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Marketization of Japan-based higher education advertisements: A discourse of McJobs?

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We investigate how competing forces interdiscursively manifest in Japan-based higher education through a critical discourse analysis (cf., Fairclough, 1993, 1995) of 86 job advertisements. The academic profession is characterized as exhibiting high mobility, perhaps as academics are more loyal to their specialty fields than the institutions where they work. This can manifest in higher education job advertisements, which are an aspect of higher education discourse constitutive of institutions' public images, but which are also targeted toward academics in specific fields. Job advertisements are also discursive spaces where marketized discourse has colonized previously dominant discourses of universities as independent authorities (Fairclough, 1993, 1995). Such marketized discourses within higher education express neoliberal ideologies and free-market conventions (Ball, 1998; Pack, 2018). However, the international extent of university discourse marketization is largely implicitly assumed rather than empirically examined. Hence, we investigate these forces with respect to Japanese higher education. We find institutions accommodate, create, and recreate marketized discourse oriented toward multiple markets, including higher education employment, customers (e.g., prospective students), and research funding. We argue the neoliberal discourse of the advertisements transforms the academic profession into an untenable space of McJobs (Ritzer, 2018) through quantification, commodification, and ranking (Bauman & Donskis, 2013; Pack, 2018).

Keywords: Academic Job Advertisements; Critical Discourse Analysis; Japan-Based Higher Education; Marketization; Metrification; Neoliberalism

1. Introduction

The metrification of higher education internationally is well-documented, with increasing use of characteristics as varied as publication outputs (Kuwayama, 2017), gender diversity (Wieczorek-Szymanska, 2020), and

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internationalization of universities (de Wit, 2009), to name but a few. Such metrification is representative of the colonization of higher education discourses by neoliberal marketized discourses, which prioritize viewing institutions as businesses answering to stakeholders (Teichler, 2004; Brown, 2011). Such ideologies jeopardize characterizations of the academic profession as exhibiting "shared ethical codes, values, and morals, altruistic missions, esoteric knowledge, intellectual supremacy, the intrinsic definition of qualifications, quality of work and new members and organized unions" (Pekkola et al., 2018, p. 137). Such trends have been documented within Anglophone universities (Muller & Skeates, Forthcoming; Nuttal et al., 2013; Gunn et al., 2015) and within European-based universities to a lesser extent (Askehave, 2007), with these universities used as proxies for the sector more broadly. However, it can be problematic to assume such trends have progressed equally more widely and that regional variation is not important (Muller & Skeates, Forthcoming). To explore this, here we investigate Japan-based higher education, examining the extent to which its job advertisements exhibit characteristics of marketization. Japan has experienced the transformations brought about by neoliberal marketized discourse in higher education to at least some extent (Mok, 2011; Brown, 2011). However, examinations of marketization of Japan-based higher education job advertisements remain relatively uncommon, except for Muller and Skeates (Forthcoming). Thus, here we examine Japan-based higher education job advertisements as a kind of "non-commercial advertising" (Rath Foley & Karlsson, 2021, p. 100) to understand how neoliberal marketing-oriented discourses manifest in them. In this study, marketization is understood as a force that "challenges stakeholders with radical change encompassing issues of power, funding, labour, markets, and complexity" (Lowrie & Hemsley-Brown, 2011, p. 1081) that reshapes and redefines the academic profession.

Japan-based higher education is of interest for three reasons. Firstly, it has been the subject of regular investigation via the Carnegie Foundation (Arimoto, 2011). Secondly, it has been described as largely "closed" (Hall, 1998, p. 7) to influences from outside of Japan, as it has traditionally resisted giving faculty from outside Japan status equal to their Japanese colleagues. Thirdly, while there are opinion pieces concerning the internationalization of Japanese higher education (Yonezawa et al., 2009; Kuwayama, 2017), there remains little empirical research into how the forces of internationalization, conceived here specifically as forces of marketization and metrification, have influenced the sector and its discourses, with Hadley (2015) a notable exception. These characteristics point to a tension explored here; Japan-based higher education is used as a proxy for international higher education more broadly, although it has also been characterized as closed to those same forces, raising questions about it being an effective proxy. Further, while the

consensus appears to be that forces of marketization and metrification have advanced evenly across the sector, including in Japan, if Japanese higher education is indeed closed, then this may not be the case.

