. It is in a way speech about speech in a meta-relationship. In other words, language is used as its own object of study. However, DA, when associated to the word 'critical', refers to the intellectual activity that seeks to deconstruct and understand the patterns of language use and the conscious, or unconscious, reasons behind it.

2.4 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHOD

Qualitative research methods are ontologically and epistemologically set in contrast to their quantitative research counterparts. While quantitative methods give primacy to quantifying natural phenomena, qualitative methods on the other hand have fundamental interest in qualities, opinions, and attitudes, to give a few examples. Methods and tools of investigation such as interviews, observations, focus groups, and document analysis are all qualitative methods. Accordingly, the approach adopted in the present study aims at deconstructing the discourse in an attempt to reveal the underlying attitudes and ideologies of the agents who constructed it.

2.5. REPORT(S)

A basic definition of a report is formulated, according to Google Dictionary, as follows:

"An account given of a particular matter, especially in the form of an official document, after thorough investigation or consideration by an appointed person or body".

"A spoken or written description of an event or situation, especially one intended for publication or broadcasting in the media. For example, press reports suggested that the secret police were helping to maintain public order". https://www.lexico.com/definition/report

This seems to be an exhaustive dictionary definition of the term 'report' and its meanings depending on the domain of use. The term 'report' has also the sense of writing genre as is going to be defined.

2.6 REPORT GENRE

The report is a genre of writing that was developed mainly in the business industry. It is a document that structurally represents information. It is intended for a specific audience and it presents information in the form of charts, tables, and illustrative representations. It is bound with time, process, and place. There exist different types of reports. One such type is the time-bound annual report. International organizations use this genre of writing to promote their development discourse. For instance, the SABER report under investigation is addressed to the Moroccan policymakers to incite them to take action to reform the educational sector. The credibility of this report is strengthened by intertextuality and adding references. CDA will deconstruct all these linguistic features and analyze what is intended in this report.

2.7 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The main objective of the present work is to critically analyze the Systems Approach for Better Education Results (SABER) country report on teachers in Morocco (2016) by the World Bank using CDA.

2.8 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The process of writing reports has subjective ideological and linguistic aspects to it. In

contrast to scientific reports which attempt to describe certain experiments in as objective a manner as possible, report writing on different countries has often become a subject of scrutiny by decision-makers, consultants, and researchers.

2.9 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the linguistic features that characterize the SABER report on teachers in Morocco (2017) by the World Bank?

2. What are the inherent influences and biased ideological tendencies endemic to the SABER textual product behind the use of linguistic expressions?

2.10 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

It is hypothesized that the SABEER report of the World Bank's Development Discourse on Morocco (2017) incorporates at a more subliminal level certain linguistic features to portray the status of Moroccan teachers as being in dire need of more reforms in an attempt to undermine the position of the government and to pressure it into succumbing to more future loan programs.

2.11 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The current study implements the research tools of CDA to examine the SABER report on teachers in Morocco (2017) as issued by the World Bank. The sampled data of this investigation consists of a written report comprising of 22 pages. Content analysis has also been exploited as another method of data analysis in combination with CDA to help get more in-depth insights into the issues under prime consideration. The report will be analyzed focusing on the following features:

1. Nominalization
2. Labeling

3. Modality

4. Passivization

5. Intertextuality

3. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The subject matter of this study is the report issued by SABER on teachers in Morocco. 'SABER–Teachers' is a core component of SABER, an initiative launched by the Human Development Network of the World Bank. It collects information about the policies of different educational systems, analyzes it to identify common challenges and promising solutions, and makes the results widely available to help inform the countries in question about the most feasible decisions on where and how to improve the quality of their education. These elements are explicitly expressed and have been made available to the public. Critical Discourse Analysis attempts to uncover not only what is directly said, but goes beyond that to account also for what is unsaid and remains hidden in discourse. It may not include all the features discussed previously as certain linguistic manifestations are more prominent than others. In this regard, it should be mentioned that the report has been meticulously examined by the researchers, and some linguistic features have been highlighted. In the current analysis, the prominent features include passivization, modality, nominalization and word choice.

3.1 PASSIVATION

Passivization serves to hide the subject (the doer of the action) or serves fronting or backing of topics. This poses questions about the reasons behind hiding this agency. The first quote that can be analyzed is taken from the back cover.

