CHAPTER 7: THE SOCIAL RESOURCE PERSPECTIVE

[Name of college] uses modern teaching methods, and highly qualified and experienced professional language teachers to help you achieve the maximum level of learning possible (Brochure 3: 111-113).

The total inter-connectedness of the textual practices of advertising with all other aspects of wider cultural practices and with the social and economic system means that they cannot be uncoupled: it is not possible to operate on advertising texts in isolation (Kress, 1987, p. 139).

7.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports on the account of the discourse of commercialisation which emerged from the analysis of the brochures and their social-theoretical significance for the study as a whole. The first sections identify the characteristics of the colleges promoted by the brochures, explain the significance of the "discourse of advertising" Cook (loc. cit.) for the analysis of the brochures, and summarise how the analysis was conducted. This is followed by an overview of the findings, an explanation of the evidence for interdiscursive relations between the brochures and the teachers' accounts in the diaries, and how these relations instantiate the 'discourse of commercialisation'. The remaining sections draw on the data and the coding system to show how these gave rise to the findings.

7.2   ANALYSING THE BROCHURES

7.21   The aims of the analysis

The analysis of the brochures seeks to investigate the discourses instantiated in the brochures and, following this, any evidence of interdiscursive links between the brochure

analysis and the perceptions of participants and relationships reported in the diaries. As explained in Chapter 4, it was anticipated that such evidence would support the notion that the discourse(s) which shape and are shaped by teachers' practices are being "colonized" in Fairclough's (1992, p. 207) sense by the discourse instantiated in the brochures, and would thereby provide support for the social-theoretical account of commercialisation developed here. In this way, the brochure analysis was designed to contribute to addressing the question of how commercialisation affects ELICOS teachers' practices.

As explained in Chapter 6, the diarists perceived their professional practices to be subject to competing understandings of teaching. In these struggles, commercial pressure to attract students to the colleges subordinates teachers' understanding of teaching to one which prioritises the creation and maintenance of 'happy' students - casting the teacher as responsible for the 'provision of learning', and students with a correspondingly reduced responsibility to act as agents in their own learning.

To investigate the relationship between these struggles and the discourse instantiated in the brochures, the brochure analysis focused on how participants and the relationships between them are constructed. The analysis was conducted using the coding procedures recommended by Miles and Huberman (op. cit., p. 55ff), in which the transitivity descriptors developed by Halliday (loc. cit.) were used as descriptive codes. The analysis sought to identify

- patterns of transitivity which characterise the brochures;
- how participants are constructed through these patterns;
- what relations are constructed between the participants; and
- the discourse type instantiated by these constructions.

The social-theoretical significance of these constructions was then examined in relation to

- evidence of interdiscursive relations between the construction of participants and relations in the brochures and how these were reported in the diaries;

- the relationship between these findings and the socio-theoretical account of commercialisation developed for this study.

The remaining sections of this chapter explain how the analysis proceeded and the findings which, it is argued, result from it.

7.22   The colleges

Six brochures were analysed for the study. The colleges which they promote exhibit a range of characteristics typical of the private ELICOS sector, including sizes ranging from small (college 3) to large (colleges 2 and 6), locations in major tourist centres in three states, and the recruitment of students from regions favoured by the sector as a whole. Table 11 summarises these features.

Table 11: The colleges

College/ brochure number	Location	Approx. number of teachers	Approx. number of students	Major markets	Articulation arrangements
1	State capital Beachside suburb	14	200	Argentina Japan Korea Switzerland Taiwan	None
2	State capital City location	40	550	Japan Korea Taiwan	Universities and high schools
3	State capital City location	7	100	Japan Korea Switzerland Taiwan	None
4	Regional centre City location	17	250	Argentina Japan Switzerland	None
5	State capital City location	14	200	Japan Korea Taiwan	One university
6	State capital Beachside suburbs	37	550	Argentina Japan Korea Taiwan Switzerland Taiwan	Universities and high schools

The courses offered by the colleges were similar to those described in my ELICOS narrative. and are typical of the sector as a whole: courses in 'General English'. preparation for various international English language proficiency tests. for further study in English. for work in business. and for a range of other specialist purposes. These courses were typically offered at different 'levels' between 'beginner' and 'advanced'. Each course usually lasted between ten or twelve weeks and was divided into four- or five-weekly blocks. commonly called 'modules'. Likewise. teaching methodology. curricula and resources reflected those found across the sector: these in turn are influenced by the dominant form of teacher training. the CELTA. and the range of teaching materials produced by international publishers. which are also influenced by the CELTA[68].

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[68] The influence of the CELTA is a focus of Chapter 8. The social/institutional perspective.

In terms of organisational structure, though the colleges varied in the number of directors and employees and their degree of specialisation, managerial and other functions were broadly similar. They were shaped both by similarities between the interests and operations of the colleges and the NEAS regulations, explained in more detail in Chapter 8. Each college had one or more owner/directors[69] who oversaw the operations of the college and to whom other managers and staff were responsible. This role is, like the 'director of studies', required under the NEAS regulations, according to which the person responsible is termed the 'principal administrator'. The director of studies is responsible to the principal administrator for the educational management of the college. The number of teachers employed at each college is again shaped by the NEAS regulations, which stipulate an average student-teacher ratio of no more than 15:1. Also reflecting NEAS requirements, each college employed at least one person qualified to advise students on personal and academic matters, generally referred to as a 'welfare counsellor'.

The three other main managerial functions are marketing, administration and finance. In the larger colleges, these roles were more likely to be discharged by specialist managers, with involvement from directors. In the smaller colleges these areas were largely managed by the directors themselves. It is a measure of the importance of marketing for the ELICOS sector that in all six cases directors regularly conducted marketing trips overseas to, for example, promote their colleges at international education fairs, and develop relations with agents and affiliations with institutions which provide students for the ELICOS sector.

While Taiwan, Japan and Korea are major markets for all six colleges, Switzerland and Argentina are especially significant for colleges 1 and 6, and Switzerland for college 3. These variations between the countries to which the colleges direct their marketing

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[69] Though the proprietorial role is not a focus of this chapter, it is addressed in relation to distinctions between managers in Chapter 8, The social/institutional perspective.

efforts are reflected across the ELICOS sector as a whole, and largely account for the different backgrounds and goals of students. The Swiss and Argentinean markets have been attracted to the ELICOS sector primarily by courses offering preparation for English language tests marketed and administered internationally by UCLES. The Korean and Taiwanese markets have traditionally focused more on preparation for entry into Australian schools and universities. For this reason, three of the colleges had developed relationships with universities to facilitate the passage of students from English language to university study. The emphasis in the Japanese market has been more on a combination of English language study and tourism, though the international perception of Australia as a safe tourist destination has been influential in the other markets as well. This influence is reflected in the locations of the colleges, all of which are in popular tourist destinations.

7.23   The brochures, the discourse of advertising and consumer culture

The six brochures are representative of those which promote ELICOS colleges, being designed to persuade members of target groups in particular markets to convert to the role of clients of the colleges. They comprise between four and eight A4 pages, and 1000 to 2000 words of text arranged in columns, divided into sections, and interspersed with full colour pictures of the college, its location, facilities and images of students interacting with each other, with members of the college and in classes. The print quality is high. The brochures do not include enrolment and other forms which students complete if they decide to study at a college. These, and information about prices, visa and other conditions are generally included on separate sheets, either supplied in a folder with the brochure or available on request[70].

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[70] These were not included in the appendices. The explanation for this omission is provided in Chapter 9, Conclusions, evaluation and implications.

The framework developed here to explain the discourse instantiated in the brochures both guided and evolved out of the analysis of the brochures, a process which is consistent with Layder's (1993, pp. 107-109) recommendation that theory should guide analysis but be held loosely, and be subject to revision in the light of its "usefulness" (p. 37) in explaining emergent findings. In accounting for the patterns which emerged in the coding of the brochures, I have drawn on the work of Wernick (1991) and Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1997), incorporating their work into the social-theoretical account of commercialisation explained in Chapter 5. In doing so, I have adapted Wernick's (op. cit., p. 31) notions of the "symbolized commodity" and "attributed consumer-ego", and combined these with Leiss, Kline and Jhally's (op. cit.) account of how advertising manipulates representations of consumers, products and producers to promote products, and how mass advertising shapes society into "consumption communities" (Boorstin, 1973, p. 145, cited in Leiss, Kline & Jhally, op. cit., p. 59). In addition, I have used the notion of "consumption communities" to refer both to configuration of participants and relationships in ELICOS colleges and to those constructed within the lexico-grammar of the brochures themselves. This usage reflects Fairclough's (op. cit., p. 211) position that advertising both "constructs and simulates" consumption communities.

The starting point for the framework is Cook's (op. cit., p. 11) observation that the "discourse of advertising" tends to defy categorisation, not least because advertisers strive "to grab attention through surprise", which leads to the manipulation of advertising discourse itself in the attempt to woo clients. It is this reflexive focus on discourse which leads Fairclough (op. cit.) to identify advertising as a "'strategic' (p. 210) discourse par excellence" and therefore a "discourse technology" (p. 215) implicated in the colonisation of other discourses through processes of marketisation and colonisation.

As a discourse type, then, advertising is a means by which, in "market societies",

the market "systematically orients the individual's search to satisfy his or her needs towards its own core activity: the buying and selling of goods" (Leiss, Kline & Jhally, op. cit., p. 300) – a role which marks advertising discourse as a manifestation of consumer culture, in which advertising discourse both shapes and is shaped by the "relation of conflict and struggle between producers and consumers" identified by Abercrombie (op. cit., pp. 180-1) as characteristic of consumer culture. It is the need to overcome this conflict which explains how the strategic focus of advertising discourse arises: because the conflict presents an obstacle to the promotion and sale of products, advertising discourse constructs a relationship between producers, products and potential consumers such that consumers come to desire an identity which can be attained by consumption of the products (Wernick, op. cit., pp. 22ff). In this process, consumer culture, "through advertising, the media, and techniques of display of goods, is able to destabilize the original use and meaning of goods and attach to them new images and signs which can summon up a whole range of associated feelings and desires" (Featherstone, 1991, p. 114). In this reconstruction of the produce/product/consumer relationship, conflict is replaced by harmony in a process which Kroker (1985, p. 80, cited in Featherstone, 2000, p. 95) has described as the "death of the social".

This reconstruction is not a matter of *informing* potential consumers of the utility of products and how to acquire them, nor of *persuading* consumers of the utility of products to them. In a consumer culture in which products with similar utility are promoted by producers competing to maximise their consumer base, it is not sufficient to differentiate between products on the basis of their utility to users. This would not create the differences between products necessary to enable competition for market share (Wernick, op. cit., pp. 27ff). Rather, to create a competitive space for essentially similar goods, advertising has, Falk (1997, p. 86) explains, shifted its focus to the "experiential aspect of consumption" by moving from a "rational mode of argumentation supported by

essentially falsifiable 'evidence' of product utility towards representations of the satisfaction which comes with using the product".

In this shift, products themselves are transformed into sets of qualities which are aligned with a construction of the consumer which "increases the symbolic gratification to be gained from consuming/having/displaying the product" (Wernick, op. cit., p. 30). Accomplishing this alignment of product qualities and consumer identity requires the construction of "a personal and social identity for... potential users" which is simultaneously grafted onto the products promoted (ibid.). In this role as creator and carrier of the consumer's identity, the product is what Wernick (ibid., p. 31) has termed a "symbolized commodity": and the constructed consumer identity with which it is aligned is the "attributed consumer-ego... the 'you' to which the ad speaks". In this relationship, the "symbolized commodity" refers both to the product for sale, and to the value it has for the attributed consumer-ego. It is, Wernick (ibid.) argues, the "the genius of imagistic advertising" to "fuse and confuse" these two meanings in the promotion of products.

The value of symbolised commodities for consumers, then, is not a function simply of the utility of products but is accomplished through the discourse of advertising. In this discourse, the attributes of the product are precisely constructed to remove a "deficit" (Falk, op. cit., p. 89) in a desirable identity constructed for the potential consumer. In this relationship, the focus is therefore not on what the consumer can do with the product, but, in an inversion of agency which emerges as central in the brochure analysis, on what the product can do for the consumer.

This product/consumer relationship is consummated in consumption, promoted through the construction of "lifestyles" (Fairclough, 1993, p. 142), in which "Producer, product and consumer are brought together as co-participants in... a community of consumption (Leiss, Klein & Jhally, 1986), which the advertisement constructs and simulates" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 211). Within this "community", the identities and

relationships between people and products are transformed. The onus of consumption is not placed on consumers, who are constructed as passive – benefiting from but not initiating consumption; it is products themselves which are animated, shouldering the responsibility of providing consumer satisfaction by acting as agents of their own consumption. In this process

> People are magically changed - but so are goods, from inanimate objects into living things. Products dance and sing, they engage in relations with humans as if they themselves were alive... because human personalities are correlated with specific qualities ascribed to products, people become more like goods. In this dual exchange things appear as animate and people appear as inanimate (Leiss, Kline & Jhally, op. cit., p. 26).