Trends toward metrification of higher education have proceeded across countries, institutions, departments, and individuals (Bauman & Donskis, 2013). On the individual level, such metrics include impact factor and citation counts to evaluate faculty output. This leaves academics with "little time to think" (Pack, 2018, p. 122) as they pursue more publications, better presentations, and higher impact factors. Thus, numbers have replaced being thoughtful (Pack 2018), with faculty positions increasingly reminiscent of fast-food work "McJobs" (Ritzer, 2018, p. 122) as quantitative indices prevail over qualitative and evaluation focuses on volume. This is particularly prominent in modern universities' publish or perish cultures where faculty are "a (situational) somebody" with staff "no more than a CV and a series of figures" (Bauman & Donskis, 2013, p. 158). Requirements can include "dozens of publications and over a dozen of international conference presentations" (McCrostie, 2010, p. 121) to qualify for full-time positions, restricting access to upward career mobility and academic survival. When, "in hiring and promotion decisions, a résumé with a long list of articles and books is generally preferred to one with a shorter list" (Pack, 2018, p. 122), faculty are not regarded as constituting the university but rather as employees. Employees who, in their forced pursuit of numbers, are increasingly commodified, with quality subservient to requirements to be "more accountable to the administrators who are seeking ever more efficiency" (Pack, 2018, p. 122). One place where such metrification is made public in the discourse of universities is their job advertisements, which are public documents soliciting applications for open positions. As such, examining Japan-based university job advertisements can elucidate the extent to which their discourse reflects these trends.

2. Background

We begin our review with themes related to the marketization of higher education, including the academic profession past and present, highlighting challenges reflecting neoliberal ideology's impacts. Next, we discuss the academic profession in Japan and challenges presented by marketization. Finally, we review critical discourse analysis (CDA) studies of academic job advertisements as an aspect of public higher education discourse constitutive of the public image institutions hope to cultivate. Notably, job advertisements have been documented as a discursive space where marketized discourse has colonized previously dominant discourses of universities as independent authorities (Fairclough, 1993, 1995).

Before discussing the discourse of Japanese higher education, it is first important to describe the characteristics of the academic profession more broadly. Here we identify three primary characteristics: specialization of individual academics into disciplines, an orientation toward research and teaching, and a competition of ideas. After this, we explain how neoliberal market ideologies' encroachment upend this previously stable balance of characteristics.

In pre-marketization and pre-neoliberal depictions of the academic profession, academics specialized into disciplines characterized by their own domain and knowledge base (Becher & Trowler, 2001). Academics, therefore, associated with disciplines rather than institutions or organizations (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Teichler et al., 2013). Career stages progressed from graduate studies to professorship (Pekkola et al., 2018), delineating professions' domains, with institutional tasks research- and teaching-oriented (Reilly et al., 2016). Hence, the academic profession comprised different teaching or research "occupational categor[ies]" (Teichler et al., 2013, p. 10). Thus, while each discipline's specialty subjects differ, their organizational characteristics unite them as an academic profession.

Disciplines require thorough and continuous education followed by strenuous, slow-paced career advancement and competition of ideas, characteristics constructed through historical processes. This is not to say that higher education in the past was a panacea. It was largely white male dominated and promoted colonization through encouraging exploration as economic opportunity by framing knowledge as vested in higher education rather than distributed throughout societies (Turner, 2011). Nevertheless, the academic profession associated with teaching and research, which required focus on reasoning and thought, where other crafts' tools could not be applied.

While the academic profession previously associated with teaching and research, marketization disrupted the framework described above (Teichler et al., 2013), instigating increasing isolation and separation within new corporate cultures. Notably, higher education is colonized by neoliberal "ideologies of the market" (Ball, 1998, p. 122). Through introducing their own language and practices, these ideologies transform the profession to emphasize individual competition over the previous competition of ideas (Lowrie & Hemsley-Brown, 2011). Such individual competition involves seeking access to limited resources among researchers and between departments within institutions. Further, universities compete between institutions and the higher education sectors of different countries compete. Universities are, therefore, increasingly results-oriented as they "are run more like businesses. This means that academics are more than ever judged on

their productivity" (Pack, 2018, p. 122). Here we regard being results oriented as involving "generating income through commercialized research [. . .] training rather than education, and [. . .] to more accurately assess efficiency" (Pack, 2018, p. 146) of academics. Academics are in turn required to constantly publish as "tenure track jobs are made less available in favor of administrators" (Pack, 2018, p. 146). This represents "the conversion of an educational system into a factory system. In doing so, measures are adopted to more accurately assess efficiency" (Pack, 2018, p. 148), placing faculty in competition as opposed to the former competition of ideas and leading to increasing isolation. This represents the starting point for our investigation; a desire to unpack how these forces manifest in the university job advertisements examined here.