> The World Bank does not guarantee the accuracy of the data **included** in this work. The policies of their country's education system **are oriented** toward ensuring that all children and youth learn. (Emphasis added)

As can be elicited from above, the report starts with a disclaimer that hides the identity of the real financial institutions which funded this research. The word "included"

serves as a way to hide the agent. Moreover, the words "are oriented" pose the question as to who orients them. The readers may not ask all these questions, which makes them easily influenced and more likely to take the report for granted.

> Teacher Certification Programs **have been restructured** though they **should be strengthened** to address teacher shortages in those subjects and to motivate effective teachers to teach in hard-to-staff schools (p. 1, emphasis added).

This statement comes in the fourth goal of Matching Teachers' Skills with Students' Needs. Passivization gives rise to ambiguity. The subjects that can be inferred by the readers are the Moroccan Ministry of Education and the Directorate of Curricula. This recommendation of motivating teachers to work in hard-to-staff schools needs financial resources which might induce the Moroccan government to be involved in loan programs from the World Bank to improve the education sector.

In the fifth goal of Leading Teachers with Strong Principals, the following sentence further alludes to the Ministry of Education:

> "Principals **are still not expected** to monitor teacher performance or to support teachers in improving their instructional practice" (emphasis added).

The question we may ask at this point is who expects them to do so? Furthermore, the use of "still" indicates that this reform has been delayed.

As to the training of teachers, the following sentences on **Monitoring Teaching and Learning and Supporting Teachers to Improve Instruction** are respectively clustered for analysis:

> "Teachers **are trained** to assess student achievement" (emphasis added);
>
> "Teachers **are not assigned** to receive in-service teacher training based on perceived needs and teachers **are not required** to engage in professional development activities" (emphasis added).

Teachers are the subject of many actions allegedly carried out by the Moroccan authorities. The use of the passive voice once again conceals the real subject, and foregrounds the recipient of the action.

3.2. MODALITY

Modal verbs convey the attitude of the speaker or the writer towards what is said. The speaker can, thus, convey possibility, obligation, and probability among others. In the current text, modals are sometimes put in the passive structure. This reinforces what we believe to be the ideologically motivated position of the authors vis-à-vis the Ministry of National Education and the Moroccan government which are not mentioned explicitly.

Through underestimating the efforts provided, Morocco has authorized the conduct of teacher training, while the report states that "Certification Centers could be beneficial" (p.1). The use of "could" conveys a sense of insufficient, uncertain, and less successful reform, which indicates that Morocco should take other measures. The expression of the idea at hand by the authors clearly permits readers to conclude that the measures taken so far are not sufficient.

Another more interesting example in our data illustrates probability. The report states "the eight teacher policy goals exclude other objectives that countries might want to pursue to increase the effectiveness of their teachers" (p.3). The SABER group seems to be dissatisfied with the other measures that the government intends to pursue without giving any examples or ground for such exclusion. This expression devalues research attempts made by developing countries on a groundless basis.

Certain obligations are expressed with the use of "must" to indicate the necessity imposed by the system as in the following:

"In order to change job categories, teachers **must** undergo both an inspection and a professional examination that respectively account for 30% and 70% of the teacher evaluation." (p. 11).

Note shall be made here that the modal 'must' always precedes the verb undergo, which indicates a machine process, so to speak. Teachers have no choice except to follow the instructions of the Ministry of Education. This again undervalues the procedure taken by the Ministry of Education in comparison with the procedure suggested by the World Bank research consultants. The same expression is used to describe other measures as in reporting that:

"In Morocco, teachers must undergo an inspection visit, and a professional examination in order to be promoted" (13). This refers to a policy imposed by the educational authorities. In another context, the report uses another modal to indicate necessity. The report states:

"Recognizing that teachers **need to** devote a significant proportion of their time to non-

teaching tasks related to instructional support that are beneficial for student learning, such as mentoring, learning support, adapting the curriculum to student needs, school planning, and participating in impact analyses of teaching on school performance" (p.3).

'Need' is a semi-modal, but in this context, need is a verb. The verb "need to" is used instead of the modal need in view of the formal nature of the report. When it comes to goal recommendations, the report uses "should" as in the following:

"Setting expectations for what percentage of teachers' working time should be dedicated to these necessary non-teaching activities and ensuring that all teachers adequately understand the standards and the curriculum" (p.13).