The consumer may be centred in this transformed world, but this does not involve being isolated from other consumers. Leiss, Kline and Jhally (ibid., pp. 295ff) emphasis that consumption is "always a social process" in which consumers are attracted to products which increase their "social standing". Advertising plays to and shapes this need by constructing communities of consumption in which members have a higher status then the potential consumer, and for which membership requires only the consumption of the advertised product. As a consequence, advertising constructs "an unending series of possible comparative judgements" (ibid., p. 296), in which potential consumers, Wernick's (loc. cit.) "attributed consumer-egos", are invited to compare their current social attributes with the lifestyle enhancements which accrue to those who consume the "symbolized commodities".

In relation to the brochures, I argue below that the construction of ELICOS as a community of consumption[71] is central to their purpose of rendering teaching and learning in ways which will attract new students; and that it is to this same configuration of participants and relationships that teachers are pressured to conform in the struggles revealed by the diary analysis.

7.24 Systemic functional grammar and the coding system

Unlike the analysis of the diaries, in which the boundaries of the segments of text coded were subject to interpretation by the analyst, the systemic functional units employed in coding the brochures were already defined within systemic functional grammar (Halliday, op. cit.; Halliday & Hasan, op. cit.). This did not mean, however, that the codes or the coding system were predetermined. While Fairclough's (op. cit., pp. 234ff) guidelines provided the starting point for the analysis, the final selection of lexico-grammatical elements used in the codes itself emerged through the iterative coding procedures recommended by Miles and Huberman (loc. cit.).

The coding of the brochures took as its starting point Halliday's account of "transitivity" (op. cit., pp. 101ff). Of the functional components of language identified in systemic functional grammar, the "interpersonal", the "textual", and the "ideational", which includes the "logical" and "experiential" functions, (Halliday & Hasan, op. cit., p.

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[71] It should be noted that the construct 'community of consumption' which emerges in the current study contrasts with Lave and Wenger's (1991, pp. 98ff) "community of practice" which emphasises how "community coherence" (Wenger, 1998, pp. 74-75) is created and maintained through the coordinated work of individuals in developing, and learning to engage in, social practices. As Scollon (1998, p. 13) explains, in this sense "a community of practice is a group of people who, over time, share in some set of social practices geared towards some common purpose". In contrast, the community of consumption, as argued below, arises precisely from the enforced resolution of struggles over the *conflicting* purposes of individuals and the groups whose interests they share. This a process in which the professional purposes of ELICOS teachers – as micro actors – are subordinated to the commercial purposes and interests of meso and macro actors. In this process, the coherence of the community of consumption is maintained by the enforcement, notably through the social practice of appraisal, of the identities and relationships advanced by the discourse of commercialisation. Within the community of consumption, then, the notion of 'coherence' is itself problematised as a stake in the struggles between these groups – the question being whose interests it is to serve.

258

15ff), it is the textualisation of the experiential function in transitivity which "enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them" (Halliday, op. cit., p. 101). The component of the clause which expresses this reality is the "process", which potentially includes "participants in the process" and "circumstances associated with the process" (ibid.).

In drawing on the transitivity system in developing the coding system, I was also influenced by Fairclough's (op. cit., p 234ff) guidelines for analysing texts; in particular, his account of the value of transitivity for text analysis fitted well with my interest in comparing the diarists' perceptions of participants and relationships with how these were constructed in the brochures. Indeed, the elements in the transitivity system which he has identified emerged as central to the coding of the brochures and the generation of the coding system, reflecting his (ibid.) observation that

The objective is to see whether particular process types and participants are favoured in the text, what choices are made in voice (active or passive), and how significant is the nominalization of processes. A major concern is agency[72], the expression of causality, and the attribution of responsibility (p. 235).

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[72] It should be acknowledged that the question of what 'agency' is, and the relationship between linguistic and sociological constructions of it, is not unproblematic. In addressing this question, Moore (2003, pp. 110-111), drawing on Vesey (1967), Davidson (1980), Taylor (1985) and Giddens (1984), has summarised "debates about what constitutes an agent" in sociology as focusing on six criteria: whether an entity has "caused some event to happen"; "caused some effect external to the agent"; "is not the medium of some other agent"; "has willfully engaged in action"; "has intent with respect to some action *and* its likely outcome"; and "has the capacity to act". While such features of agency emerge as relevant to the construction of participants in the brochures, the challenge Moore (ibid., pp. 98ff) identifies is to *justify* connections drawn by the analyst between 'agent' in this social-theoretical sense and as a linguistic category – exemplified by the descriptor 'actor' in SFL. It is this challenge which raises the need in the analysis of the brochures for a specific *warrant* for the interpretation of the lexico-grammatical construction of the identities of, and relationships between, students, managers and teachers. To address this need, and consistent with the theoretical framework as a whole, relations between particular systemic functional and social categories are not assumed in advance of the analysis but are inferred from the patterns of descriptive codes – the transitivity descriptors of SFL – which emerge through the iterative, grounded coding procedures recommended by Miles and Huberman (1994). A further check on the warrant for these interpretations is provided by the predictive component of the study, explained in Chapter 4, in which the findings of the brochure analysis are compared with those of the diary analysis in order to check for convergence between them.

As in the diary analysis, the coding commenced with the first text, Brochure 1, which was chosen as a "typical case" (Miles & Huberman, op. cit., p. 28) from which to develop a "start list" (p. 58) of codes. This first pass over the data yielded a preliminary coding system which was then extended and refined through the analysis of subsequent brochures. All clauses in the brochures were coded[73], most under more that one code, giving rise to 917 coded segments.

Through this process, the range of lexico-grammatical features coded increased beyond those recommended by Fairclough (op. cit.) as new textualisations emerged, suggested by and in support of the evolving coding system. These included patterns of modality, wordings, verbal groups, clause complexes, the personal system and ergativity – the significance of which are explained below. While the number of codes expanded until the codes become saturated by the end of Brochure 5, the themes remained more stable than in the diary analysis in which, as reported in Chapter 6, significant changes in the coding system, such as the inclusion of the overarching code 'evaluation/appraisal practices', were required as the analysis progressed. This difference between the analyses was, perhaps, to be expected because, while the diarists varied in their knowledge, experience and approaches to completing the diaries, the brochures were produced by colleges representative of the ELICOS sector, in which, as explained above, their markets, marketable assets and commercial interests have much in common, and they are subject to the same regulatory requirements. The brochures reflect these similarities, varying to an extent in how themes are textualised but not in the themes themselves.

As well as leading to these refinements in the coding system, the analysis also drew attention to strengths and limitations of the coding procedures. While the coding procedures are well suited to identifying patterns in the coded units of analysis across

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[73] The exception, explained below, are sections of the brochures which refer to procedures and regulations whose inclusion is mandated by NEAS.

texts, they are less appropriate for tracking the development and interaction of different codes though texts[74]. In Layder's (op. cit., p. 123) terms this orientation of the coding procedures reflects how different methods of analysis "'cut into' the data from different angles". The orientation of the coding procedures was touched on in relation to the coding of the diaries, where it emerged as a question of where to draw the boundaries of codes in the narratives. As in the presentation of the diary findings, my approach in the brochure analysis has been to explain the codes in a recursive way. While not capturing the development and interaction of codes through particular texts, this approach nevertheless shows how they build on each other in patterns which shape/are shaped by the themes which emerge during the analysis.[75]

7.3 OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

The remaining sections of this chapter explain how participants and the relationships between them are constructed in the brochures; how these constructions provide evidence of interdiscursive relations between these constructions and the diarists' accounts of their practices; and how these relations support and are supported by the social-theoretical account of commercialisation developed in Chapter 5.

7.31 Major themes: the construction of a community of consumption

The construction of participants and relationships in the brochures exemplifies the account of the 'consumption community' developed above. The world constructed in these texts is one in which an array of products is given 'performance figures' somewhat along the lines of automobile advertising: 'seats four in comfort and gets you from 0-100km in 6 secs'. In this world, high modality predominates: courses do things, e.g. prepare, focus, cover,

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[74] This point is developed in Chapter 9. Conclusions, evaluation and implications.
[75] An evaluation of the coding procedures, and of the study itself, is included in Chapter 9. Conclusions, evaluation and implications.

develop, improve, introduce; things are done to teachers by institutions, e.g. recruited, trained, employed and used; but teachers seldom, if ever, do anything to others, unless supervised, or act autonomously in teaching, except "in other countries" (B4: 68). Though excluded as independent agents, teachers are constructed as responsible for ensuring that language learning occurs; and students are represented as passive beneficiaries of the lifestyle which comes with successful language learning. Overseeing this alignment of products, students and lifestyle is the college, which is constructed as the 'producer' – a role incorporating both the production of products and the supervision of their delivery and consumption.

The construction of this community requires what Kress (1987, p. 138) has termed "systematic absences", and the replacement of absented participants and processes by those which are conducive to the purpose of attracting students to the college. The struggles perceived by the diarists between managers, teachers and students are thereby transformed in the brochures into relationships of production and consumption between producer, products and consumers. Figure 9 illustrates these participants and the relationships between them, which together comprise the community of consumption and are explained in the following sections.

Figure 9: Community of consumption
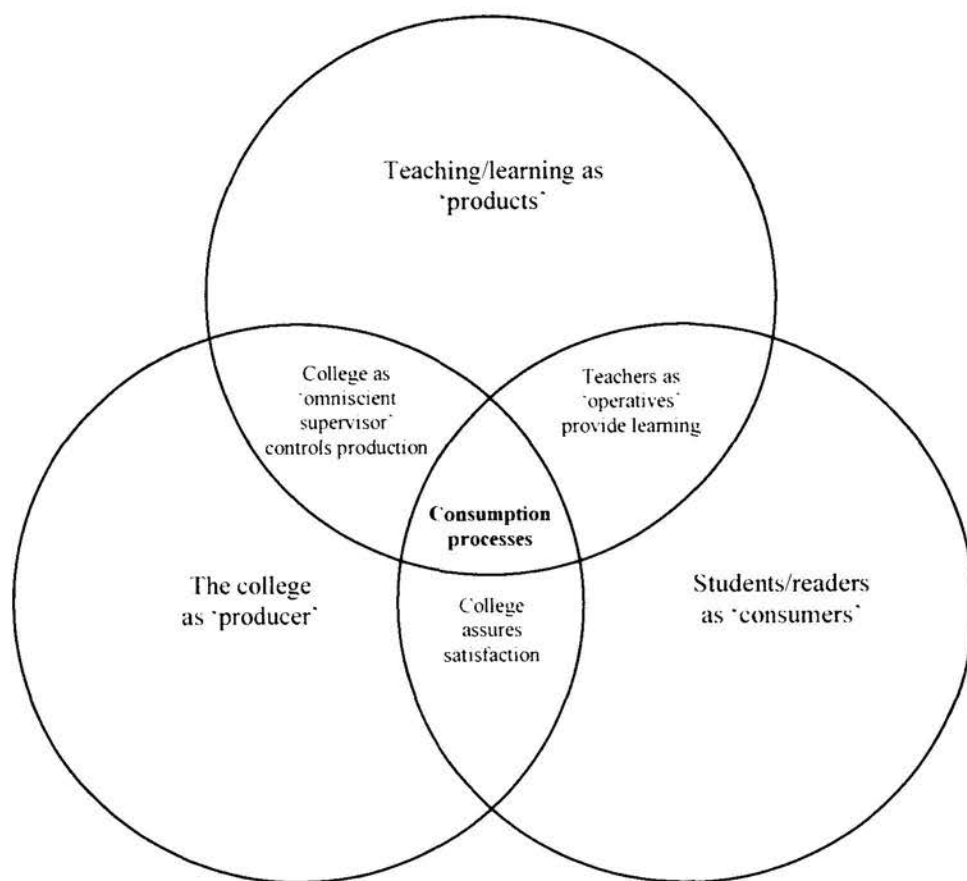
7.311 Teaching/learning as products

Illustrated in the upper circle of Figure 9. the analysis reveals that teaching and learning are constructed in the brochures as *products*. The justification for interpreting these constructions as 'products' lies in the roles they take within the transitivity system. in which they display the characteristics of "symbolized commodities" (Wernick. loc. cit.). and. consistent with Leiss. Kline and Jhally's (op. cit.. p. 26) account. are animated as participants which enhance the attributes ascribed to current and potential consumers. a construction of consumers which therefore resembles Wernick's (loc. cit.) "attributed consumer-egos". The construction of these products within the text displaces teachers and other human agents. as the products themselves are ascribed attributes and take on roles associated. by the teachers in the diaries. with those of teachers and other staff. In this

process, the modalities of risk, disappointment, failure and obligation associated with learning are removed – leaving products which offer stable, predictable attributes to consumers.

The products constructed in this way include 'courses', 'classroom teaching', the 'learning environment', and 'assessment'. The attributes ascribed to these products are dominated by the "vocabulary of skills" (Fairclough, op. cit., p. 209), textualised in nominalisations and high modality, which combine to optimise the impression that the product is standardised and 'in stock'. As Fairclough (ibid.) observes "This wording helps commodify the content of language education, in the sense that it facilitates its division into discrete units, which are in principle separately teachable and assessable, and can be bought and sold as distinct goods in the range and commodities available on the educational market".

