

Commodified Discourses, Commodifying Discourses: In Pursuit of a Theoretical Model on the Constitutive Functioning of Academic Discourse in Marketization of Higher Education

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Abstract

Inspired by Fairclough's suggestion of the idea of commodification in higher education, particularly in terms of "the marketization of the discursive practices of universities" (1993, p. 143), the author of the present paper proposes a theoretical basis within which the constitutive functioning of academic discourse in the mentioned process can be understood. In this attempt, Althusser's chain of interpellation is proposed as a rigorous conceptual framework to demonstrate the interdependence of the different components of academic life. As the major contribution of the present argument, the adapted schema demonstrates a dynamic relationship among university as an institution, academic communicative events, academic practice, academic discourse and the identities of the participants of academic context. The paper is concluded with some implications of the argument for EAP research and pedagogy.

Keywords: Academic Discourse, Commodification, Identity, Interpellation, Hybrid Genre

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INTRODUCTION

Higher education institutions and systems are undergoing fundamental and unprecedented transformations and are confronting a variety of challenges created by complex global processes of intense globalization, advanced information technologies, rapid expansion and reconfiguration of knowledge production, and the emergence of the phenomenon of the global knowledge economy (Obamba, 2009). Clark (1998) characterizes this pervasive global transformation as representing the emergence of ‘entrepreneurial university’ or academic capitalism. Similarly, Askehave (2007, p. 724) suggests that modern universities are primarily keen on “developing marketable ‘products’ while focusing less on what used to be the civic mission of higher education: the teachings of the great thinkers, human development, and the creation of non-utilitarian knowledge”.

Although the idea of marketization of modern universities might sound rather recent to us as the members of an ‘eastern’ academic context, the first cries of warning about the spread and dominance of the standards of economic capital and social utility in academia were heard in early 1960s from President Eisenhower in the US: “The free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a *government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity*”. (emphasis mine) (quoted in Render, 1987, p. 15)

This warning on the corporatization and marketization of the universities has its origins in neo-liberal politics that is premised on the assumption that the market can replace the democratic state as the primary producer of cultural logic and value (Lynch, 2006). To members of modern academic communities who are under the constant pressure of a market-driven society, “free university”, “free ideas” and “intellectual curiosity” are abstract and remote concepts that belong to good old days. Academic discovery and construction of knowledge are now seen as components of a wider system whose functioning should necessarily result in application and use. Traditional values of university which used to emphasize truth and philanthropy have been or are being replaced by standards of social utility (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994). In fact, what is happening in modern universities is that they are being asked to produce commercially-oriented professionals rather than public interest professionals

(Hanlon, 2000). This may seem like merely a change in form rather than substance, but the danger with this advancing marketization is that it will further weaken public interest values among those who are university educated.

Hyland (2009) seeks this shift in the amount of GDP spent on scientific research in Western countries and reports that much of the 3 percent of GDP spent on scientific research flows into the universities and academic disciplines are engaged in a competition to absorb more of the economic resources. According to Hyland, hard knowledge disciplines have been more successful in articulating research with the priorities of government, military and business, but humanities and social sciences also have demonstrated their interest in political advising and image production to benefit from the dominant commercial web. This means that universities are becoming more and more dependent on commercial sources of income and have to pay their way by seeking consultancies and funding from industry and commerce. In a similar approach to the issue, Lynch (2006) sees the ongoing movement to define education as a tradable service worldwide as the outcome of the decline in the value of manufacturing industry in terms of investment returns, and the rise of the value of the service sector in both scale and profitability. He argues that the movement of higher education from a public service to a tradable service is very much part of the ideology of World Trade Organization (WTO) General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS), the purpose of which is to liberalize all service in all sectors of the economy globally.