With respect to priority measures (2015-2018) in the Strategic Vision (2015-2030), the report states:

"Priority Measures 2015-2018, which have been approved by the Ministry of Education are coherent with the StrategicVision 2030, aim to progressively introduce mentoring and coaching to support new teachers entering the profession. This **should** help to increase teacher effectiveness in Morocco" (p. 8, emphasis added)

The use of should is correlated with the education reform conceptualized as the strategic vision. In fact, this strategic vision is endorsed and promoted by the World Bank. To prove this, a press release on this reform on the World Bank Website (2019) states the following:

"The World Bank announced a new US$500 million program in support of Morocco's goals of expanding access to quality preprimary education, significantly enhancing teachers' skills and competencies, and strengthening the governance of the sector. Building on the government's 2015–2030 Education Sector Vision, the new **Morocco Education Support Program** will act on key elements of the vision to drive the sector's transformation and boost human capital for every Moroccan child" (Bold original).

The statement contains emotional appeals enforced by the use of some words and expressions like quality preprimary education, significantly enhancing teachers' skills and competencies, boost human capital for every Moroccan child. Another section devoted to word choice in the report for justifying loans is expanded below.

3.3.   WORD CHOICE

The choice of words is ideologically informed. Hence, the report carefully selects some words to talk about the status of teacher reform in Morocco. The lexicon used in the report features some key adjectives to describe the status of the teacher situation.

The first word "hard-to-staff schools" has been mentioned eleven times throughout the report. A critical shortage of subjects has been mentioned seven times. The use of these words gives the impression that there is a prevalent crisis in these areas, which calls for urgent intervention. The world crisis however was not mentioned in the report. Moreover, monetary or financial bonuses have been mentioned eight times. This indicates a correlation between portraying Morocco's teachers in hard-to-staff schools and in critical shortage subjects and the granting of monetary bonuses that Morocco could potentially seek to take from the World Bank.

The selection of some words has been carefully made when it comes to talking about the recommendations and the report. The following statement proves this: "analysis of policies of top-performing and rapidly improving education systems" (p. 3). The report gives legitimacy for its analysis by using general words like top-performing and rapidly improving without giving any evidence. Moreover, the use of "remain" in the following statement: "teaching candidates must pass a written test and an interview to enter into a Teacher Certification Center,where they remain for one year to learn pedagogical methods" (p. 6), where the report could have said "where they learn pedagogical methods". The use of remain gives the impression of the lack of real utility, compulsion, and a lengthy process taking place.

3.4 INTERTEXTUALITY

Intertextuality is the reference made in the report to other texts. The report quotes few resources in constructing development discourse on teachers in Morocco. The report cites the World Bank's 2014 report on Moroccan Economy: "Morocco has the eighth largest GDP in the Middle East and North African region" (p. 4). However, this reference is not found in the reference list. The report goes to rely on other references to support its recommendations.The National Program for Student Learning Assessment is a case in point: "According to the National Program for Student Learning Assessment (PNEA) from 2008, Moroccan fourth-graders attained only a 34 percent level of proficiency in Maths" (p.4). This assessment is included as a way to give more credibility to the report by presenting the educational levels of

students as weak and needing reforms according to the recommendations.

The report recommends reform on collaborating on the school plan. To prove the effectiveness of this recommendation, the report states:

> "The world's most successful education systems, such as those in Ontario, Finland, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore, devote considerable time at the school level to activities that are related to instructional improvement. These include collaboration among teachers to analyze instructional practice, mentoring, and professional development" (Darling et al., 2011; Darling & Hammond, 2010; Levin, 2008)" (p.5).

The use of intertextuality can sometimes be groundless. The following statement illustrates this:

> "Research has shown that evaluations tend to be more effective when they combine multiple methods and sources of information, such as students' academic achievement, classroom observations, and students' survey responses. Also, students' results in local evaluations could be compared with the average results from standardized" (p. 11)

In the above-mentioned quote, the report supports its claim by attributing it to research. However, there is no reference whatsoever as to what research exactly that has investigated the combination of these tools in Morocco.