In this standardisation of teaching/learning as skills, students are themselves 'standardised' as having precisely those needs which are enhanced by these skills. Thus, in the brochures, the construction of both products and consumers in terms of skills – to be simultaneously provided and enhanced – allows products and consumers to be aligned in Wernick's (loc. cit.) sense, as "symbolized commodities" matched to the attributes ascribed to "attributed consumer-egos".

Furthermore, Fairclough (loc. cit.) explains that this emphasis on skills enables "two contradictory constructions of the client". On the one hand, the "vocabulary of skills" allows the consumer to be constructed in a way which is individualistic, active and democratic: each consumer has a particular mix of skills; they can choose to improve these skills if they wish; and all skills can be improved with the appropriate training. In the brochures, this use of skills ensures an optimal fit between products and consumer needs while maintaining the consumers' freedom to consume as they wish. On the other hand, Fairclough (ibid.) points out that skills are typically taught from a standard repertoire

264

using standardised methods of instruction. This aspect of skills training is essentially normative and allows little scope for individuality or autonomous choice –either on the part of teachers or of students. This normative aspect of skills-based products is absent in the brochures, though evident in the diaries in the attempts to standardise teaching practice in terms of modules of skills. Its absence in the brochures supports the notion that the brochures construct a model of teaching and learning which minimises constraints and impositions on students. This point is taken up again in relation to 'consumption processes', below.

Though the initial stages of coding suggested that only products were constructed, a distinction emerged between 'products' and 'attractions'. The former are those constructions for which consumers enter a contractual relationship with the college – and which therefore form part of the debt owed to the consumer. The latter comprise those constructions which are not part of the economic exchange between the college and student but are promoted as incentives to enter into the exchange. These include an array of desirable experiences associated with the notion of an 'international' and 'cosmopolitan' lifestyle. In order to offer students this lifestyle, the college, the surrounding environment, Australia as a whole, and the lives of students after they complete their English studies are transformed into a world in which they can achieve goals in their personal and social lives, careers, business, travel and studies. The students' achievement of this lifestyle through language learning is supported by further products, together identified as 'student services', including 'social activities', 'further study placement' and 'student welfare'.

Together with the products associated with teaching and learning, then, the 'international lifestyle', and 'student services' provide the environment in which the consumption community is set: products which, as participants, match themselves to the needs constructed for consumers: and the incentive for joining the community – a

265

community from which the risks and obligations associated with learning, along with the teachers and other staff who manage them, are excluded.

7.312 The college as producer

Moving to the left of Figure 9, along with products and attractions, the colleges themselves are constructed as agents; specifically, as 'producers', meaning that they occupy key agent roles, replacing teachers and other institutional members as the creators and providers of education and other products. As agents, the colleges are ascribed with the capacity to possess and control those participants and processes involved in providing satisfaction to consumers. Thus the construction of the college as the dominant agent involves on the one hand, the further exclusion of teachers and other participants from agency roles, and, on the other, the inclusion of these participants and their professional resources alongside the products and attractions offered by the college – and like them subject to its will as the producer. This reconstruction of teachers and others as agents, or 'operatives', of the college enables the college – as an 'omniscient supervisor' – to ensure that products have attributes which match the needs ascribed to students, and therefore to make assurances about the benefits they will gain on consumption of the products.

These constructions in the brochures are accomplished primarily through the manipulation of agency and the "configuration of voices" (Fairclough, 1990, p. 14). The notion of "voice" here draws on Bakhtin's (1981) account of language as "multi-voiced" (p. 265), in which language shapes and is shaped by a perpetual "social dialogue" (p. 276) involving "struggle among socio-linguistic points of view" (p. 273). In the brochures, the college, as producer, is not only the key agent but also the 'dominant' voice, exemplifying what Wertsch (1991, p. 59) describes as the "privileging" of voice, in which one point of view is advanced to the exclusion of all others, in this case those of teachers and other staff. Where other voices are included, these play a supporting role – confirming that the

266

college as producer provides satisfaction for consumers. These supporting voices include those of directors, in letters addressed to readers, and students, in testimonials. Also included are organisations, such as NEAS and the EA, which participate in the brochures as 'guarantors' of the college's attributes.

7.313   Students/readers as consumers

The circle on the right of Figure 9 illustrates how the construction of current and prospective students as consumers completes the consumption community of products, producers, and consumers. To align students, as consumers, with the products on offer, students are represented in two ways: as 'beneficiaries' and as part of 'consumption processes', indicated at the intersection between the three circles in Figure 9.

As beneficiaries, they are attributed with the aspirations, needs and skills which, when met and enhanced by the college's products, offer entry to the 'international lifestyle' promoted in the brochures[76].

To be beneficiaries in this sense is, however, not sufficient to ensure access to the 'international lifestyle'. This requires an account of consumption itself, in which the student is assured of successful language learning without the risk of effort, imposition or failure. To achieve this, students' attributes are not subject to change through any form of personal effort or exertion. It is also significant that, while these attributes are not rendered as subject to the will of the student, neither are they attributes which could restrict the students' ability to successfully master a second language. The enhancement of these attributes, then, occurs through processes which match them to products which are specifically designed to service them, with no mention of the possibility of imposition or

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[76]Being attributed with particular wants, needs and skills does, however, mean that, though free to consume in accordance with these attributes and the products aligned with them, consumers are not free to have other attributes. In this sense, then, they have no choice, indeed are contradictorily constructed – a point taken up in Chapter 8. The social/institutional perspective.

failure. In this process, products typically enhance students' attributes unmediated by other participants, who, along with any risk of imposition they may pose, are withdrawn while consumption occurs.

The processes which align products with students mirror those which align readers with the community of consumption in which students and products participate. This creates a 'match' between the construction of students and the construction of the reader, with the result that the one 'fits into' the other in a merging of identities which supports Wernick's (op. cit.) observation that

> The consumerist address imprisons the subjectivity it projects in a totally commodified ontology. Being is reduced to having, desire to lack. No needs or desires are speakable without a commodity to satisfy them; no commodity without at least an imagined place in our affections (p. 35).

Applied to the brochures, Wernick's notion of the "commodified ontology" highlights how any enhancement of students' attributes are to be effected through consumption of products, a process in which consumption requires no exertion on the part of the student – but rather a passive accumulation of enhanced attributes. The student is relieved of all the onerous aspects of consumption: the tedium, frustration, and mental and social effort of language acquisition. All change in the student is brought about by the institution, typically by means of its 'staff', whose task it is to ensure that the student successfully undergoes the various processes involved in consumption, but whose capacity for agency has – as noted above - been replaced by the college and its products.

On this account, then, teaching and learning collapse into a construction of consumption in which consumer satisfaction is assured. I have called this construction of consumption 'consumption processes' to emphasise the way it combines teaching and

268

learning in a single set of process, with the college, through its 'staff', constructed as supervised by the college to ensure that consumption occurs, and students passive in receiving the benefits. 'Processes', then, refers here to a supervised system of automated production and consumption.

Consumption processes, then, mark a difference between the brochures and the university advertisements analysed by Fairclough (1996, p. 78), in which there is struggle between the "traditional professional-(or 'producer'-) oriented relationship between university and applicant.... and the 'consumer-oriented' relationship". In consumption processes, the tensions between producer and consumer culture are less evident, indeed the objective is to remove any such tension: consumer culture dominates the discourse, in which the "professional-(or 'producer)" is subordinated to a construction of teaching/learning which maximises the freedom of students as consumers.

The explanation for this may be that, in projecting more control/constraint onto the client's role, university promotional materials reflect the authority conferred by the academic standing of the university: and also that the exercise of judgement and choice by students is, at least traditionally, one of the key *raison d'être* of the university. In contrast to this, promotional materials from private English language colleges, whose credentials are more precarious, tend to present a largely constraint-free version of the client's role. In these texts, the client is constructed as a 'pure consumer', uninhibited by institutional constraints or the modalities of failure.[77]

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[77] An exception to this construction occurs where information is given on financial and regulatory conditions governing the transaction between the college and the consumer. NEAS requires colleges to include in promotional materials explanations of enrolment procedures, pricing, refund conditions, visa regulations, medical insurance requirements and other information which may pose risks for or impositions on consumers. These texts threaten to subvert the construction of the 'pure consumer' by representing the client as subject to, and liable for meeting, conditions which impose financial and other constraints. These texts are, therefore, generally not included in the main text of the brochures but in separate leaflets, which are referred to in the brochures but in sections segregated from the main text, either in terms of layout or by headings such as 'Further information and enrolment' (B1: 290-299; see also B1: 290-299, B3: 222-230: B5: 132-136: B6: 234-248). Because this information is mandated by NEAS and segregated from the colleges' accounts of the identities and relationships involved in consumption, they are not included in the coding

7.32   Interdiscursive relations: the brochures and the diaries

As the diary analysis shows, there is evidence that the pressures on teachers to conform to a commercial definition of teaching are exerted through technologisation, and represent the colonisation of the discourse(s) associated with teachers' practices by commercial interests. The question remains as to whether interdiscursive relations can be adduced between the diarists' perceptions and the construction of teaching and learning in the brochures; and how such relations might contribute to addressing the research question of how commercialisation affects teachers' practices.

The argument for interdiscursive relations is based on parallels between the findings of the brochure and diary findings. Taken together, these parallels form a pattern which suggests that the construction of participants and relationships in the brochures is *correlated* with the pressures on the diarists to transform their practices, combining in each case to render teaching and learning as consumption processes in a community of consumption. Table 12 summarises these correlations.

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system. The influence of NEAS on these identities and relationships is discussed in Chapter 8. The social/institutional perspective.

Table 12: Correlations between the brochure and diary findings

Findings of the brochure analysis	Findings of the diary analysis
Products and attractions: • Teaching/learning as products which enhance 'skills' • Products exclude teachers as agents • Products provide access to the attractions of the 'International lifestyle'	'Learning' is separated from/prioritised over teaching: • learning is a 'debt to be repaid'/learning is 'provided' • pressure to standardise teaching/learning in terms of 'skills' • teachers are replaceable/expendable: teachers fear redundancy • teachers employed for cost, not expertise • teaching/learning focuses on making students 'happy' • teachers employed for 'looks', not expertise • socialising is compromising
College as producer: the college as the 'omniscient supervisor' is the • 'possessor/controller of teachers, their resources and the purposes of teaching, leaving teachers as 'operatives' • 'provider/assurer' of products and student satisfaction, with teachers responsible for the provision of learning • mentor/protector of students, saving them from failure and disappointment in learning	Managers pressure teachers to comply with the commercial model of teaching: • revaluation of teachers and teaching through the extension of evaluation/appraisal practices • silencing/ignoring/reinterpretation of teachers' opinions • managers control teaching materials • teachers held responsible for ensuring students' success in learning • pressure to easify assessment/improve marks • students are over-promoted • pressure to alter attendance records • teaching is devalued - low status of teachers compared to managers
Students/readers as consumers: • Consumers as beneficiaries: products aligned to their aspirations, needs and skills, and their choices of product are unmediated by other participants • Learning is a consumption process: learning occurs without effort from or imposition on students	Three way struggles between managers, students and teachers over 'teachers practices': • students opinions drive management – managers equate 'happy' students with good teaching, • students enrol continuously • excursions must be fun • students are hard to control • students make little effort • students resist teachers' advice and assessments • teaching as 'edutainment' • teachers develop a 'habit of pleasing'

The correlations between the two sets of findings are explained in more detail below, in the 'Results and discussion' section. The point to emphasise here is that Table 12 is not

meant to imply that these correlations occur in isolation from each other, as if some might have been absent and the rest have remained standing, or that one correlation can be explained in isolation from the others. Rather, as explained in Chapter 6, the findings represent a "conceptual web" of the kind envisaged by Miles and Huberman (op. cit., p. 63), in which emergent codes shape and are shaped by the development of a coherent explanation of their interrelations and significance as a whole.

Consistent with this focus on emergent integration and explanation, then, the joint significance of the correlations stands in need of *explanation*. The development of this explanation is itself consistent with the theoretical framework developed for this study because the correlations emerged from the grounded analysis of the two data sets, informed by the analyst's resources. In accordance with the theoretical framework, then, the argument for an interdiscursive relationship between the constructions in the brochures and the pressures on teachers is itself grounded in the analysis of the data, and shapes and is shaped by the account of the 'discourse of commercialisation' developed below.

In terms of the social-theoretical account of commercialisation developed for this study, the correlations can be explained by, and thereby provide evidence for, Fairclough's (1992, p. 207) account of "commodification as the colonization of institutional orders of discourse, and more broadly of the societal order of discourse, by discourse types associated with commodity production". In the case of ELICOS, the correlations suggest the "colonization" of the "institutional order of discourse" by the "discourse type" of advertising, and the progressive transformation of teachers' practices through "technologization", an explanation which is consistent with Fairclough's (1993, p. 149) identification, in higher education, of "the fracturing of the boundary between the orders of discourse of higher education and business as regards advertising, and a colonization of the former by the latter".