2.1. The academic profession in Japan

As our investigation is concerned with representations of Japanese higher education within the discourse of its job advertisements, it is important to review Japanese higher education research. Japan-based higher education has been depicted as historically developing under principles of balance between teaching and research (Arimoto, 2011; Huang, 2015) with "a majority of Japan's academics" (Huang, 2015, p. 2) research-oriented. However, disjointed higher education reforms "almost every 15 years since the early 1950s" (Huang, 2014, p. 2) have changed this. Universities have been pressured to orient toward the neoliberal objectives of being more internationally and cross-institutionally competitive through competing for research funding and students as customers (Molesworth et al., 2011). Such pressure to change universities' orientations in potentially incompatible ways have led to institutions fracturing into different, disparate orientations. As a result, Japan-based higher education bears "a clear division of labor between the national and private sectors" (Huang, 2015, p. 2), with 5% of faculty employed by "elite" (Teichler et al., 2013, p. 58) national research universities and 95% by teaching-oriented private universities (Yamamoto, 2012; Arimoto, 2011). While this division results in different orientations toward academics in universities (Yamamoto, 2012; Arimoto, 2011), the pressures they face share one overarching similarity: the need to demonstrate high productivity. Thus, numbers that grade and rank performance in terms of efficiency in publication and teaching have become prevalent through an "audit culture" (Kuwayama, 2017, p. 162) imported from business.

More broadly, Japan-based higher education is going through challenging times, pressured by a shrinking student population (Yamamoto, 2012; Watanabe et al., 2013; Huang, 2014) and an annual one percent reduction in universities' public funding (Huang, 2015). This intensifies tensions surrounding employment opportunities in the oversupplied job market

(Watanabe et al., 2013). It also strains the market for foreign applicants, who regularly turn over as international faculty have historically been employed in adjunct positions (Hall, 1998; Rivers, 2013). Such turnover has been justified through a job market where fresh "native-speaking" (Rivers, 2013, p. 77), "exotic" (Hall 1998, p. 19) looking teachers are proffered to consumer-students. Further, the job market for Japanese scholars is stiffened by internationalization and globalization, as the audit culture requires publishing in English outside of Japan (Kuwayama, 2017).

2.2. Research on academic job advertisements

Here we review CDA studies of academic job advertisements informing this study. Starting with Fairclough (1993)'s analysis of UK higher education job advertisements, we discuss how CDA reveals the blending of traditional university discourses and new discourses of marketization. Internationalization of higher education has been depicted as proceeding through increasing incorporation of ideas and concepts from business, referred to as "marketization," which represents "academic capitalism, spreading compulsorily through bureaucratic governance and the destruction of the universities' autonomy and academic freedom" (Bauman & Donskis, 2013, p. 138). We discuss such colonization of corporate discourse into academia through studies of academic job advertisements in China (Xiong, 2012; Feng, 2019); Australia (Nuttal et al., 2013) and Japan (Muller & Skeates, Forthcoming).

In a seminal study of three academic job advertisements, Fairclough (1993) exemplified the idea of universities steadily accepting the routine of "rationality" (p. 139) where communication was steadily replaced by strategy. Although Fairclough does not differentiate the discourses of marketing as "promotional discourse" (p. 139) and marketization (the process of fastfoodization discussed above), his arguments concerning the colonization of universities' discourses have since been expanded. For example, Xiong (2012) examined 48 Chinese higher education job advertisements from a Chinese language newspaper circulated to Chinese expatriates. Xiong concludes the job advertisements' contents correspond to marketized discourse intended to reverse China's brain drain, attracting "academic star talents" (2012, p. 331) by highlighting attractive remuneration packages and promoting "future aspirations" (2012, p. 229). Xiong's study informs Feng (2019), another researcher on China who analyzed 80 job advertisements on WeChat. Feng proposes that the online social space together with marketization and institutional policies generically refurbishes job advertisements, intensifying the admixture of moves, informative goals, and institutional representations. In other words, what Xiong (2012) finds to be clearly delineated moves in newspaper advertisements, in analysis of online

data, Feng (2019) finds to be more ambiguous, with communicative moves intermixed, making it difficult to determine clear genre patterns. While Xiong (2012) categorizes print advertisements into four types, Feng (2019) reveals more variation across posts. Further, the online job advertisements Feng analyzes "accommodate more communicative functions as well as a large number of tables, graphs, and visual images" (p. 133), making them more informative than those analyzed by Xiong.