Lenoir (1997) argues that the main purpose of modern academia is to assemble and channel the social and technical practice essential to the functioning of modern capitalism and, in line with this thinking, Rose (1998) suggests that modern science would not develop without the evolution of industrial capitalism:

From Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, to the astronomy, mathematics and physics of Galileo, Descartes and Newton, the impetus and application of scientific discovery was in the maritime expansion of European trading and colonialism, and warfare between imperial powers. From Priestley to the present day, physical, chemical and geological sciences have developed in tandem with the beginning, expansion and technologization of

mass industrial production, for which mercantile and imperial expansion provided the capital. (p. 237)

Doring (2002, p.140, citing McNair, 1997) defines these capitalist desires as a pressure on universities to change them from being “a center of learning to being a business organization with productivity targets...to transfer its allegiance from the academic to the operational”.

All implied in the above-mentioned accounts of the nature of recent developments in academia is that commodification of higher education displaces the creation and dissemination of knowledge from the social sphere to the sphere of economic production (Neave, 2002 as cited in Obamba, 2009) and that scientific work can only be supported in conditions of surplus and it is the allocation of surplus which links universities and academic communities to their host societies (Hyland, 2009). This has made modern academia competitive and conflictual and has enveloped science in a ‘promotional’ and ‘consumer’ culture (Harwood, 2005a). This predomination of commercial values urges disciplines to adopt roles in production of capital and one consequence of such a value system would be evaluating the success and achievement of academic communities on the basis of the standards of utility: universities are expected to negotiate knowledge as a commodity valued by societal paymasters (Gibbons and Wittrock, 1985). (Also see Kheovichai 2013 for a comprehensive review of the social and institutional background of marketization of higher education institutions in the UK).

At least for us, as people accustomed to looking at social realities of human life from the kaleidoscope of language, what happens in modern academy in general and the process elaborated upon above in particular cannot exist independently from a constitutive and constructive functioning of discourses. To be more specific, what I am to propose in this article is that discourse is a central component of the process of commodification and marketization in modern academia. Based on a constitutive conception of discourse with its origins in a critical approach to this concept (see, for instance, Shi-Xu, 2005 for a discussion on why this view should be preferred to a dominant representational conception), I argue that the present reality of modern academia – including the commodified

nature of it – is a discourse-mediated one. This position is not in line with a view of discourse which sees it as a transparent, neutral and representative tool of human communication; it rather draws on a Marxist philosophy of human communication (see Lecercle, 2006) which recognizes the radical position of “*language speaks me*”. However, before any attempt to develop a premature picture of this centrality of language, I will initially outline the departure points of my proposal and then show how my desired picture can emerge from it. Within that emerging picture, I will try to characterize how commodification process flows and is facilitated in academic contexts.

DEPARTURE POINTS OF THE PROPOSAL

I have found a great potential in Althusserian chain of “interpellation” (1971, 1974) as a theoretical basis for the model to be proposed. Through the development of this chain, Althusser has been successful in indicating that the life of an institution is impossible without the constitutive and constructive functioning of language. He has also shown to us much explicitly that language is both shaped by and shapes the different components of an institution. This chain runs from institutions to rituals, from rituals to practices, from practices to speech acts and from speech acts to subjects:



Figure 1. Althusserian Chain of Interpellation

Inspired by Lecercle (2006), I have characterized the links of the chain for the purpose of the present objective as:

Universities as Institutions: These are producers of discourse. Their apparatus involves a certain number of bodies (the bodies of the functionaries of the institution, the buildings in which they operate, etc.). They produce laws and decrees which assign places to the subjects produced by their apparatuses. They are the source of ready-made (or ‘ready-to-be-spoken’) discourses and expressions, which speakers tirelessly repeat because they recognize themselves in. Hence, if in the context of our discussion, institutions can be defined as universities or similar academic institutions, then we can also characterize the ready-made discourses of this institution as those occurring in classrooms, department offices, corridors, student canteens, teachers’ rooms, etc. Swales’ (1998)

EAP-based ethnography of his building at the University of Michigan – which carries the insightful title of “*different floors, different voices*” – is perhaps the best example of attempts made by discursively-motivated scholars to understand how institutions shape and are shaped by texts. Through analyses of texts, systems of texts and extensive observations and interviews, he reveals the lives, commitments and projects of three diverse academic cultures on the three floors of the building: the computer center, the Herbarium and the university English language center.