In regard to Sarangi and Roberts's (op. cit., p. 16) account of institutions, the prevalence in ELICOS colleges of this colonising discourse among those with institutional authority identifies it as the "institutional discourse" which conflicts with "professional discourse" and thereby constructs ELICOS colleges as "sites of social struggle" (p. 1). It is this institutional discourse which results from the processes of colonisation which I have termed the 'discourse of commercialisation'. Arising from the need to retain and attract students to the colleges and to honour the 'debt of learning' owed to them, this discourse reflects and advances the commercially-oriented definition of teaching and learning evidenced in the diary analysis, which renders as a 'community of consumption' the college, its courses, teachers, and students. It is the discursive medium which saturates the brochures and permeates' teachers' practices, as the dominant discourse in the three-way relationships constructed between products, producers and consumers in the brochures and in the three-way struggles between teachers, managers and students in the diaries.

The changes wrought by this model of the relationship between teachers and teaching and learning exemplify Sarangi and Roberts's (ibid., p. 10) account of "growing deprofessionalisation" in workplaces in which "no one is indispensable for the running of an organisation, as individualised speciality and expertise is undermined". In this environment, changes are wrought in "the professional identity of educators in relation to the job market and the consumers of education" and "how professional knowledge is packaged and delivered" (ibid., p. 18). It is the relationship between these changing professional identities and the packaging and delivery of professional knowledge which is evidenced by the correlations between the diaries and brochures.

On this interpretation, the community of consumption represented in Figure 9 can be understood as both the 'premise' and 'endgame' of the pressures on teachers. As the premise, it reflects the model of teaching and learning advanced by managers in response to the commercial imperative to attract new students; as the endgame, the community of

273

consumption represents the configuration of identities and relationships towards which teachers are pressured to align their practices. The value of these interdiscursive relations, then, is to reveal this community as the "commodified ontology" (Wernick, loc. cit.) which both drives the pressures on teachers to transform their practices, and against which they are evaluated/appraised.

In terms of Bourdieu's account of social production and reproduction, the findings support the explanation, introduced in Chapter 5 and supported by the diary analysis, that commercial classes, in Bourdieu's (1994a, p. 113) sense, are here exercising "symbolic power" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 51) through technologisation to revalue to their own advantage the capital "assets" (Bourdieu, 1994a, p. 112) teachers associate with English language teaching and therefore the habitus of teachers. The findings support this explanation because the discourse of commercialisation, as the institutional discourse, represents the "official language" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 51). This is the term Bourdieu (ibid., pp. 50ff) has used to describe the discourse which supports the domination of the markets by classes which have a controlling share of capital; and simultaneously facilitates the subordination of those which hold less capital. The official language, then, is both the discourse of the dominant classes, and the discourse which secures their domination of the market by subordinating the interests of weaker classes to their own. To achieve this subordination, the official language must come to be accepted as having "legitimacy" (ibid., p. 51) by classes with less authority in the market; in other words, it must be accepted as the linguistic capital with the greatest value in the market (pp. 55ff). In accepting the official language as legitimate, weaker classes subordinate their own interests, and shape their own habitus, to serve the interests promoted through the official language. It is this manipulation of value at the expense of the interests of weaker classes which identifies the official language as a form of "symbolic violence" (ibid., p. 51).

In the interdiscursive relations between the brochures and the diaries, this manipulation of value is seen in the brochures in the strategic construction of the community of consumption as desirable, and its imposition - through technologised pressures - to transform the habitus of teachers, who, in trying to improve their "life chances" (Postone et al., op. cit., p. 5) by avoiding unemployment, "consent" (Gramsci, loc. cit.) to their own subordination. From the perspective of the theory of practice, then, the discourse of commercialisation contributes to the production and reproduction of society – and the interests of dominant classes – by pressuring teachers to subordinate themselves and their practices to the identities and relationships implied by the community of consumption. Drawing on these constructions, the brochures and the other forms of technologisation identified in the diaries are the discursive means by which the economic fields of consumer and promotional culture are produced and reproduces to the advantage of managers and students, thereby devaluing the capital associated with the field of education, and pressuring teachers to synchronise their habitus with these revaluations.

On this account, the interdiscursive relations between the brochures and diaries can be seen as an example of the "unification of the market" (Bourdieu, op. cit., pp. 50ff), manifested in the evaluation/appraisal of teachers' practices against a model of teaching defined by the community of consumption. This revaluation illustrates, on a local scale, how markets in social and cultural capital are being unified globally according to the economic values of those classes whose interests are served by the dominant "neoliberal discourse" (Bourdieu 1998a, pp. 95). In this process, the discourse of neoliberalism advances an economic model which legitimises and exploits a culture of insecurity and fear of unemployment among those – such as the teachers in the diaries - who stand to lose from neoliberal policies (ibid., p. 98). It is this expansion of the neoliberal model through the unification of the market which is evidenced in the extension of the community of consumption from a construction of the discourse of advertising to the model of teaching

and learning implemented through the discourse of commercialisation – the "official language" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 51) of ELICOS.

These links to the theory of practice, then, explain the 'discourse of commercialisation' as an institutional manifestation of the discourse of neoliberalism – in Fairclough's (1992, p. 207) terms the former as an "institutional order of discourse", the latter as a "societal order". Furthermore, from the perspective of Mouzelis's (loc. cit.) distinction between the differing capacities of "actors" to influence the social world, the analysis provides further evidence that, in their subordination to the dominant discourse, teachers are micro actors in relation to managers, whose interests - as meso actors - are advanced by the discourse of commercialisation, and who are themselves subject to pressures from macro actors, including those whose interests are advanced by the discourse of neoliberalism[78].

The remaining sections of this chapter draw on the coding system developed from the analysis of the brochures to explain how the data supports the finding that the brochures construct ELICOS as a community of consumption, and how the identities and relationships constructed in this community correlate with the commercial pressures revealed by the analysis of the diaries.

7.4   RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The organisation of the following sections reflects the structure of Figures 9 and Table 12. The first section focuses on how teaching and learning are constructed as products; the second section on the characteristics ascribed to the college as producer; and the final section on how current and prospective students are constructed as beneficiaries of consumption processes. In each section, the correlations displayed in Table 12 between the

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[78] This point is taken up in Chapter 8. The social/institutional perspective.

brochures and diary analyses are further developed as evidence of the interdiscursive operations of the discourse of commercialisation.

To reflect the interconnections between the parts of the coding system in the construction of the consumption community. the explanation of themes and their textualisations is carried forward in explaining further parts of the coding system and their correlations with the diary findings. a recursive approach which is consistent with that used to explain the diary findings in Chapter 6.

The method used for referring to the coding system and coded text segments also follows that introduced in Chapter 6. Thus. complete coded segments of text are generally not included in the chapter. but are referenced using the line numbers of the brochure in which they occur: for example. (B1: 33-35). In each section of Appendix 5. the lexico-grammatical features coded are underlined in the segments of coded text. While all codes are displayed in the coding system. their inclusion in the discussion depends on their frequency of occurrence and significance to the explanation of the coding system.

7.41 Products and attractions

Table 13: Products and attractions as participants

Themes	Codes	Sub-codes	Occ's/ Broch's	App.
1) Products as participants exclude others	1) Nominalised products	1) 'Study'	1/1	5.1111
		1) 'Courses'	73/6	5.11111
		2) 'Classroom teaching'	25/6	5.11112
		3) 'Learning environment'	20/6	5.11113
		4) 'Assessment'	19/6	5.11114
		2) 'Student services'	3/2	5.1112
		1) 'Social activities'	26/6	5.11121
		2) 'Accommodation'	18/6	5.11122
		3) 'Further study placement'	15/6	5.11123
		4) 'Student welfare'	11/6	5.11124
		5) 'Orientation'	6/6	5.11125
		6) 'Airport pick-up'	6/6	5.11126
	2) Products as actors		31/6	5.112
	3) Agentless passives		35/6	5.113
2) Attractions as participants exclude others	1) Nominalised attractions	1) 'International lifestyle'	84/6	5.1211
	2) Attractions as actors		5/4	5.122

The major themes which emerged in this part of the coding system were the construction of products and attractions as participants in the world constructed within the brochures.

7.411 Products as participants

The construction of products is primarily accomplished through a combination of three grammatical operations: nominalisation, modality and the occupation by products of actor roles otherwise associated with human agents. In this process, teachers and other human agents are marginalised by products which are themselves constructed as agents, endowed both with the identities and the capacity to provide themselves to students.

"Nominalisation" is a form of what Halliday (op. cit., p. 321) has termed "grammatical metaphor". It refers to selections in the lexico-grammar by which meanings are expressed in combinations of words which do not reflect the organisation of the world. Grammatical metaphor arises as a linguistic option because, Halliday (ibid.) argues, some

278

selections in the lexico-grammatical system are more "congruent" with the world than others. A selection is congruent to the extent that it makes explicit within the lexico-grammar those processes, participants, relationships and circumstances it represents in the world. Nominalisation, then, describes the process by which these complexities are edited down to the meanings which can be conveyed within the nominal group. This is a process of exclusion and transformation, in which the lexico-grammatical options offered by the nominal group restrict entry to other meanings, and thereby transform the way the world can be represented. As Fairclough (op. cit., p. 179) explains "the conversion of processes into nominals... has the effect of backgrounding the process itself – its tense and modality are not indicated – and usually not specifying its participants, so that who is doing what to whom is left implicit".

"Modality" refers to selections in the lexico-grammar which establish either the degree of probability or commitment the writer or speaker attaches to a process. Halliday (op. cit., pp. 335ff) has termed the former "modalization", the latter "modulation". Modalisation is also known as "epistemic modality" (ibid., p. 357). This is the term Fairclough (1993, p. 148) uses to characterise the distribution of modality in university promotional materials in which "the authority of the institution is marked through the use of high-affinity epistemic modalities. However, explicit obligation modalities are rare". These findings are consistent with those of the brochure analysis, in which the use of modality emerged as significant in constructing the identities and relationships of the consumption community. The analysis therefore supports Fairclough's (1992, p. 236) observation that "A major concern is to assess the relative import of modality features for (a) social relations in the discourse, and (b) controlling representations of reality".

In the construction of products in the brochures, nominalisation is used to create both the names of products and the attributes ascribed to them. These nominalised identities enable, on the one hand, the exclusion of human agency and its processes and

279

modalities - such as teachers, and teaching and learning - and, on the other, the inclusion of qualities which can be aligned with needs which must be met for consumers to enjoy the lifestyle which accrues from membership of the consumption community. Thus nominalisation facilitates the alignment of the identities of products with the attributes ascribed to consumers, thereby providing support for the interpretation of these products as "symbolized commodities", and students as "attributed consumer-egos" (Wernick, op. cit., p. 31). Thus, the creation of products as participants and the simultaneous separation of learning from, and displacement of, human agents and actual modalities and processes involved in teaching emerged in the analysis as a key step in the construction of the consumption community.

This process of product construction, as well as further themes covered in this chapter, are exemplified by an example in B1 which encompasses all the above products in a single 'meta-product'. Included under the code 'Nominalised products', the coded segment asserts that "[name of college] offers a <u>complete education package for overseas students seeking an international education</u>" (33-35). The unification of "complete", "education" and "package" in the nominal group creates a highly incongruent representation of the identities and relationships involved in actual teaching and learning. The exclusions include teachers and students, classroom practices, and processes of teaching and learning, with their attendant risks, tensions and uncertainties for students and teachers. These complexities have been transformed as a single, stable entity: the product to be transacted with consumers. This is then matched to potential consumers through "for", which casts "overseas students" as the beneficiaries of the product, an outcome which is subject to no questions of modality within the nominal group, and which extends the semantic reach of "complete" to imply a fit between the benefits offered by the product and the needs of "overseas students seeking an international education". Part of the larger nominal group, this narrowing of the field of "overseas students" to those

280

"seeking an international education" anticipates an identity for students which is linked to the segments coded under 'International lifestyle', the attraction offered to prospective students as a reason for studying and enhancing their English language skills.

The example from B1 also illustrates how nominalisation not only facilitates product construction at the level of the nominal group but also at the level of the clause, in which the product itself becomes a participant, further marginalising teachers and other human agents. This creates a grammatical metaphor – the nominalised product – within a grammatical metaphor – the product as a participant in the process (Fairclough, 1993, p. 155). In the example from B1, This capacity to behave as a participant is seen in the product's occupation of the goal position, enabling the college – as actor - to "offer" the product to the implied consumer – the reader.[79] While this illustrates the product as goal, examples under the code 'Products as actors' show how products – typically 'Courses' – also occupy the role of actors, thereby displacing teachers as agents in the management of teaching and learning. For example, in B6 "The intensive General English program prepares students of all English levels for work, University, TAFE or College; or travel" (65-67). The "program" here in effect provides itself for consumption – a behaviour characteristic of products within the consumption community and one which further marginalises teachers and other staff as agents.

Modality also contributes to the construction of products at both levels: within the nominal group, as explained above, and in the clause, through the use of the simple present tense without modal conditions. This is the most frequently used tense/modality combination in the brochures, a combination which constructs assertions about products as unqualified statements of fact, thereby adding to the impression created within the

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[79] In this way, the reader is identified with "overseas students" as a potential "beneficiary" of the products offered, the term used by Halliday (1985, p. 132) to described the participant in the clause "to whom or for whom the process is said to have taken place". This student/consumer as a "beneficiary" in this sense is a theme explored further in section 7.432, Consumption processes; and the role of the college as actor and the product as goal is examined in more detail in 7.42, The college as producer in key agent roles.

nominal groups that products are stable, and their performance reliable – free from the modalities of risk associated with human agents and processes.[80]

These same patterns of nominalisation, modality and tense emerged throughout the coding of products and attractions. Under 'Study', products related to teaching and learning are constructed in four areas: 'Courses', 'Classroom teaching', 'Learning environment', and 'Assessment'. In addition to these, further products are grouped under the code 'Student services', which includes products which support those associated with study and facilitate students' accomplishment of the 'International lifestyle'. These are explained in the next section.