Nuttall et al. (2013) studied 55 Australian teacher education job advertisements. Their review of "front end" (the text of advertisements promoting institutions) against the "back end" (2013, p. 334) (blueprints for desirable applicants) suggested that these two parts were disconnected. Finally, Muller and Skeates (Forthcoming) analyzed 24 job advertisements collected between 2017 and 2019 for language teaching positions outside and inside Japan. Based on their comparative linguistic analysis of self-representations of institutions in the advertisements, they find Japanese universities' advertisements largely lack the discourse of marketization, contrary to earlier findings for the Chinese and Anglophone contexts reviewed above.

The literature reviewed here mainly approaches marketization using a marketing or promotional (branding and self-branding) lens, examining the impact of such discourse on representations of higher education institutions and the academic profession. While these studies have shown aspects of marketization in university discourse, their focus on marketing as opposed to marketization means they may overlook the full impact of marketization on the sector's discourse. Thus, rather than examining only the marketized promotional features of university job advertisements, here we examine the discourse of marketization more broadly, presenting a fuller picture of how marketization, as opposed to marketing, transforms the sector's discourse. Therefore, we address a gap in conceptualizing marketization in the discourse analysis literature by viewing marketization as an ideology influencing representations of the academic profession through commodification, devaluation, and reconceptualization. Specifically, we examine the following research questions:

(1) How does marketization manifest in Japan-based higher education institutions' job advertisements? How do such representations compare across disciplines?
(2) In what ways does commodification shape how the academic profession is represented?
(3) What is the impact of interdiscursivity across disciplines?

Having reviewed discourse analysis investigations of academic job

advertisements for their representations of professional practices and interactions, next we turn to our theoretical framework and methods of investigation.

3. Method

3.1. Theoretical framework

This study examines job advertisements to understand how the academic profession is represented in them using discourse analysis, which concerns the relationship between power and discourse (Foucault, 1972). Discourse here refers to "institutionally produced knowledge [as] a social rather than a linguistic category; [where] the social is taken as the generative 'source' of meaning" (Kress, 2012, p. 35). The terms 'discourse' and 'text' represent "'extended stretches of speech or writing' as well as pointing to the social meanings 'inherent' in such texts" (Kress 2012, p. 35). Within discourse analysis, CDA addresses social problems (Fairclough, 1993, 1995), and as our investigation is interested in such problems within higher education, it methodologically underpins the investigation.

3.2. Procedure

This investigation uses CDA to examine questions of marketization, commodification, and interdiscursivity in Japan-based higher education job advertisements, as CDA uses social problems as a focus of analysis. For example, Fairclough's (1993) examination of higher education job advertisement discourse applies intertextuality, where discourses or texts are in dialogue. Specifically, CDA takes a perspective whereby:

(1) texts are understood through their ideologically charged language,
(2) discourses develop within the timespan, therefore understanding context is important,
(3) broad and hybrid interpretations easily adapt and join new contexts, and
(4) discourse represents social behavior.

(Wodak, 1996)

CDA researchers are drawn to job advertisements for several reasons. First, they entextualize tensions between the different ideologies that shape them. Second, as they are texts created by and for specific contexts, examining them facilitates commenting on the contexts of their production. Third, hybridization (Fairclough, 1993), or mixing marketized language and the more traditional discourses of the academy (such as authority) is explorable (Askehave, 2010; Feng, 2019; Xiong, 2012). Finally, the social actors that

comprise universities are examinable. Our analysis elucidates how the advertisements employ marketized discourse and are colonized by such discourse.