Academic Communicative Events as Rituals: These precisely have the role of attributing an identity to the subjects (here participants of academic institution) – that is, a role in collective action. These punctuate the daily lives of the participants of university life (teachers, researchers, students, etc.), and make them the social characters they are, by determining the place from which these participants communicate. More specifically, these are the communicative events taking place in academic institution (e.g. classroom sessions, workshops, defence sessions, conferences, teachers meetings, etc.) which play a significant role in assigning social roles to the participants and in fact create the social structure of academia. These make it possible for the members to identify themselves and others in different levels of an academic community. These provide the members a classificatory discourse which divides the participants to, for example, parent members, expert members, novice members, etc.

Academic Practices as Practices: These transform the solemnity of the collective ritual into the banality of the daily life of the individual. It is here that individual action makes its appearance, negotiating (adapting to, resisting and getting round) the constraints of the fields: to each subject-actor his/her strategy, which means that the subject-actor emerges from the position of subjected subject. As members of “academic communities” (Swales, 1990), we all know what happens in common academic practices like teaching, presenting, lecturing, advising, supervising, debating, discussing, casual talk, reporting a research etc. Our individual actions appear here and out of these individual actions our identities as members of an “academic tribe” (Becher, 1989) are constructed. There we feel in a more tangible and concrete manner who we are as teachers, researchers, students, colleagues, supervisors, etc.

Academic Genres as Speech Acts: This is where the process of interpellation is mediated and negotiated by the constitutive functioning

of language. This element of the process of interpellation is manifested in the use of academic genres in universities. In fact, Swales' (2004) attempt to characterize genres as being essentially a metaphorical endeavor sees speech act among a group of other metaphors (including genre as frame, genre as standard, genre as biological species, genres as families, genres as institutions) which can be invoked to shed their own light on our understanding of different dimensions of this complex concept. Despite many criticisms which are made against the use of this metaphor for defining genres, Swales finds Bazerman's (1994) assertion a helpful one: that thinking of given stretches of discourse in terms of the actions they are intended to perform brings a useful 'directedness' to our perceptions of generic exemplars. However, my own perception is that Althusser has not been that much concerned with whether speech acts are a helpful unit in characterizing longer stretches of discourse or not. What might have motivated him to use the concept of speech act here, could be the perlocutionary force which arises from uttering of a performative and the change it creates in the existing state of affairs: that language is not a means of talking about the existing state of affairs; rather it is the means of changing the existing state of affairs. (See Austin, 1962 for a detailed argument on how constatives and performatives can be distinguished).

Following Swales' metaphorical attempt, I can take speech acts as being equal to academic genres in the context of my proposal. In fact, what academic genres do is helping and facilitating the process of marketization reach the end of the chain. Written academic genres (e.g. research articles, textbooks, handbooks, proposals, book reviews) and spoken academic genres (e.g. lectures, interviews, peer feedback, tutorials, defences) (see Hyland, 2006 for a comprehensive list of these) which are themselves shaped by commodification process and carry many discursal indices of commodification push the process to its final component.

Academic Roles and Identities as Subjects: These are the speakers (or participants of academic communication events) who have been interpellated to their own place by academic discourses. They have become teachers, students, researchers, etc. but in fact these roles are the outcome of the moment of full subjectivity. In light of the proposed model, the identity of the participants of academic context cannot develop and be constructed independently from the discourses

shaping these identities. In other words, these identities are discursive identities performing actions determined, shaped and defined by the wider functions of the host institutions.