A further pattern to emerge was how the vocabulary of skills dominated the nominalised identities of products associated with 'Study'. The wording used to construct these products exemplifies Fairclough's (1992, p. 209) observation that commodified educational discourse includes not only types and sub-types of skill but "a whole wording of the processes of learning and teaching based upon concepts of skill".

Thus, the wording of products included under 'Courses' typically identifies a particular kind(s) of English (textualised as the 'purposes' or 'students' it is 'for'), a proficiency level, and the duration of the course – exemplified by a course offered by B2, which is referred to in a three-line heading as "English for Academic Purposes (EAP) / Intermediate to advanced / Minimum 10 weeks" (132-134). In addition, these and other attributes, such as the skills focused on are commonly ascribed to courses through post-modification involving separate nominal groups, such as a "program" from B3 "for intending university and post secondary college students which includes Advanced General English Skills Development, Study Skills and Exam Techniques" (46-48) This construction of a range of courses by means of the division of English into different types,

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[80] The use of other forms of modalisation, as well as modulation, is explained below in 7.422. The provision of products and assurance of satisfaction.

282

levels, and skills exemplifies Fairclough's (loc. cit.) observation that the vocabulary of skills "helps commodify the content of language education".

Likewise, the coded segments under 'Classroom teaching' draw on this vocabulary of skills in the construction of products, here drawing on the skills teachers employ in using teaching resources. As with 'Courses', nominalisation here excludes teachers, thereby marginalising their role in language teaching and learning. In this process, teachers as agents are separated from their ability to facilitate and manage learning. This ability is simultaneously incorporated into products, where it is represented in terms of the resources and facilities teachers employ in teaching, such as techniques, methodologies, materials and classes. Examples include "the latest in modern teaching methods" (B2: 55), "current, effective methodology" (B6: 58-60), "a variety of modern techniques" (B4: 33-35), "authentic materials" (B6: 70-73), and "proven text books" (B1: 200-205). This separation of teachers from their professional resources blurs the distinction between teaching and learning, as in B1 (200-205) where "We help you develop the four skills... through the use of proven text books". This omission of teachers as agents and the retention of their professional resources facilitates the construction of teaching and learning as attributes of the product, in which teaching and learning are provided and consumed as part of the economic exchange between the college and the student. This is exemplified in an example from B6, in which "Classes", as an actor, "focus on" a second product "effective communication in English" which is divided into the further products "speaking, listening and situational "role plays"" which themselves "prepare students for "confident use of English outside the classroom" (67-70).

Also implicated in the marginalisation of teachers are agentless passives, which close the grammatical space available for human actors, thereby, like nominalisation, casting teachers as agents out of the community of consumption. Examples of how passives exclude teachers and other staff are included under the code 'Agentless passives'.

283

The coded segments under 'Learning environment' reveal that features of the environment in which students study are, like 'Courses' and 'Classroom teaching', constructed as products which can operate as participants within the clause – and themselves enhance learning. These products are often presented as provided by the college, as in "[Name of college] provides <u>an optimum learning environment in a modern air-conditioned building</u>" (B1: 51-52). The vocabulary of skills appears again under this code, or at least is implied in the selection of features of the learning environment which support the development of particular skill areas, such as "<u>computers for interactive language activities</u>" and "<u>language laboratory</u>" (B5: 36-47). As well as being replaced by the learning environment, human agents may themselves be constructed as products within it, as in B6 (38-34), where "<u>Full-time student officer</u>" is listed along with facilities such as "<u>Language laboratory and computer area</u>".

The segments which instantiate 'Assessment' contribute to this exclusion of teachers and teaching, and construction of products as offering only benefits to students. The products included under 'Assessment' include the four main types of test conducted within ELICOS colleges: these are 'on-arrival', 'in-course', 'end-of-course', and entry tests into courses which articulate into other educational institutions. 'On-arrival' refers to the test used to determine which level of course students will be allocated on arrival at the college. This type of assessment is constructed in the brochures as the "placement test", a nominalisation which implies no risk of failure or disappointment, only the painless matching of a student's skills to a product to enhance them. An example in B3 illustrates how this construction operates in conjunction with other elements in the clause to minimise the risk and obligations posed by assessment: "A <u>placement test</u> is given on arrival to place you in <u>an appropriate class</u>" (91-92). Here, the imposition on the consumer is minimised by combining "placement test", an agentless passive involving the omission of both the student tested and the tester, and "appropriate". The result is that it is not clear

284

what or who places "you", as this agency is lost within "A placement test is given on arrival".[81] Similarly, an example from B1 reinforces this construction of "placement test" in which it is not attempted/passed but "completed" (155-158), a process which does not imply levels of performance.

As with 'Classroom teaching', then, the construction of assessment removes any uncertainty or obligation in the relationship between the consumer and the product which could arise from human agency and processes – such as evaluation. In references to 'in-course' and 'end-of-course assessment', assessment is again constructed as having only positive outcomes for students, exemplified by the construction of positive outcomes as a mathematical certainty in "Regular testing = faster progress!" (B5: 72-73), or for negative outcomes to be obscured, again by the judicious use of "appropriate" (B5: 71-72) and the exclusion of assessment altogether, as in "Upon completion of your course..." (B4: 86-88).

Finally, references to tests linked to course entry requirements are included where the college has articulation arrangements with universities and is therefore accountable to them for its assessment of students' proficiency.[82] While three of the colleges had these arrangements, only B2 referred to testing requirements relating to them. This marked inclusion can probably be explained by B2's positioning itself in the market as a college with an 'academic' focus, thereby seeking to differentiate its products from those offered

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[81] As in the example of "overseas students", above, this construction of consumers positions them as the "beneficiary" (Halliday, 1985, p. 132). Here, the "placement test" is the goal of the process "given", freeing the absented consumer to become the "beneficiary" of the process. This constructs the consumers relationship with the test as free from the imposition which would be implied by being the goal of an assessment process, such as 'tested'.

[82] According to these arrangements, certain ELICOS courses provide entry to universities without the need for students to take a public English language examination. Within ELICOS, this is termed 'direct entry', and provides a means of offering consumers a 'package' of ELICOS and university courses. This attracts consumers because it avoids the perceived risks posed by a public examination – the alternative method of entering university. Instead, universities accept the results of assessments conducted by college staff.

by other colleges[83]. Conversely, the other two colleges were not positioning themselves in this way, and therefore did not have a reason to risk compromising the construction of the consumer as free from uncertainty and obligation by including compulsory assessment requirements. In B2, these risks are reduced primarily using the nominalisation "entry". While not removing these risk completely, it enables, like "placement test", a construction of assessment which excludes actual participants – notably teachers – and negative outcomes, thereby minimising anxieties and risks for students. For example, in "[Name of college] tests all students on entry to EAP courses" (158-159), "on entry" constructs the students' access to the "EAP courses" as assured, so reversing the construction of imposition and risk produced by "all students" as the goal of "tests". To the extent that these risks and impositions cannot avoided, they can be attributed to the universities, as in "Students who pass all the course components for EAP 2 satisfy the English language entry requirements for the University of L without further English testing" (B2: 160-163).[84]

7.312 Attractions of the 'international lifestyle'

It is not sufficient for products to be constructed as having stable identities which can enhance needs imputed to students. As explained above, there is also the need to construct a 'lifestyle' which is calculated to attract prospective students as something they will attain during and through studying at the college. The value, then, of the products offered

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[83] This an example of how the promotion of tests as offering rewards for those who pass facilitates the diversification of the market for English according to the different 'kinds' of English assessed; and tests and test scores in turn help to *match* potential consumers to each 'tested segment' of the market. This use of tests to shape the market through the tailoring of rewards is consistent with Shohamy (2001, pp. 105-106, 117ff), who, drawing on Bourdieu (1991), argues that tests constitute a form of "symbolic power" (p. 123) which controls the behaviour of students/consumers by offering them the hope of increasing the value of their "capital" (p. 106) by gaining the "market value" (p. 123) of a pass, but who, in seeking this reward, subordinate their own life chances to 'those with vested interests' in testing (p. 118).

[84] This reference to the university can be interpreted as drawing on the authority over students which Fairclough (1996, p. 78) identifies as the "traditional professional- (or 'producer'-) oriented relationship between university and applicant". On this interpretation, the university authority both

by the college lies less in the scarcity of the skills they provide than in the exclusivity of the lifestyle these skills make available to consumers. This addition of value to the product through its connection to a desirable lifestyle provides further evidence for the construction of a community of consumption, in which the value of products lies not in their utility, but in how, as "symbolized commodities" (Wernick, loc. cit.), they can enhance the "social standing" (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, op. cit., pp. 295ff) of the consumer.

As the examples under the code 'International lifestyle' show, the construction of attractions typically parallels that of products, in which nominalisations, and the exclusion of human agents, actual processes, and the modalities of risk and obligation, construct them as stable, reliable rewards for learning English. However, unlike the construction of products, the dominant wordings derive not from the concept of skill, but rather from a world of attractions connoted by the notions of 'international' and 'cosmopolitan', the most frequently occurring modifiers. These wordings construct a lifestyle which is, for example, "exciting and modern..." and "healthy" (B1: 17-21), "very safe" (B5: 172), "adventurous" (B3: 143-145), and "relaxed and easy" (B6: 217-218), involving "the maximum opportunity to make friends" (B1: 264-267), in which "Major shopping centres, golf courses, tennis courts and an Olympic pool are all close by" (B2: 380-381), and where the "people are warm and friendly and happy to welcome you to their country" (B4: 194-196). These wordings render as attractive the social/self development opportunities presented by studying with students of different nationalities and first languages: the social, cultural and sports activities available where the college is located and in Australia more generally: and the global opportunities made available through studying English – such as tourism, international business and studying at tertiary level in an English-speaking country.

influences the colleges and provides them with a way of countering the authority of consumers while maintaining the construction of the 'pure' consumer.

Access to this lifestyle is facilitated by products included under the code 'Student services', including 'Orientation', 'Social activities' and 'Further study placement'; and also 'Courses' - exemplified in an example from B1 (40-44) in which "our specialist courses" are said to "benefit" three kinds of potential consumers, each distinguished by different lifestyle needs: "a student who needs English competence for further study or career advancement, a tourist who wishes to improve conversational skills or an international businessman or woman with professional English communication needs". Each of these identities is drawn from the cast of the 'International lifestyle', and therefore exemplifies Wernick's (loc. cit.) notion of the "attributed consumer ego", in which consumers are attributed with desires which can be effortlessly sated by consumption of the "symbolised commodity" with which they are aligned.

7.413 Interdiscursive relations

In regard to the correlations between the brochure and the diary findings, the combined effect of the patterns of product construction reported above is to exclude teachers as agents in processes of teaching, to remove the risks, uncertainties, impositions and obligations from processes of learning, and to render learning as stable, divisible products constructed from skills. As shown in Table 12, these constructions mirror the marginalisation of teachers revealed in the diary analysis, where they were employed on the basis of cost rather than pedagogic expertise, pressured through fear of redundancy to 'provide' learning to students – standardised in modules, units and skills – as a 'debt to be repaid'.

Furthermore, the emergence of 'attractions' helps explain the finding in the diaries that English language teaching is not valued by managers in pedagogic terms, but in so far as it makes students 'happy'. In terms of the link between learning and lifestyle, the creation of happy students depends on teachers creating, and providing students with the

288

means to achieve, the lifestyle they desire. Furthermore, the commercial significance of this lifestyle in adding value to English language learning provides an explanation for why, as evidenced the diary analysis, teachers may be employed for 'looks', rather than for their teaching ability, becoming themselves valued as 'attractions' within the desirable lifestyle - exemplified by D3's (74-86) account of how his professional identity was compromised by advances from students who found him attractive.

These links, then, between products, attractions and the diary analysis provide evidence that the same discourse is instantiated in the diaries and the brochures, in which the struggles in the diaries are resolved to maximise the appeal of the producer/consumer relationship to potential students. In this process, the risks posed to the consumer by processes of teaching and learning are removed as teachers are separated and excluded from teaching/learning, and their ability to teach is incorporated into products. The construction of products and attractions, however, is only one condition which must met in the construction of the community of consumption. The next section explains how the college is constructed as the producer.

7.42   The college as producer in key agent roles

Table 14: College displaces and possesses/controls

Themes	Codes	Sub-codes	Occ's/ Broch's	App.
1) College displaces other agents	1) College as actor		30/6	5.211
2) Possesses /controls participants and processes	1) Personal system	1) 'Our'	32/6	5.2211
		2) 'We'	28/5	5.2212
		3) 'Us'	4/2	5.2213
	2) Modifiers		28/6	5.2212
	3) Circumstantial elements		18/4	5.223
	4) Possessive attributive clauses		4/3	5.224

7.421   Displacement, possession and control

'College' is a nominalisation which, like the products and attractions cited above, excludes human agents and processes, and the modalities associated within them. It differs from these other nominalisations, however, both in its dominance of agency within the brochures and in the persistent ambivalence of its identity.