3.5 TRANSITIVITY

As mentioned in the first section with regards to Halliday's Functional Grammar, transitivity consists of participants, processes, and circumstances. Participants can be people, things, actors or other agents. Processes are verbs which can be action verbs or state verbs. Circumstances are concerned with answering the questions of where, when, how, and why the process takes place, all of which are conveyed by adverbs, subordinate clauses or prepositional phrases. There are six processes, namely material, mental, verbal, relational, behavioral, and existential.

The most noticeable structures in the report come in the form of verbs with "ing" in a bulleted list. This means that the participants and their types have been utterly omitted. Illustrative examples include the following:

"Setting clear expectations for primary school principals to ensure that they monitor teacher performance and provide teachers with educational support, guidance, and the necessary tools to improve instruction.

Reinforcing the advisory role of inspectors to oversee content-specific knowledge and pedagogical methodology.

Ensuring that student achievement and teacher performance are factored into school performance reviews and individual promotion criteria and that such factors carry significant weight in the teacher evaluation process" (p.15).

The deletion of the actor can be inferred from the context. The recommendations are addressed to the Moroccan government and the Moroccan Ministries of Education, Finance, and public authorities in general. These are the main actors that are concerned with these recommendations to justify the granting of loans and to strengthen the Moroccan dependency on the World Bank Institution. These recommendations presume the alleged Morocco's weak position which sets the foundation and legitimates future actions to be undertaken that put the country in a situation of financial dependency. Advancing the claim that the reform carried out in Morocco does not sufficiently respond to the needs of Moroccan teachers, students, and parents, paves indirectly the way for introducing international donors and financiers as an actor in through a problem-solution tactic.

3.6. LABELLING

The report appears to have seriously undermined national efforts on education to a four-level scale with four labels. This reductionist perspective in our estimation is highly questionable. The report was prepared by English-speaking young researchers, who may not necessarily be very experienced, mostly from American Universities. In the acknowledgments section, the name of an Arab person who happens to be from Tunisia was mentioned. The questions that arise related to the procedure followed in evaluating Moroccan teachers on this scale and assigning labels to different aspects related to their work.

The report explains the labels in the end. In this respect, the report claims:

"Using the policy levers and indicators, SABER–Teachers classifies how

education systems perform on each of the eight teacher policy goals, using a four-category scale (latent, emerging, established, and advanced) The ratings describe the extent to which a given education system has in place teacher policies that are known to be associated with improved student outcomes" (p.23).

These labels are assigned to policy goals. An advanced scale indicates that there are laws and policies implemented in relation to the goals. The established lever has at least one policy or law implemented to address these goals. 'Emerging' means that there are policies or laws consistent with the described policy goals. 'Latent' has few or no policies or laws implemented to address the policy goals.

4. CONCLUSION

The current study attempted to analyze the Systems Approach for Better Education Results (SABER) Report on teachers in Morocco (2017) made by the Human Development Network of the World Bank within the framework of CDA. To achieve this, the study was divided into three main sections where the first section outlines the conceptual framework of the study. The definitions included three key terms, mainly discourse, development discourse, and CDA. Discourse is about language beyond the sentence level. CDA studies language beyond the sentence level to extend itself to its underlying ideological dimensions.

Using various techniques involving DDA, SA, and DHD and drawing on the SFG framework by Halliday, we examined primarily how the a-priori suppositions such as the dominance of the falsely acclaimed Western world, Western supremacy and the often claimed cultural superiority justifies how Western cultures set themselves as the incorrigible role model for the rest of the world, all of which constitutes a fundamental characteristic of Eurocentric beliefs and discrimination.Techniques comprising primarily transitivity, passivization and thematic analysis, modality and labelling revealed results in accordance with our initial hypothesis holding that there exist fundamentally unsubstantiated claims and unjustified conclusions throughout the report about the status of teachers and the educational policy in Morocco.

Various statements, opinions, and interpretations in the official SABER report were examined and the results revealed what was judged to be baseless conclusions and serious biases, and we offered our interpretation accordingly.

Finally, we deem it judicious to recommend that decision-makers and readers should read such a report with caution.We highly recommend that critical reading be integrated in curricula in schools and universities. Further research should make use of multimodal discourse analysis by analyzing other facets of discourse including visual imagery and the way of formatting texts.

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