In fact, what I have been trying to do so far has been adjusting and adapting a theoretical model to the context of academia in order to show how the process of commodification is facilitated through the constitutive functioning of discourse. Hence a reconstructed and adapted outline can be presented as below:

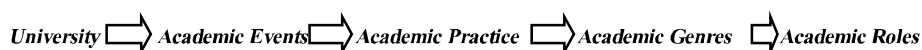


Figure 2. Adjusting the Althusserian model to academic context

Of course, neither in the original form nor in its adapted shape is there an attempt to imply a one-way direction among the components of the process and at the end of the process of interpellation the speaker who is interpellated to his place has the capacity to initiate counter-interpellation in so far as he makes the language *his* language. In other words, the interpellated one counter-interpellates the ideology that interpellates him (Lecercle acknowledges that he owes this understanding to Judith Butler), and I should acknowledge that I owe this to Fairclough's definition of discourse as "social practice" (as my second source of inspiration in developing the proposed model) (2010, p. 92): "Viewing language use as social practice implies, first, that it is a mode of action [...], and, secondly, that it is always a socially and historically situated mode of action, in a *dialectical relationship* with other facts of 'the social' (its 'social context' – *it is socially shaped, but it is also shaping, or constitutive*" (emphasis mine). This "dialectical relationship" is what we need in assigning discourse a role in the process of commodification.

THE CONSTITUTIVE/CONSTRUCTIVE FUNCTIONS OF ACADEMIC DISCOURSE WITHIN THE PROPOSED MODEL

Fairclough (1992a & 1992b) was one of the first discursively-oriented linguists to discuss commodification trends in higher education, particularly in terms of "the marketization of the discursive practices of universities" (1993, p. 143). In his 1993 article, he shows increasingly promotional elements in exemplars of four genres:

advertisements for academic posts, packets of materials given to conference participants, curricula vitae and prospectuses. In his later attempts (e.g. Fairclough, 2002b), he argues that the “order of discourse” in higher education, is restructured on the basis of the model of more central market organizations. He also suggests that the marketization of the discursive practices of universities is one dimension of the marketization of higher education in a more general sense. Institutions of higher education come increasingly to operate (under government pressures) as if they were ordinary businesses competing to sell their products to their consumers. Universities are usually required to raise an increasing proportion of their funds from private sources, and increasingly to put in competitive trends for funding (competition among universities for attracting additional groups of students in different disciplinary areas is an obvious example of this). Major organizational changes such as introducing an internal market by making departments more financially autonomous, staff appraisals and training, introducing institutional planning and giving much more attention to marketing are clear instances of attempts to accord with a market mode of operation.

In this paper, I have already referred to the origins of this shift in the philosophy of neoliberalism. In fact, as Franklin (1999) rightly argues, under neoliberalism, the relationship between states and citizens has shifted towards ‘divisible benefits’ that accrue to individual actors taking precedence over ‘indivisible benefits’ that one might assume are normally the purview of state (pp. 66-67). For Franklin, this is attributable in part to the ever-increasing orientation of states towards facilitating ‘divisible benefits’ through their intervention in facilitating the application and development of technologies, stifling and inhibiting any meaningful debate on their purposes or potential impacts. Extending this type of impact, Davidson-Harden (2010) suggest that capitalism should be seen as the pre-eminent economic system for ensuing divisible benefits, “a system predicated on the equality of exclusive private property over common goods” (p. 584). Davidson-Harden argues that if they enact governmentality that effects a fulfillment of the demands of the discourse of neoliberal knowledge capitalism, “universities become the engines of capitalism that they are expected and demanded to become, within this particular regimes of truth” (p. 584) (emphasis mine).

However, as I have indicated above in my attempt to provide a preliminary model of marketization, this process would not proceed without the constitutive functioning of discourse and many of the features of modern academic discourse should be seen in light of such understanding. Hyland (2009) more explicitly acknowledges that marketing norms have crept into university discourses and sees this the outcome of engagement of disciplines as rival groups in constant competition for power and financial, economic resources. He argues that this competition for resources urges the academic disciplines to stake out different definitions of reality and often compete to gain acceptance for them. Here discourse plays a significant role and success in winning the competition is often contingent on persuading (by discourse) powerful bodies in the non-academic sphere to provide resources.