Consistent with other investigations of job advertisements (Feng, 2019; Muller & Skeates, Forthcoming; Xiong, 2012), we collected 81 online English language medium advertisements for jobs at Japan-based higher education institutions (Table 1), 75 direct hire and 6 dispatched. The advertisements were collected between July and October 2020, mainly from jREC-IN Portal (68 advertisements), a research career support site (Japan Science and Technology Agency, 2020), the Japan Association of Language Teachers (2020)'s job site (5 advertisements), jp.indeed.com (2020; 7 advertisements), and jobs.gaijinpot.com (2019; 1 advertisement). We categorized the advertisements by position type, collecting 25 each for part-time, full-time non-tenured, and full-time tenured positions, also consistent with how earlier researchers organized data for analysis (Muller & Skeates, Forthcoming). We originally planned to collect an equal number of outsourced and dispatched advertisements, but only found six during the collection period, and so that position type is underrepresented. Nevertheless, as previous studies have not examined dispatched job advertisements within higher education, we felt it important to include them.

Table 1
Basic Statistical Data for the 81 Job Advertisements: Type of Position and Discipline

		Academic fields # of ads (% of total)		
Type of position	Total	Humanities & modern languages	STEM	Social sciences
Part-time	25	21 (84%)	1 (4%)	3 (12%)
Non-tenured	25	14 (56%)	9 (56%)	3 (36%)
Tenured	25	6 (24%)	13 (52%)	7 (52%)
Outsourced & Dispatch	6	6 (100%)	0 (100%)	0 (0%)

Following Muller and Skeates (Forthcoming), our analysis was iterative and cyclical, beginning by analyzing two advertisements from each category to identify their discourse characteristics. These initial observations were then iteratively tested against additional advertisements from each category, gradually developing a picture of the overall features of the different texts. Our analysis moved between the job advertisement texts, the literature analyzing job advertisements, and the research questions.

Throughout our findings and discussion when extracts are used, they are referenced to our dataset with an alphanumeric code, including position type as follows: PT: part-time adjunct, NT: non-tenured adjunct, TT: tenure-track, and OD: outsourced/dispatched (and adjunct). This is followed by the number

format: YYYY-MM-DD-# to indicate the date the advertisement was collected and a number accounting more than one advertisement being collected per day. To illustrate, PT 2020-08-03-2 represents a part-time adjunct position, the second advertisement collected on August 3, 2020. We focus on examining the job advertisements by position type rather than institution specific discourses and so do not identify institutions here.

4. Results

Our iterative, cyclical analysis identified the following three features of the advertisements relevant to our examination of the colonization of higher education discourses by neoliberal marketized discourses:

- Feature 1: Titling
  The job position title in the advertisements
- Feature 2: Specifying the job and application requirements
  Description of the job position, compulsory preconditions, and requirements to pass initial screening
- Feature 3: Research field
  Potential institutional support for future publications

These features illustrate the heterogeneity of Japan-based higher education job advertisements as a space where different discourses vie for prominence. Various forces are represented here, including marketization, Anglicization and globalization, the prominence of teaching versus research, and other policy debates. The discourse of marketization intensifies:

(1) commodification of work (Features 1 and 2);
(2) explicit quantification and expectations for multitasking (Feature 2);
(3) commercialization and ranking applicants according to efficiency scales (Feature 3).

Within the advertisements' broader three features, there were more specific themes raised. Summary information is presented in Table 2 where the academic fields the advertisements represent are tracked along with some of the main points. For Feature 1, whether position titling reflected its type (PT, NT, etc.) is examined (Feature 1, Titling in Table 2). For example, for a part-time position, whether the text "part-time" (PT 2020-08-11-14) appeared in the position title is tracked. Further, there were other aspects of desired candidates signaled in some titles, such as "female" (TT 2020-08-05-1), which are tracked in the Other column. For Feature 2, a common requirement was applicants be a 'native' speaker (Table 1, 2a). For example, "native English speaker" (PT 2020-08-11-14). This is despite language background not

featuring as a characteristic of EFL teacher effectiveness (Nosrati & Nayernia, 2021). Another requirement was to document number of publications (Table 1, 2b). Except for dispatched positions, such advertisements required, for example, "reprints of representative publications" (NT 2020-08-14-12). For Feature 3, the main index was institutional research support through such terms as "research fund," "research related expenses," and "travel expenses" (NT 2020-08-06-5). Features 1 and 2 tend to be explicitly referenced in the advertisements while Feature 3 tends to be more implicit. This is perhaps suggestive of Japan as a high-context culture (Hall, 1976) where information assumed to be understood is not elaborated, which we return to in our discussion.