As the dominant agent, the college displaces teachers and other staff as actors in clauses involving the provision of products. The coded segments which evidence this are included under the code 'College as actor'. An example from B3 illustrates how the 'college' displaces teachers as agents in the provision of products which, as explained above, are constructed from the skills and resources employed by teachers. In the example, the "college" itself "uses modern teaching methods, and highly qualified and experienced professional language teachers to help you achieve the maximum level of learning possible" (111-113). Here the college not only displaces teachers as the users of teaching methods but – in a move which exemplifies the notion of the 'omniscient supervisor' – "uses" teachers themselves to maximise consumers' satisfaction, captured in the nominalisation "the maximum level of learning possible". The separation of "methods" from "teachers" and their reconstruction as resources of the college introduces the second theme: that the college possesses and controls participants and processes.

This theme emerges from the combination of the four codes which instantiate it in Table 14. These codes together highlight the construction of the college as controlling contingencies which might otherwise introduce uncertainty into the relationship between the products and consumers. The first three codes are the focus here.

Under the code 'Personal system' are coded segments which include 'our', 'we', and 'us', terms used throughout the brochures as interchangeable with the 'college's' and 'college'. This use of the personal system is an example of what Fairclough (op. cit., p. 216) has term "synthetic personalization", the "simulation of interpersonal meaning on the

290

basis of strategic calculation of effects" which "follows from the subordination of all other aspects of discursive practice and meaning to achieving instrumental goals". Operating rather like grammatical 'flags of convenience', 'our', 'we', and 'us' suggest an identity for 'college' which is human-like in its implication of a collective voice, while the actual referents of these terms, as well as of the 'college' itself, remain unclear. This creates an "ambivalence" (ibid., p. 173) both of the voice(s) represented in the brochures and of the college's identity as an agent.

These ambivalences are revealed in the shifting relations between the 'college', its substitutes, and other participants in the clause, in a process of negative definition which leads the referents of these terms to change through the brochures. These shifts reveal a contradiction in the construction of the 'college' which results from the need for it both to include staff in its 'collective voice' as professional members of the college and at the same time to appropriate their professional resources and subordinate them to its control in the provision of products. This contradiction can be seen in an example from B2 (9-12) in which the potential referents of "our" progressively narrow as the list of nominalisations for which "We have won an international reputation" expands.

The example is "We have won an international reputation for our educational standards, our highly qualified staff and our commitment to the needs of overseas students" (9-12). Though "We" and the first "our" might include all personnel at the college in a collective which shares the same "educational standards", the second instance of "our" distinguishes the "highly qualified staff" from members of this collective. As well as separating "educational standards" from "staff" in a move which exemplifies the appropriation of teachers' resources, this exclusion of the "staff" from the collective creates a dilemma for the interpretation of the final instance of "our". The problem is that the "our commitment to the needs of overseas students" implies either that "our" has expanded again to include "staff" or that they do not share the "commitment". The first

interpretation contradicts the second use of "our"; the second interpretation contradicts the construction of staff required to attract students to the college. The problem points to tensions between the need to present the "college" as a collective voice whose members share values which will attract students to the college; the need to establish the "college" as the controller of staff and potential sources of uncertainty in the product/consumer relationship; and the need to promote staff as professionally competent. The resolution of these tensions emerges later in the coding system, explained below, and lies in the construction of agency and responsibility within the consumption community.

The use of "our" here also illustrates the construction of the college as 'possessor', an implication it shares with the possessive modifier 'college's'. The latter is included under the code 'Modifiers', in which 'college's' and the name of the college are used – like 'our' – to construct participants and processes as in included the sphere of influence of the college. These participants include the products and attractions discussed above, but also members of staff, who emerge not as independent agents but again appear as 'resources' of the college – to be used to provide satisfaction to consumers. These forms of modification, then, extend the reach of the college's agency to processes of which 'its' staff are actors. Thus, in an example from B2, "[name of college]'s own academic counsellor provides a special service for our students" (66-67). As the example also illustrates, 'students' are subject to possessive modification too, not to represent them as used by the college but to represent the college as their 'mentor/protector' in their consumption of products and enjoyment of the lifestyle offered by the college.

The only group not constructed as possessed/controlled, mentored/protected or in some other way affected by the authority of the college are managers and owners themselves. The identity of the 'college', then, although it may shift between including and excluding staff, has a core membership which, though never referred to *as* members, is nevertheless the group which – by default – is identified with it.

292

When members of management or owners are included, special arrangements are made within the lexico-grammar to ensure that they are not constructed in contra-distinction to the college. Thus, examples under the code 'Circumstantial elements' (Halliday op. cit., pp.137ff) specify the college as a location, rather than as an agent, enabling the inclusion of agents and voices which might otherwise be subordinated to the college in the ways described above. In an example from B1, "at [name of college]" enables the inclusion of a manager as actor, as in "All classroom teaching at [name of college] is overseen by the Director of Studies" (B1: 187-188). As a member of the group which is not constructed as subordinate to the "college", the presence of the manager as actor requires the absence of the college as the possessor/controller, made possible by the circumstantial "at the [name of college]" which enables the "college" to circumscribe "teaching" without excluding the manager from the collective it represents. In another example, "I have learnt a lot at [name of college]" (B6: 161-162) illustrates how the use of the circumstantial enables a shift of voice from that of the college, here to the voice of a student in a testimonial, while again maintaining the presence of the college.

These first two themes, then, contribute to the creation of the college as the 'omniscient supervisor' by constructing it as the controller/possessor of teachers and their resources and the mentor/protector of students. These constructions are, however, not sufficient to enable the college, as the producer, to assure that it can provide products which will satisfy consumers. To accomplish this the college requires *expertise* – a construction which completes the college as the 'omniscient supervisor', and the subordination of teachers as 'operatives'. This is the focus of the next section.

7.422 The provision of products and assurance of satisfaction

Table 15: College provides/assures satisfaction

Themes	Sub-themes	Codes	Sub-codes	Occ's/ Broch's	App.
3) Provides/ assures satisfaction	1) College as the expert	1) Nominalisations		17/6	5.2311
		2) College/managers as actors		3/1	5.2312
	2) Staff as qualified	1) Nominalisations		25/6	5.2321
		2) Non-finite hypotactic			
	3) Product provision and satisfaction:	enhancement	1) Cause: purpose	4/1	5.23221
	1) Product provision	1) Modalisation: probability	1) 'will'	16/6	5.233111
			2) 'can/may'	4/2	5.233112
		2) Modulation: incl./ability	1) 'can'	14/5	5.233121
	2) Consumer satisfaction	1) Modalisation: probability	1) 'will'	17/3	5.233211

The construction of the college as the mentor/protector of students, seen in the previous section, and as the provider of products and assurer of satisfaction, the major theme to emerge in this section, exemplifies the need in the consumption community to counter what Sulkunen (loc. cit.) has identified as a "culture of suspicion" which permeates the consumer/producer relationship. This suspicion arises because, in the absence of utility as a rational basis for promoting and purchasing products, the evaluation of consumer choices and of any risks involved – such as failure to learn English – "has nowhere to look" (ibid.). The "Beautiful Life" (ibid.) promoted by products does not, Sulkunen argues, provide such a rational basis for choice because its attraction depends on "individual happiness and pleasure" (ibid.). In order to counter this uncertainty about the value of choices, there is, then, a need for producers to provide "protection and reassurance" (ibid.) to consumers.

The construction of the college as able to assure product provision and satisfaction to students is evidenced by the combination of three sub-themes. The first constructs the college as an *expert* producer, the second constructs teachers and other staff as *qualified*, and the third draws on the competence established in the first two themes, as well as the authority of the college as the dominant agent, to construct as predictable and certain the outcome that the products provided by the college will satisfy students.

7.4221 The college as 'expert' and staff as 'qualified'

The distinction between 'expert and 'qualified' emerges in the attributes ascribed to the college and teachers under the two codes 'Nominalisations'. The distinction develops the theme, identified above, of the college as the dominant agent which possesses/controls teachers and their resources. Thus, the college as 'expert' implies the competence, authority and professional standing required to act as an autonomous agent. In constructing the college in this way, nominalisations typically emphasis the colleges' publicly acknowledged success/reputation in providing 'high quality' courses and other products. An example from B5 illustrates this construction of expertise, according to which "[Name of college] is <u>one the Australia's most successful international English Language Colleges</u>" (16-17). Here, the success of the college is identified within the context of the whole of Australia, and by comparison with other "international English Language Colleges" – thus linking its expertise both to English language teaching and the 'international lifestyle' to which this provides access.

Likewise, in an example from B6, "[Name of college] is <u>one of the few colleges that can meet the needs of very advanced learners</u>" (85-86). While the nominalisation is ascribed as an attribute which constructs the college as an expert, the post-modifying "<u>that can meet the needs of very advanced learners</u>" further constructs the college as the actor which employs this expertise. This example of the college as expert actor links the

295

example to those under the code 'College/managers as actors'. Here, there are just two instances of managers taking actor roles, which construct them as experts; both are from B1. Their value lies in making explicit how the college – represented here by managers – optimises the consumer/product relationship by acting as a 'supervisor' in reducing the autonomy of staff. Thus, "All classroom teaching at [name of college] is overseen by the Director of Studies" (187-188). This example exemplifies both the dominance of the college/managers as experts and the exclusion of teachers as agents, reduced here to the agentless meta-product "All classroom teaching".

This exclusion of teachers as agents is perpetuated in their construction as 'qualified', a term which does not imply that holders have the means to act autonomously, only that they have certain knowledge and skills which provide them with the *potential* to do so. Furthermore, while the notion of 'qualified' allows for the supervision of those qualified, it does not rule out their responsibility for action. Illustrations of the construction of these qualifications are included under the code 'Teachers as qualified: nominalisations'. An example from B6 exemplifies this construction, in which "Our teachers are all highly experienced professionals with specialist qualifications in teaching English as a foreign language" (B6: 168-170). Here "teachers" are distinguished from the referents of "our", and represented as an attribute of the college – thereby enhancing its expertise at the expense of their capacity to act as independent agents.

At the same time, teachers are identified in this and other examples as 'professional', with its implication of independent judgement and standards. This point raises again the tension identified above between the college as the possessor/controller of teachers and their resources, and the need to construct teachers as competent to teach. The resolution to the problem of how teachers can both be subject to the expertise of the college and remain 'professional' is suggested on the few occasions were teachers are constructed as actors.

296

In these examples, teachers are either constructed to have been unsupervised actors only prior to their employment at the college or, after employment, to be not fully responsible for teaching. In an example of the former, and the only example of teachers as the actor of 'teach', B1 explains that "Many have taught in other countries" (68-69). It is, though, the four examples of the latter, also from B1, under the code 'Non-finite hypotactic enhancement: clause: purpose' (Halliday, op. cit., p. 214) which suggest how teachers can be constructed as both controlled by the college and 'professionally' responsible for their actions.

In these examples, teachers and other staff may be included as actors, but they do not decide the purposes of their actions, as in "Teachers participate in regular seminars and language conferences on new practices and theories in the teaching field // to ensure the most up-to-date teaching techniques are used in the classrooms" (194-197). Here "Teachers", as the actor in "participate", are constructed as acting to 'qualify' themselves. However, they have not been carried over as the assumed agent in the hypotactic clause, and have therefore not been ascribed with the capacity for purposive action. Indeed the implication here is that the college, as the dominant agent and expert, is the one who "ensures the most up-to-date teaching techniques are used in the classrooms". The implication is that teachers are responsible for carrying out actions but not for establishing their purposes – and therefore not for evaluating whether these have been achieved. This construction transforms the 'professional' expertise teachers employ in establishing teaching methods and purposes. In this reworking of 'professional', teachers are reconstructed as 'operatives', able only to carry out and be held responsible for supervised/directed procedures, specifically that of 'providing' learning to students.

7.4222 Product provision and satisfaction

The construction of the college as expert and teachers as qualified operatives enables the *college* to assure prospective students that teachers will provide products which satisfy them. Assurances of 'Product provision' are instantiated under the code 'Modalisation: probability' (ibid., pp. 334ff), textualised using 'will' and 'can/may'; and under the code 'Modulation: inclination/ability' (ibid.), again textualised using 'can'.

The coded segments under 'Modalisation: probability: 'will'' show how the provision of products is represented as both predictable and certain, as in an example from B4 in which "We.... provide special training modules which <u>will</u> offer ideal preparation for study at TAFE" (138-140). Likewise, the actions of staff are subject to this predictability – and therefore determination and loss of agency, as in "Our Counsellors <u>will</u> assist you with your choice of further study..." (B6: 133-135). On the other hand, the four examples of 'Can/may' are the only textualisations of the possibility that product provision might be compromised, such as the – discreetly nominalised – risk represented in "any personal problems that <u>may</u> arise" (B1: 256-258).