Of course, we need to acknowledge a fact about the way marketing desires creep into academic discourse: this penetration influences different dimensions of academic discourse and its scope varies from micro features of academic genres into macro features of academic genres. For instance, in an inspiring and influential study, Yakhontova (2002) deals with the penetration of promotional features into micro and macro structure of research articles. Comparing abstracts written by Ukrainian/Russian writers and western scholars, she shows that Ukrainian/Russian abstracts look like short research papers, tend to be rather global in describing their research, and are in general more impersonal than their English counterparts emphasizing not so much the novelty of the interpretation, but rather its continuing and non-conflicting character, whereas abstracts written by western scholars produce the impression of clearly cut and quite ‘abstract-like’ texts that emphasize the originality of a particular piece of research and try to impress or even intrigue the reader. Yakhontova sees these differences as attributable to western scholars’ experience of ever-increasing demands in promoting their research during the process of struggling for publishing opportunities, academic positions or additional funding. This reality of market society – the necessity to win international recognition of target addressees, which is eloquently expressed in the conflict of “selling or telling” by Yakhontova, inevitably influences academic discourses and makes them more and more persuasive and self-promotional.

In an investigation of the influence of marketing discourses on academic genres, Kheovichai (2013) focuses on a macro-structure and

demonstrates the penetration of market driven features into the university recruitment discourses. Through a diachronic investigation of the move structure of university job advertisements, he shows that some promotional moves have penetrated into the schematic structure of this genre. While the schematic structure of the mentioned genre in the 1970s reflects a primarily informative function, the present move structure has integrated some formal-functional elements which reflect the features commonly found in financial job advertisements. This diachronic view of change is a clear indication of the fact that the structure of academy has undergone fundamental changes in the recent few decades and has approximated the values dominating the capitalist societies.

Harwood (2005a & 2005b) similarly feels the penetration of promotional and market-driven features into academic discourse but concentrates on a micro feature: self-promotional functions of self-mention in research articles. Focusing on a corpus of 40 research articles from four disciplines (physics, economics, computing science, business and management), the study shows that self-mentions ('I' and 'we') which are found in both hard and soft sciences help to promote authors and their work. Harwood suggests that such promotional devices can be used to market the research from the start, underscoring novelty and noteworthiness in the introduction as they help create a research space.

Marketization has not only affected the micro and macro structures of academic genres, but it has also altered the distribution and status of genres in academic contexts and one thing which is happening in modern academy under the influence of marketization is the significant decline of oral and instructional genre. Oral instructional genres which used to be the dominant mode of communication in traditional university have not been able to compete with written genres, and the very fact that oral speech fades away makes it difficult to treat it as a commodity. This is something which has not escaped the sharp and critical attention of academic discourse researchers: Taylor (2001) and Lynch (2006) argue about the commodifying force of marketization in the development of peer review tradition and consequently promotion of written academic genres (particularly written research genres) and decline of the significance of oral and instructional genres in universities:

There is a strange irony in the fact that a lecture given to a professional body such as head teachers involving several hundred

people or a publication of one's lecture for that body is not counted as a relevant academic event, whereas a seminar to one's peers where 10 or 20 people does count as an academic exercise and the subsequent paper is counted no matter how specialized, small or self-selecting the peer audience may be for the journal/conference proceedings in question.

(Lynch, 2006, p.9)

The outcome of this would certainly be little incentive to invest in teaching, even the teaching that is part of one's job. This would certainly influence how being a university teacher can be defined in such an atmosphere and where those masters of classroom teaching may stand in future.