Table 2
Basic Statistical Data for the Three Features

		Fields # of ads (percent of total)		
Categories	Total	Modern Languages	Social Sciences	STEM
Part-time	25	19 (76%) / 2 (8%)	2 (8%)	1 (4%)
Non-tenured	25	13 (52%) / 1 (4%)	2 (8%)	9 (36%)
Tenured	25	6 (24%) / 0 (0%)	6 (24%)	13 (52%)
Outsourced & Dispatch	6	7 (100%) / 0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

		Feature # of ads (percent of total)		
1 Titling		2a Job requirements specified	2b Institutional requirements specified	3 Research field indexed
Primary	Other	Funding	Publications	Funding
23 (92%)	15 (60%)	0 (0%)	11 (44%)	0 (0%)
10 (40%)	18 (72%)	5 (20%)	7 (28%)	5 (20%)
12 (48%)	16 (64%)	12 (48%)	22 (88%)	12 (48%)
5 (83%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

As these features evidence the intermixture of the discourse of marketization in the advertisements, we next discuss each in turn. As the main specialty fields represented in our data are STEM and modern languages, mainly English, we focus on these advertisements, with occasional reference to the larger dataset where appropriate.

4.1. Titling

Titling communicates position type and the hiring institution, with discipline or field also reflected. One finding of interest is that all the institutions, whether direct hire or dispatch, identified the organization seeking applications. In contrast, Łącka-Badura (2015) notes that in a corpus of private online job advertisements, "over 40% of texts do not even reveal the employers' names" (97). Representations of Japanese higher education

positions tended to be complex, signaling a wide array of applicant attributes, including numerical, promotional, and standardized, the most common of which were:

(1) Primary titling (50 advertisements, 62%): "part-time" (Table 3a); "tenure-track" (Table 3b); "full time" (TT 2020-08-05-1);

(2) Other titling (49, 60%), including:
(a) gender attributes: "female" (Table 3b);
(b) nativism: "native English speaker" (Table 3a);
(c) ageism: "young" (Table 3c); and
(d) status: "university", "in Japan" (Table 3c, e).

Table 3
Examples of Job Advertisements' Titling Themes

a. Job Opening for Part-time Instructor with native English speaker competence to teach international relations for International Career Program (ICP) (PT 2020-08-11-14)

b.

Announcement of Faculty Position for Tenure Track (TT) Assistant Professor (Female).	
Employment status	TT Assistant Professor
Term	Full time, non-tenured (In principle 5 years)

(TT 2020-08-05-1)

c. Excellent Young Researchers Recruitment . . . (TT 2020-09-10-17)

d. University EFL Instructors (FO 2020-08-03-4)

e. University Teaching in Japan! (FO 2020-08-06-8)

f. Dispatch University English Language Teaching Part-time Position (FO 2020-10-15-1)

Primary titling is explicit in part-time adjunct advertisements (92%, Table 1) while Other titling tends to be used for other position types, such as campus-related attributes referring to programs ("Transdisciplinary Science and Engineering" NT 2020-08-14-3). English language teaching position titling (44 of 81 advertisements, 54%) stands out for its nativism, specifically screening of applicants by nationality, with Anglophone countries preferred (20 of 44 English language advertisements, 45%). This suggests applicants' passports are given priority, with academic and professional backgrounds less important, trends Rivers (2016) also observes. Our analysis contributes the added nuance that such native speakerism appears to be a feature of English language teaching advertisements as it is not prevalent throughout all the advertisements analyzed.

The titling used appears to suggest labeling choices prioritize local

institutional factors rather than sector-wide standards. Specifically, there are different tendencies in English-teaching and STEM-related positions' titling. While English-teaching positions are marked with status and nativism (Table 3a & b), STEM-related positions exhibit ageism and gender in addition to status (Table 3c, d, e & f). For both position types, term of service is prioritized through specifying contract length. The heterogeneity of direct hire university job titling contrasts with the homogeneity of dispatched job advertisements, which exhibit similar approaches to titling, with the key word "university" (6 of 6, 100%) featuring prominently, perhaps signifying high teacher status (despite being outsourced positions) and "in Japan" (4 of 6, 67%), perhaps signaling to language teachers an opportunity to move from less prestigious to more prestigious work. Direct hire university advertisements follow a similar structure, universally including the date of the posting, position title, institution, a description of duties, requirements, remuneration, and submission requirements. In contrast, dispatched advertisements are commercialized and essentialized, using the advertisements to promote companies offering an "opportunity" (FO 2020-08-06-10) to teach at university in Japan.