The final textualisation of assurances of product provision again involves 'Can', used, under the code 'Modulation: inclination/ability', to reassure consumers, not regarding the *predictability* of product provision but the college's *capacity* to provide products. This emphasis on capacity complements the appropriation of teachers and their resources, and their construction as 'qualified', by positioning them as part of the college's ability to meet consumers' needs. This is evidenced both in the replacement of staff by the 'college' as actor and the modalisation of the process, as in "[Name of college] <u>can</u> prepare you for these examinations..." (B3: 103-107); and in the attribution of agency to staff as possessed/controlled, as in "[Name of college's] full-time accommodation officer <u>can</u> arrange..." (B2: 365-375).

The assurance of 'Consumer satisfaction' is instantiated under the code 'Modalisation: probability', again textualised using 'will', which here constructs as predictable and certain consumer satisfaction on consumption of products. This focus on satisfaction differs from assurances of product provision by focusing on consumption from, as it were, the 'consumer end' by emphasising its beneficial affects on the consumer. In B2, for example, "…you will learn the language skills necessary for further studies…" (142-150), and, in B1, "You will have the maximum opportunity to make friends" (263-267). Here the assurance is made but qualified by the potential implied by "opportunity", albeit modified by "maximum": an acknowledgement perhaps that the making of friends represents a limit to the products about which the college can assure satisfaction, dependent as it is not on relations between the college, its products and consumers but on relations between consumers *themselves*.

These assurances of satisfaction using 'will' do not imply, however, that the consumer is without agency, as teachers and other staff are constructed in assurances of product provision. With consumers, the appearance of determination arises in the absence of an account of the freedoms enshrined in the process of consumption itself, the aspect of the consumption community addressed in the final sections of this chapter.

7.423   Supporting voices and agents

Table 16: Supporting voices/agents

Themes	Sub-themes	Codes	Occ's/ Broch's	App.
4) Supporting voices/ agents	1) Letter from director: 1) Personalisation	1) Personal system	12/1	5.24111
	2) Responsibility qualified	1) Mental processes	2/1	5.24121
	3) Products extolled	1) Modification	4/2	5.24131
	4) 'hard work'	1) Nominalisation	1/1	5.24141
	2) Students' testimonials 1) Personalisation	1) Personal system	11/1	5.24211
	2) Products extolled	1) Nominalisation	5/1	5.24221
		2) Modification	6/1	5.24222
		3) Mental processes	3/1	5.24223
	3) Guarantors	1) Nominalisations	13/3	5.2431
		2) In agent roles	8/3	5.2422

The final theme which instantiates 'The provision of products and assurance of satisfaction' focuses on voices and agents which are included in the brochures to support the construction of the college as 'expert'. Three types of support emerged in the analysis: a 'letter' from a director addressed to the reader; brief 'testimonials' addressed to the reader from students; and references to accreditation and other evidence of recognition by macro 'guarantors', including NEAS, the ELICOS Association, the RSA, international examination organisations, and an internationally recognised parent organisation of one of the colleges.[85] Only one brochure included a letter (B4: 149-161) and one testimonials (B5: 159-190), and three drew on guarantors to support their claims – though the others did so through the imagery used on the brochures, in which the logos of accreditation and other macro actors are prominently displayed.

Despite their low incidence, the letter and testimonials were significant in revealing options in the discourse which enable the inclusion of voices other than those implicated by the college and its substitutes. In constructing these voices, the personal

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[85] The significance of macro actors such as these is explained in more detail in Chapter 8. The social/institutional perspective.

system is used to synthetically personalising the relationship with reader, in the sense explained above (Fairclough, op. cit., p. 216). Thus, while other elements in the personal system appear throughout the brochures, 'I', 'me, and 'my' appear only here. Most significantly for the construction of assurances, 'I' is included as the subject in "mental processes" (Halliday, op. cit., pp. 106ff). These are the processes which reflect how people perceive, understand and value the world, processes in which the subject is constructed as the "sensor" and that which is sensed the "phenomenon" (ibid., p. 111).

Grammatically, "phenomena" behave, Halliday (ibid., p. 109) explains, less like "things" than "facts" because "they cannot do anything, nor can they have anything done to them". Examples from the testimonials include "I like the <u>attitude of the teachers</u> and I appreciate <u>their enthusiasm</u>" (B5: 186-187)[86]; and "I like <u>the communication with other students from all over the world</u>" (160-161).

The significance of mental processes for the student testimonials, then, is that they establish a voice in which products are transformed from 'things' produced by the college into phenomena whose qualities reflect the perceptions of consumers, enabling the attribution by consumers of modifiers which extol the quality of products. Examples include "The facilities are <u>excellent</u>" (B5: 165-166), and teachers in "The teachers are <u>good</u>" (160-161). This is the voice of the 'satisfied consumer', who speaks – as it were – from a possible future constructed for readers, testifying that in this future English language skills have indeed provided access to the 'international lifestyle', reflected in the wording of nominalisations such as "I have met <u>many people from other countries</u>" (B5: 180-182).

In this synthetically personalised relationship between sensors and readers, the construction of products as phenomena both adds to the credibility of claims about them,

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[86] It is significant that neither of these attributes undermine the more general construction of teachers as 'qualified' but not 'experts', in the sense explained above.

because they appear be expressed by a human voice – identifiable both as an individual and as embodying the desirable lifestyle that comes with learning English – and simultaneously makes these claims less accountable because, as phenomena, they are tied to the perceptions of individual sensors.

In the director's letter, the personal system is also used to synthetically personalise the relationship with potential consumers, thereby adding to the attractions of the college. However, as the participant closest to representing the voice of the college, and the person who is accountable to NEAS for the integrity of teaching and learning at the college, the construction of the director's letter reflects the tensions between producers, consumers and regulatory authorities.

This is evidenced on one of the few occasions in the brochures where students are constructed as accountable for their learning – a construction which creates risk for the producer because it implies a lack of certainty in the product/consumer relationship which is to be reduced through the actions of the consumer, not the college or its staff. Thus, in "I hope that, through hard work and participation, you achieve your goals and have fun at the same time" (B4: 153-155), the mental process "<u>hope</u>" locates the phenomenon which follows not as an obligation for which the student will be held accountable but as a perception of the sensor, and therefore not enforceable. The potential student is then positioned as the actor of "<u>achieve</u>", a process which has as its goal "<u>your goals</u>", and is separated from "<u>having fun</u>". The question of how these goals are to be achieved is answered by "<u>through hard work and participation</u>", but here the student as the agent is blurred by the nominalisation, which, through the use of parenthesis, is itself constructed as an optional element in the clause. This construction, then, while acknowledging the need for the student to be the agent in learning, a question of the college's integrity, shields the student from the full onus of responsibility, a reflection of the commercial pressure on the college as mentor/protector of students.

302

7.424   Interdiscursive relations

Referring back to Table 12, the construction of the college as 'provider/assurer' correlates with the finding of the diary analysis that teachers are held accountable for delivering students' success in learning as a 'debt' to be repaid. On the other hand, the construction of the college as the 'possessor/controller', and teachers as 'operatives', correlates with teachers' inability to teach effectively because their professional authority is subordinated to the model of teaching/learning designed to attract new students, a process in which – exemplifying the role of operative – their ability to question/decide the effectiveness and purposes of teaching/learning is removed.

Consolidating this subordination, the college as the possessor/controller of teachers' resources is reflected in the diaries in the control of teaching materials by managers, and, extending the notion of 'resources' to those brought to teaching as part of the teachers' professional habitus, in the manipulation of teachers' habitus through evaluation/appraisal practices. Moreover, the identification in the students' testimonials of a likeable "attitude" and "enthusiasm" as desirable attributes of teachers correlates with the appraisal of the D8 (78-93) in terms of her "attitude", rather than her expertise in teaching.

On the other hand, the construction of the college as the 'mentor/protector' of students in consumption correlates with the reported behaviour of managers in protecting students from the risks of failure and disappointment involved in language learning – exemplified by the creation of the 'impression' of learning through the over-promotion of students, and the pressures on teachers to easify assessment, inflate students marks, and alter attendance records.

In summary, then, these correlations provide evidence that the discourse of commercialisation constructs students as assured of success in learning but without responsibility for achieving it, and teachers as charged with this responsibility but denied

303

professional agency because this is appropriated and transformed by the college in appraising teachers and attracting new students. Together, these constructions correlate with the finding that teachers perceive themselves to have lower status than managers, and establish the framework of identities and relationships within which consumption can occur.

However, two further conditions must be met in order to complete the construction of the consumption community: the alignment of consumers, as "attributed consumer-egos" (Wernick, loc. cit.), with the benefits which accrue from the consumption of products as "symbolised commodities" (ibid.); and an account of the process of consumption itself.

7.43 Students and readers as consumers

The two major themes to emerge in the construction of consumers are 'Students/readers as beneficiaries' and 'Consumption processes'. In the former, students and readers are ascribed attributes which can be enhanced by consumption of the products offered to them. In the latter, this construction of the consumer enters the processes involved in consumption itself, a construction which completes the community of consumption.

In relation to these two themes, the coding procedures provide evidence that – apart from their representation in the personal system as 'they/their' and 'you/your' – the construction of students and readers mirrors each other: indeed, they become interchangeable, constructed using the same lexico-grammatical operations to merge into the same identity and relationships. This 'premature' construction of the reader as a student, and the effortless conversion of identities it implies, is, perhaps, to be expected given that the construction of students within the consumption community is designed to persuade readers to become students. Reflecting this merging of identities, the coding system in the following sections does not distinguish between the construction of readers

304

and students. The first section focuses on their construction as beneficiaries, the second on how they enter consumption processes.

7.431   Students and readers as beneficiaries

Table 17: Students/readers as beneficiaries

Themes	Sub-themes	Codes	Sub-codes	Os/Bs	App.
1) Students/ readers as beneficiaries	1) Students/readers as aspirations, needs and skills	1) Nominalisations		56/6	5.3111
	2) Possession and product selection	1) Personal system: 'their/your'		29/6	5.3121
		2) Modulation: incl./ability	1) 'can/may'	16/6	5.3122
		3) Hypotactic verb group: projection		13/5	5.3123
		4) Hypotactic enhancement: condition: positive		10/4	5.3124

7.4311 Aspirations, needs and skills

The coded segments under 'Nominalisations' show how nominalisations construct the attributes ascribed to students. thereby representing them as the possessors of aspirations, needs, skills and other qualities which can be aligned with the beneficial properties of products. Thus. students are endowed with "their business vocabulary" (B2: 181-205), and readers with "your communicative ability" (B4-58) and "your level of achievement" (B3: 96-99); "overseas students" have "needs" (B1: 9-12), and readers have "your personal and professional needs" (B1: 80-82); while aspirations include "entry into the Australian school system" (B2: 296-308) and "your academic and career goals" (B6: 136-139).

In the relationship between these attributes. a certain level or type of *skill* requires enhancement in order to meet a *need* to advance the consumer's employment or other *aspirations* associated with the 'international lifestyle'. Thus. in an example from B1 "Business communication course for students at upper intermediate level who require English for their career or further business" (109-111). and at B6. the "Intensive General

English program prepares students of all levels for work, University, TAFE, or travel" (65-67).

As well as illustrating the relationship between these attributes, the coded segments offer examples of how they are aligned with products. In this alignment, there is a precise fit between the aspirations, needs and skills presented and the enhancements provided, a relationship in which the degree and types of attribute ascribed are mirrored in the range and types of products offered, as at B1, where courses enable "you to specialise in the English language study which best suits your personal and professional needs" (80-82).

7.4312 Possession and product selection

While the college *offers* these alignments, the matching of products to attributes is a matter for consumers. The construction of the consumer as the arbiter of product selection is evidenced in the segments under the code 'Product selection and possession'. Significantly for the construction of teachers and other staff, this capacity is unmediated by other participants – teachers do not employ their expertise in identifying students' learning needs; rather, consumers select the products of their choice.

Of the four codes which contribute to this construction of the consumer's capacity for choice, the most frequently occurring code, 'Personal system: 'their/your''. The segments under this code construct consumers as possessing the resources and the authority to choose from the products on offer. These resources include the period of study time they have purchased, in, for example, "Having fun, making friends and getting to know [name of city] will be an important part of your time at [name of college]" (B2: 388-390); the classes they attend, and the teachers who provide learning during this period, as in "On Monday and Friday you have your normal 'home' class with your teacher, who also monitors your progress and helps you arrange your program" (B5: 89-91); and the

306

learning environment itself, in which "Your [name of college] classrooms are modern and spacious and equipped with the latest technology" (B5: 36-47).

Text segments under the final three codes construct the relationship between the consumer's capacity to choose and the products on offer. This is a relationship in which consumer choice is unconstrained by the modalities of failure or imposition, in which choice is, as it were, itself a matter of consumer choice. Under the code 'Modulation: incl./ability: 'can/may'', for example, "you can enjoy a wide variety of outdoor activities such as tennis, swimming, sailing, golf and horse riding" (B3: 145-149); and, at B2, "Students can enter at any level for beginner to advanced, and progress as their skills develop" (112-113). In this example, the only constraint on the students' freedom to choose is the link to the rate at which their skills "develop". This can be viewed as an "ergative" process (Halliday, op. cit., p. 144ff) which, it is argued below, reduces the process of consumption to a relationship between consumers' skills and products, thereby excluding all participants – including the consumer – and processes which could condition the enhancement of these skills. Anticipating this argument here, then, in the example from B2, the students' capacity to choose a level in which to "progress" is not subject to evaluation or constraint; rather, "progress" is a benefit which accrues to the consumer through the alignment of products to skills.