What we have been reviewing in these few cases of attempts to show the penetration of commercial discourse into academic discourse is a further evidence of what Bakhtin (1986) has characterized as *intertextuality*. what we see in academic communication is that academic genres are loosely arrayed in a network as each interacts with, draws on, and responds to another genre in that context or other contexts. Of course, this penetration of other genres (mainly commercial here) into academic discourse is not always manifest (an instance of manifest intertextuality); it can also be in the form of borrowing generic or rhetorical conventions and forms to create texts (an instance of constitutive intertextuality or interdiscursivity).

An implication of this way of characterizing academic discourse is that we are more likely to face hybrid genres in academic communication in forthcoming years: genres which seem to be performing their established academic functions but are under a heavier influence of marketization desires of modern academia. I will have a look at this trend in the forthcoming section.

EMERGENCE OF HYBRID GENRES

In his metaphors-based attempt to reconceptualize 'genre', Swales (2004) sees genres as "*biological species*" (development of genres analogous to species change). This metaphor proves useful in thinking about how genres evolve, spread, and decline. Following this reconceptualization, we can argue that the process of marketization of the universities has not only influenced the features of the discourses

used in this institution but has also resulted in the emergence of some hybrid genres. These hybrid genres are shaped by the intersection of two competing discourses: the discourse of academy whose major function is dissemination of academic knowledge and marketing discourse whose main function is promoting the product of academy. This is what I have already called the conflict of “telling” and “selling” (Yakhontova, 2002). A number of academic discourse analysts have, consequently, become interested in critically exploring these hybrid genres. For instance, Osman (2008) concentrates on the functions of corporate advertising in Malaysian public universities. She chooses a genre perspective to investigate how academic institutions are re-branded with corporate advertising. Through her analysis of the 10-move structure of the brochures published in Malaysian public universities, the researcher shows that these brochures go beyond a simple informative communicative function and help these institutions re-brand or re-position themselves in the competitive scenario of their host country. Osman sees the very emergence of this genre and its promotional move structure as an indicator of the fact that universities are losing their traditional characters as centers of learning and dissemination of knowledge and are being transformed into more market-driven institutions.

Sanigar (2013) has similarly focused on university websites as an important means of self-promotion for modern academia. In order to investigate the likelihood of a common promotional discourse among UK universities, the researcher builds a collocational profile around the higher education keyword RESEARCH to see how this, the basic service that universities offer, is promotionally packaged by the company it keeps. Through a critical discourse analytical procedure, Sanigar explores the collocational behavior of the two most frequent evaluative collocations of the word RESEARCH (i.e. *quality* and *world*) and suggests that the product of higher education (RESEARCH) cannot sell itself without the promotional functioning of the evaluative phraseology around it. As Sanigar rightly argues the importance of this should not be downplayed since it provides evidence for the case that an education can no longer be relied upon to sell itself. Rather, the increasingly competitive higher education landscape creates the need for universities to carve out distinctiveness in the language used on their institutional websites.

University prospectus is another instance of genres with features similar to the ones discussed above. Prospectus is basically a document of the university's programmes and activities, designed primarily to inform prospective students about the university's entry requirements. However, Teo's (2007) investigation of the prospectus documents of some universities in Singapore reveals that these universities succumb to the pressures of marketization (and globalization) and these pressures force the universities to operate as if they were ordinary businesses engaged in competitions to sell their products to consumers. The outcome is a document which packages information in a such a way as to persuade prospective students to apply for admission and hence sliding along a continuum between telling and selling.