4.2. Specifying the job and application requirements

Application requirements serve regulatory, informative, and interactional communicative purposes, with the following tendencies (Table 4):

(1) standardization, such as nativism (Feature 1, above);
(2) time-limiting, or contract terms;
(3) other McJob factors, including metrification, efficiency, and multitasking; and
(4) dispatched requirements.

The advertisements exhibit features of standardization within disciplines. For example, nativism and nationality (Table 4a & b) are highlighted for English teaching positions, while STEM positions (Table 4c) tend to require young females, perhaps in response to recent government initiatives (Saitou, 2011). There are a number of discrepancies in directly posted advertisements, such as that even though gender and TT factors are stressed, none of the advertisements analyzed mention maternal and/or childcare support, an issue we return to in our discussion. Similarly, while 10 of 22 advertisements (45%) emphasize a desire (or requirement) to hire female researchers, these are often limited to just one or two employees (18 of 22 advertisements, 82%).

Similarly, time limitations are different by job type and discipline. Part-time positions tend to be for one year (16 of 25 advertisements, 64%, Table 4d),

whereas tenure-track positions can indicate initial contract duration and tenure evaluation timing along with retirement age (9 of 25 advertisements, 36%, Table 4e). Meanwhile, in STEM positions ageism is explicitly (2 of 13 advertisements, 15%, Table 4f) or implicitly (4 of 13 advertisements, 31%, Table 4g) marked (together 6 of 13 advertisements, 46%).

Furthermore, McJob factors include degree requirements; a postgraduate degree, preferably a PhD (57 of 81 advertisements, 70%) with a master's less preferred (30 of 81 advertisements, 37%); and research (64 of 81 advertisements, 79%, Table 4j). Also prominent in direct hire positions are requirements to evidence positive teacher evaluations, lists of courses taught, number of subjects taught, and other signifiers of effectiveness (42 of 75 advertisements, 56%, Table 4h). Requirements for evidencing publication, including in peer-reviewed journals (Table 4i) and accounting for citations, h-index and impact factor (Table 4k) further evidence metrics featuring prominently in hiring (75 of 75 advertisements, 100%). In contrast, dispatched advertisements advise completing online forms, with required background documents not specified in the advertisements themselves (6 of 6, 100%).

Table 4
Examples of Job Requirements Themes

Standardization	Time	Other McJob factors, including metrification
a. Native competency in English [. . .] and basic Japanese conversation ability is desirable (PT 2020-08-11-8)	d. The position is initially for one year, with the possibility of extension for additional 1-2 years upon mutual consent (PT 2020-09-10-2)	h. Teaching Portfolio (a list of previous courses and enrolments, and if available teaching evaluations or materials that demonstrates teaching effectiveness) (NT 2020-08-06-2)
b. Citizenship will not be considered in the selection process (PT 2020-08-11-8)	e. Three-year tenure-track appointment followed by evaluation and tenure until the mandatory retirement age of 65 if qualified (TT 2020-08-07-1)	i. original peer-reviewed papers (NT 2020-08-14-4)
c. Only female (TT 2020-08-06-3)	f. . . . should be under 40 years old (*1) as of April 1, 2020 (TT 2020-08-14-13)	j. Ph.D. or the equivalent in research experience
	g. after receiving Ph.D. or equivalent should not exceed 10 years (TT 2020-09-10-16)	k. The number of citations and impact factor of the journal for each paper . . . h-index of the applicant with the name of database used (TT 2020-09-10-11)

Here we described how standardization and metrification in the job requirements evidence the marketization of Japanese higher education discourse.

4.3. Research field

Examining how the job advertisements represent "research field" (NT 2020-08-03-13), which appears in only direct hire advertisements and not in dispatched advertisements, there is a clear dichotomy between STEM and English. In the direct hire STEM advertisements, the research fields used tend to be based on the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science's index of research fields (72 of 75, 96%), which are primarily used when applying for

annual Kaken research funding (Yamamoto et al., 2016). For example, "Chemistry/Applied Chemistry" (TT 2020-08-06-3) corresponds to the Kaken field specification document containing seven sub-fields, including "synthetic chemistry" and "polymer chemistry" (codes 5301 to 5307, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, 2017, p. 54). If the advertisements are ostensibly seeking candidates from outside Japan, then using these categories presents limitations, as generally only researchers with first-hand knowledge of Japan's Kaken research application system will be familiar with what is being indexed. Thus, applicants with experience seeking and receiving funding in Japan would be advantaged. The problematic, yet nevertheless clearly delineated research fields presented for STEM advertisements contrast with the research fields in the English language teaching advertisements, which were quite general. For example, "others" (NT 2020-08-11-22) is ambiguous concerning what research specialty is desired.