The penultimate code, 'Hypotactic verbal group: projection', identifies the construction of consumer choice within the verbal group. Halliday (ibid., p. 266) explains that "projection" expresses "a relationship **between** processes – between a mental or verbal process on the one hand, and another process (of any kind) that is mentalized or verbalized (projected) by it". The examples under this code are mental processes. However, unlike the mental processes noted above, projection does not construct a "phenomenon" (ibid., p. 267); rather, what is projected is a "metaphenomena" because it is both tied to the perceptions of the actor and "may or may not happen" (ibid.). In the

brochures, however, any such uncertainty created by projection is usually offset –
immediately and unconditionally – by the products offered by the college. For example, in
B1, "[Name of college] offers a range of courses for students who <u>wish to combine</u>
language learning with a holiday in Australia" (123-126), and, in B2, "This course is
designed for students who <u>wish to proceed</u> to business related studies or to a career in
business" (174-175). This use of projection constructs as a 'metaphenomenon' an
aspiration which defines the consumer, and, by aligning a product with this aspiration,
simultaneously eliminates any doubt about it potential to be met. For an aspiration to be
met, then, it only remains for the consumer to choose the product aligned with it. This
constructs learning as a function of consumers' choices in the service of their aspirations
but as otherwise unconditioned, thereby reinforcing the exclusion of participants and
processes – exemplified by teachers and teaching expertise – which might introduce
uncertainty or imposition into the relationship between consumers and products.

This unmediated relationship between aspirations, choices and products is also
constructed through conditional clause structures, instantiated in examples under the code
'Hypotactic enhancement: condition: positive' (ibid., p. 214). For example, at B4, "If you
wish to study at University or at the local TAFE (Technical and Further Education)
college // then we can help you" (135-137). Here the projecting "wish to" is included
within the 'if' clause, constructing the metaphenomenon "study at University or at the
local TAFE (Technical and Further Education) college" as uncertain because it is both
projected and conditional – an uncertainty which is immediately resolved by the "help"
offered in the main clause. Similarly, at B5, "If you are interested in popular culture, // you
might study English through Music, English through Television and Media studies" (128-
130). Here the consumer is not attributed with an aspiration but an interest, which is
constructed as a condition – to be immediately met by an array of products which are
precisely aligned with the forms this interest might take.

308

As beneficiaries, then, consumers are constructed as possessing the resources and authority to select products which are precisely aligned with their aspirations, needs and skills in a process which is immediate and unconditioned by the expertise of teachers and other staff, or the possibility of constraints or failure. There remains the question of how consumers and the products they select enter the process of consumption itself. This is the focus of the next section.

7.432   Consumption processes

Table 18: Students/readers as consumers

Themes	Sub-themes	Codes Sub-codes	Occ's/ Broch's	App.
2) Consumption processes	1) Producing consumption	1) Hypotactic verbal group: causative	38/6	5.3211
		2) Hypotactic enhancement: cause: purpose	15/3	5.3212
		3) Consumer as goal	6/2	5.3213
	2) Providing consumption	1) Beneficiary position	40/5	5.3221
	3) Automating consumption	1) Ergative perspective	16/6	5.3231

The theme 'Consumption processes' draws together the producer, products and consumers in processes of consumption, instantiated by the three sub-themes: 'Producing', 'Providing and 'Automating' consumption. The first two construct the college, its products and staff as the agents responsible for providing learning to students, a process from which students' own agency – and therefore responsibility - is excluded. The third also disengages students as agents from the learning process by constructing learning as independent of agency itself – an automated process in which skills 'undergo' enhancement without the need for other participants or processes. The student constructed through these sub-themes, then, is the recipient of learning but free from responsibility, agency or imposition in bringing it about.

7.4321 Producing consumption

The first sub-theme 'Providing consumption' emerges from the combination of three codes. In the first two, 'Hypotactic verbal group: causative' (ibid., pp. 236ff) and 'Hypotactic enhancement: cause: purpose' (ibid., p. 214), the hypotactic structure relieves students of agency and responsibility in the process of learning, which is constructed as 'brought about' by other agents and processes.

Segments under the first code show this construction within the verbal group, illustrated in an example from B2, at which consumers "benefit from lessons specially created by your teacher to meet your needs" (129-130), and from B1, which offers "A course designed to train students in the English language and academic study skills they require to enter and successfully complete their academic studies at TAFE or university" (91-94). Here, it is not human actors – notably teachers – who are the agents in teaching, but the products – the "lessons" and "course" – which they create/design. In this process, human participants are textualised as the "initiator" (ibid., p. 263), this being the participant who does not act "directly", but may do so by some "indirect force". In this capacity, they are constructed as responsible for, but not directly involved in, bringing about learning. In the examples, then, the production of learning does not involve an imposition on consumers because the causative relationship between the two processes in the verbal group ensures that human participants do not act "directly" (ibid.) on students; rather, their learning is produced by the properties of products, for which these other participants are responsible.

As well constructing staff as acting on products to bring about learning, causative verbal groups enable the college, its staff and products to produce the actions of students themselves. In these examples, students are 'encouraged', 'helped', 'assisted' and 'enabled' to learn, processes which support – and therefore shoulder agency and responsibility for – student's actions. For example, at B4, "The classes are interesting,

310

enjoyable and varied, and you will be <u>encouraged to participate</u> as much as possible" (75-77); and "welfare staff" at B1 "are also available to <u>help</u> you <u>resolve</u> any personal problems that may arise during your stay" (256-258). As with the examples of causatives in which products produce learning, there is no obligation or other imposition implied for the consumer here: within the hypotactic structure the support implied by "encouraged" and "help" brings about actions which produce consumption while simultaneously reducing consumers agency and responsibility for these actions. The actual processes which link the support to its result – and the possibilities of failure and imposition these imply – are obscured within the causative connection between the two processes.

Under the second code, 'Hypotactic enhancement: cause: purpose', a similar construction of consumption is accomplished at the level of the clause complex. As in the verbal group, the causal link – here between two clauses – constructs what comes first as resulting in what comes afterwards while simultaneously ensuring that the actions of participants in the first part do not act "directly" (ibid.) on those in the second[87]. An example from B3, already discussed above, illustrates how the potential imposition posed by assessment is eliminated not only by the nominalisation "Placement test", the agentless passive, the use of "appropriate" and the consumer as "beneficiary", but by the hypotactic construction of the two clauses. Thus, "A placement test is given on arrival // to place you in a appropriate class" (B3: 91-92). Here, the consumer is absented from the first clause and it is the giving of the placement test which *brings about* the placement. The actual processes by which placement occurs – and the personal responsibility and risks they entail – are thus excluded, replaced by the minimum link required to construct the relationship between the two. Similarly, in "Teachers combine the use of modern teaching resources with proven teaching techniques // to ensure your rapid progress" (B1: 199-200).

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[87] This perspective on the hypotactic clause complex differs from that seen above in the construction of teachers as 'operatives', responsible for carrying out procedures but not for establishing their

the consumer's "rapid progress" is brought about through a hypotactic connection which obscures the actual processes involved – constructing the relationship between the actions of teachers and the production of consumption as secure.

This use of the causal link to insulate consumption from the actual processes involved in learning raises the question of what happens when consumers are constructed as the goal of processes in which the college, its staff or products are actors – illustrated under the third code 'Consumer as goal'. There are only six examples of this in the construction of consumption; indeed, in the brochures, perhaps reflecting the potential this construction poses for imposition on the consumer. Minimising this risk, the colleges and its representatives 'assist', 'guide' and 'prepare' students. While 'assist' and 'guide' reflect the lack of imposition implied by their status as a form of "accompaniment" (ibid., p. 259), 'prepare' moves closer to implying a degree of imposition. This risk, however, is itself minimised by restricting the actors of 'prepare' to products, as at B6, where "the ESS program prepares students for entry to Australian high schools" (116-118), and reserving 'assist' and 'guide' for human actors – as in "The Accommodation Officer assists students with all accommodation needs" (B1: 244-245).

7.4322 Providing consumption

The code which instantiate the second sub-theme, 'Providing consumption', illustrates a further construction in which the risks posed by acting directly on consumers are constructed so that consumption is generated without their responsibility or agency. In the segments 'Beneficiary position', actions are 'done for' but not 'done to' consumers, reflecting Halliday's (ibid., p. 132) notion of the "beneficiary" as either "the one that goods are given to" or "the one that services are done for". The segments reveal the

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purposes. In the construction of consumption processes, the focus is on how consumers are constructed in relation to these processes.

consumer – whether included as a participant or absent but implied – as the "beneficiary" of processes which have learning as their goal, most commonly 'give', 'provide', and 'offer'. In B5, for example, "Your [name of college] teachers are excellent teaching professionals who give personal attention and encouragement to every student" (26-28). Here it is the "attention" and "encouragement" which are the goal of "give", while "every student" is insulated from any imposition resulting from the actions of the "teaching professionals" by being their beneficiary. Likewise, in "We will give you counselling advice about which institution is best for you" (B4: 137-138), "you", as the beneficiary of the advice given, are neither imposed on by "We" nor responsible for establishing "which institution is best for you".

7.4323 Automating consumption

The final sub-theme, 'Automating consumption', draws on Halliday's (ibid., pp. 144ff) account of "ergativity", in which he contrasts "transitive" and "ergative" perspectives on the clause. In the former, the key question is "does the process extend beyond the Actor, to some other entity, or not" (ibid., p. 145). If it does, the process is transitive; if not, intransitive. From this perspective, the agent as 'doer' is the obligatory participant and the 'done to' optional. On the other hand, in terms of the ergative/non-ergative distinction, the key question is which participant 'undergoes' the process: if the actor, then the process is ergative, if the goal it is non-ergative. From the ergative perspective, then, it is the 'undergoer' or "medium" (ibid., p. 146) which is the obligatory participant, and the "external cause" which is optional because "either the process is represented as self-engendering, in which case there is no separate Agent; or it is represented as engendered from outside, in which case there is another participant functioning as Agent" (p. 147).

Processes in the brochures which have this capacity to be 'self-engendering' include 'benefit', 'improve', 'develop' and 'increase'. The segments under the code

'Ergative processes' suggest that the ergative potential of these processes is used in the brochures to construct learning itself as self-generating, thus removing the risks posed to learning by the involvement of "external" (ibid., p. 146) causes such as the actions of teachers and students themselves. For example, in a student testimonial from B5, "My English skills have developed quickly" (182-183), the medium "skills" have undergone development without an "external cause' – thereby constructing them as having enhanced themselves. The capacity of these processes to 'self-generate' learning also enables the blurring of the relationship between an "external" cause and the process, such as in B1, where "you will benefit from our specialist courses" (40-44). Here, though it is clear that "you" is the medium which undergoes benefit, the relationship of this process to the "specialist courses" is less clear, along with how they might be involved in producing the "benefit". Finally, even in examples where the external cause is identified as the agent in the process, the primacy of the process/medium relationship enables the role of the agent to be marginalised. Thus, in "Students will... increase their business vocabulary" and "improve their speaking skills" (B2: 181-190), it is left open as to what "students" do, indeed whether they do anything, to bring about these enhancements: what is certain is that it is their "business vocabulary" and "speaking skills" which undergo them.

Together, then, with the processes of production and provision, and the construction of the consumer as 'beneficiary', the process of automation creates an immediate and effortless 'fit' between the consumer and the product. This construction of a relationship of 'instant gratification' between products and consumers completes the consumption community and in doing so epitomises the relationship between "symbolised commodities" and "attributed consumer-egos" (Wernick, loc. cit.).

314

7.433 Interdiscursive relations

Returning to Table 12 and the argument for interdiscursive relations, the construction of consumers as free from risk or imposition in learning implies that, if either does occur, students have a warrant to complain that they are not satisfied with the product provided. In terms of the discourse of commercialisation, then, the students in the diaries who were reported to complain to managers and teachers about teaching can be understood as "policing" (Fairclough, 1996, p. 73) their relationship with the products they are entitled to receive.

At the same time, the construction of an assured alignment between the college's products and the aspirations, needs and skills of consumers leaves managers and teachers with little recourse because, as the arbiter of product selection and satisfaction in the consumption community, the consumer's experience of consumption is not open to challenge. In the diaries, this construction of consumers correlates with the authority students were reported to exercise in virtue of the 'debt of learning' owed to them by the college. Faced with this authority, managers were not reported to take issue with the students but to override teachers' expertise by, for example, allowing 'continuous enrolments', directing that 'excursions must be fun', and the range of other pressures exercised, through the modes of technologisation identified in the analysis, to 'realign' teachers' practices with students' aspirations in order to maintain their 'happiness' – thereby equating good teaching with 'happy' students.

For teachers, the construction of consumers as 'provided' with learning, without responsibility or agency, and unmediated by teachers' expertise in identifying their learning needs or evaluating their progress, correlates with the struggles with students over control of teaching practices, in which teachers' expertise was challenged by students' classroom behaviour, their lack of effort in learning, and their resistance to teachers' assessments of their language proficiency.

315