What I have demonstrated so far clearly indicates that modern academic discourse "*is shaped*" by the market-driven atmosphere of the university as an institution and as Fairclough (1993, p.141) argues the notion that the boundaries between 'orders of discourse' and 'discourse practices' are becoming blurred in higher education contexts, whose fuzzy-edged discourses are increasingly permeated by a promotional agenda not dissimilar to that of advertising ; however, my proposed model is emphasizing that discourse also "*shapes*" the final component of the process of interpellation/commodification. Discourse assigns the participant of academic life roles and identities; identities which cannot escape the commodified and commodifying spirit of the context within which they are operating:

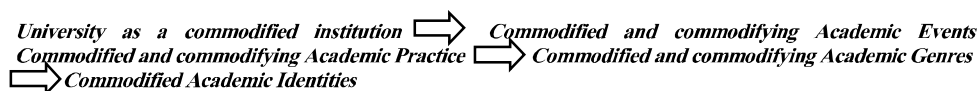


Figure 3. Commodification process in universities

EMEREGENCE OF COMMODIFIED IDENTITIES

What we see in the context of modern academy is then a dramatic change in the nature of professionalism. Oswick and Hanlon (2009) characterize this change with professionals who are more commercially-driven and less willing or able to defend a notion of socially-oriented professionalism. In this crisis of professionalism, professionals who are unwilling or unable to commercialize are downgraded and subjected to greater managerial control (Trowler,

2000). In fact, commodified and commodifying academy needs a reconstruction of professional identities of its participants on a more entrepreneurial (and of course self-promotional) basis. This is usually achieved by the purposeful foregrounding of personal qualities of academics through being published in prestigious journals – which is a heavily promotional form of discourse in modern academy. As I have discussed elsewhere (Kuhi, 2010 & 2011) the popular view of the academics as a solitary individual experimenting in the lab, collecting data in the field or wrestling with ideas in the library, and then retiring to write up the results, becomes a myth and the energy of modern academy is devoted to producing papers than to making philanthropic discoveries. University then becomes the site for competition for visibility and funds to stay closer to the sources of economic power for support and funding (Kramsch, 1995). This has been spelled out by James Watson, Noble laureate and a member of the biology establishment (as cited in Hyland 2009, p. 17): “It starts at the beginning. If you publish first, you become a professor first; your future depends on some indication that you can do something by yourself. It’s that simple. Competition is very dominant: the chief emotion in the field”.

This highlighted competition is the outcome of the dominance of the discourse of neoliberalism on higher education and, consequently, the development of a market view of citizenship in general. As Lynch (2006) argues neoliberal ideology defines the citizen as an economic maximize, governed by self-interest: these “privatized citizens” who are indulged in a feeling of anxiety, competition and indifference to those more vulnerable than themselves care primarily for themselves. This relatively silent colonization of the hearts and minds of academics and students dramatically influences the cultural life of universities and trust in professional integrity and peer regulation is replaced with performance indicators. There would, consequently, be a deep alienation in the experience of those constantly living to perform. The outcome of this alienation is feelings of inauthenticity and a culture of compliance; externally controlled performance indicators become the constant point of reference for academics’ work, regardless of how meaningless they might be (Cooper, 2000; cited in Rutherford, 2005). Evaluating and rewarding academics’ on a measurable item-by-item performance basis will inevitably result in a situation where personal

career interests will completely govern academic life. This simply means that the measure of educational and research value is promoting one's ability to serve what is measurable in the market.

In the context of dominance of personal bibliographies as a criterion for promotion and tenure, struggle for reputation replaces the disinterested pursuit of truth and individual academics put peer approval and institutional recognition high on their list of motivating forces. Here reputation becomes the main currency of academics (in the same way as power is the main currency of politicians) (Trowler, 2000). Commodified and commodifying universities operate within a corporate 'accountability culture' in which everything (including the university itself, departments, disciplines, and individual academics) are measured and graded by their production of capital. Putnam (2009) talks about three forms of capital that seem particularly relevant to academy: cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital.

However, Fairclough (2002b) puts these three in a chain which ends in the development of material wealth. Hyland (2009) also looks at the production of symbolic capital by academics from a similar point of view: a paper is judged as a contribution to a particular academic community by an audience of colleagues who are potentially in a position to make use of it. If editors, referees, proposal readers, conference attendees and journal readers see that paper as something original and significant, allow it to be published, cite it in their own texts and develop it further, then the writer of that paper is receives the "*reward of recognition*" (p. 15) and reputation (which is, according to Bourdieu 1991, the same as the symbolic capital of academy). This reward, in my view, is the outcome of shaping and constitutive power of discourse. But an academic's production of capital does not stop at the station of symbols. Getting a research published in academic journals and being noticed by a wider audience can the result in appointments to key positions, gaining access to economic resources and occupying major gatekeeping roles. Academics that excel by production of capitals of symbolic types achieve social power in their discipline and join a camp of elites who exercise influence in setting standards, directing strategies and determining what is or is not relevant to the life of academy. These individuals speak for their colleagues, more likely become the members of important government committees and grant bodies which

decide the fate of funding applications, research contracts and scholarships and attract commercial consultancies.

It should, of course, be mentioned in passing that the commodifying discourse of higher education does not act only on teachers and other participants of the academia are also influenced by these discourses. More specifically we can refer to students here. In an inspiring critical investigation of the conception of students in modern British universities, Leyland (2007) shows how British universities have identified international students as a critical source of financial income and are using marketing strategies to attract them universities. Leyland focuses on the marketing strategies used in The University of Manchester International Students web-pages and highlights the role of this genre in construction of the commodified identity of international students as an economic resource. (Also see Tahtinen, 2014 for a comprehensive discussion on this aspect of university discourses).

Fairclough (2010) characterizes changes of type discussed above as “transformation” of professional identity in universities and categorizes these changes as:

- i. The decline of stable institutional identities which could be taken for granted, and a much greater investment of efforts into the construction of more entrepreneurial institutional identities;
- ii. A corresponding decline in the implicit (unspoken) authority of the institution over its applicants, potential students and potential staff;
- iii. A reconstruction of professional identities of academics on a more entrepreneurial (self-promotional) basis, with the foregrounding of personal qualities.

What Fairclough is indicating is in fact a threat that marketization poses to the very existence of critique and creativity itself. This threat has, of course, been physically manifested in the ever-increasing dwindling and disappearance of departments of social sciences and humanities in modern universities (Lynch, 2006 the case of Germany after reunification where there has been a closure of critical social scientific disciplines, multidisciplinary programmes and women’s studies programmes in universities and also to the case of the closure of highly successful but also strongly critical Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies and Sociology Department in the University of Birmingham in 2002. These commodified (interpellated) subjects are now ready to reverse the process and trigger the counter-interpellation (counter-commodification) power.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR EAP STUDIES

University as a social institution contains diverse “ideological discursive formations” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 27) and is associated with different groups within the institution. I have struggled in this paper to demonstrate that commodification is one such “discursive formation” influencing the life of modern academy: at least some dimensions of the identities of the institutional subjects (here students, teachers, researchers and other participants of academic context) are constructed in accordance with the norms of this “discursive formation”. As Fairclough (1995) rightly argues these “discursive formations” have the capacity to ‘naturalize’ ideologies, i.e. “to win acceptance for them as non-ideological ‘common sense’” (p. 27). I have indicated elsewhere (see Kuhi, 2013 & Kuhi, in press) that part of this ‘naturalization’ of dominant ideologies in academic context is facilitated through dominant EAP research and pedagogy paradigms. These usually characterize academic discourse as a transparent, ‘representative’ tool of reflecting independent academic, scientific facts and deny, though implicitly, the reality constitutive capacity of discourse. What I have suggested in Kuhi (2013) and Kuhi (in press) is that an alternative EAP research and pedagogy should be able to ‘denaturalize’ the dominant “ideological discursive formations”. This deconstructing and denaturalizing research and pedagogy should aim at a careful analysis and interrogation of the discourses and practices through which academic institution constitutes and maintains itself and the consciousness of its members. EAP research and pedagogy should aim at criticizing the process of construction and acknowledge “the artificial quality of the categories concerned” and offering “the possibility that we might profitably conceive the world [the academy] in some alternative way” (Fowler, 1981, p. 25).

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