The research field feature becomes more meaningful in conjunction with remuneration and incentives, as research was institutionally encouraged outside of KAKEN in only a few cases (Table 5, "Research Funding" column).

Table 5
Basic Statistical Data for Research Field and Availability of Research Funding

		Academic fields Number of ads (percent of total)			JSPS Kaken Research field specified	Research Funding availability Number of ads (percent of total)		
Categories	Total	Humanities	STEM	Social sciences		Humanities	STEM	Social sciences
Part-time	25	21 (84%)	1 (4%)	3 (12%)	24 / 25 (96%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Non- tenured	25	14 (56%)	9 (36%)	3 (12%)	24/ 25 (96%)	3 (12%)	2 (8%)	0 (0%)
Tenured	25	6 (24%)	13 (52%)	7 (28%)	24 / 25 (96%)	4 (16%)	6 (24%)	2 (8%)
Outsourced & Dispatch	6	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 / 6 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

PT positions and dispatched positions (OD) do not mention research support (Table 5). Nevertheless, applicants are required to show proof of publication for every direct hire university position. Simultaneously, few non-tenured adjunct positions in humanities (12%) and STEM subjects (8%) note research support being available, while none of the social sciences advertisements mention the availability of such support. The largest share of funds seems to be for tenure-track positions in STEM (24%), followed by the humanities (16%), with the social sciences last (8%).

5. Discussion

Here we return to our research questions:

(1) How does marketization manifest in Japan-based higher education institutions' job advertisements? How do such representations compare across disciplines?

(2) In what ways does commodification shape how the academic profession is represented?
(3) What is the impact of interdiscursivity across disciplines?

Concerning how marketization manifests in the advertisements, we evidence Japan-based higher education as marketized, exhibiting the features of "McJobs" (Ritzer, 2018, p. 122) critiqued in the broader higher education literature. These include discourses of power, funding, markets of employment, research, and students as customers (Nasti et al., 2017) as well as an audit culture that reshapes, commodifies, and commercializes. How marketization necessitates 'publish or perish' exhibits through rigid requirements for promotion and tenure that require chasing numbers to decorate academic resumes. Contrary to the belief that Japan occupies a special position independent of the marketization of higher education elsewhere (Brown, 2011; Mok, 2011), our analysis suggests Japan exhibits similar trends. Thus, like higher education elsewhere, the interdiscursive features of the advertisements parrot "the managerial models of private and especially public sector corporations" (Furedi, 2011, p. 1), carrying negative connotations regarding how the academic profession is represented. Specifically, within such commodified education systems the logic of business corporations emphasizes "quick results and achievements" (Furedi, 2011, p. 1), furthering "star/sink" (Ball, 1998, p. 120) polarizations. This transforms the sector into fast-food style "academic junk food" (Bauman & Donskis, 2013, p. 137). Thus, Japanese higher education, at least in its job advertisements, has been colonized by the forces of marketization.

Turning to how such representations compare across disciplines, we found the discourse of job advertisements mirrors institutional practices of competition, commodifying the academic profession through:

(1) audit culture requiring frequent and high turnover of academic staff (all three fields), especially through the growing number of adjunct lecturers (Childress, 2019) whose recruitment is apparently increasingly entrusted to outsourcing and dispatch companies (humanities);
(2) requirements highlight standardized approaches across disciplines (e.g., nativism for English teaching positions and ageism coupled with gendered markers in STEM subjects);
(3) rigidness and inaccessibility of research funding for certain disciplines (humanities and social sciences); while research in STEM disciplines is funded selectively; and
(4) intense quantification of conditions for upward career movement that require indexed, peer-reviewed publications regardless of whether

research opportunities are supported (STEM) or not (humanities and social sciences).

Regarding how commodification shapes representations of the academic profession, our study supports the conclusion that Japan-based universities have "become a highly irrational place" (Ritzer, 2018, p. 175), with universities pressured through constant competition. Such pressure to compete forces teaching universities to satisfy their student-customers while research universities aim for peer-reviewed publications in English. Within the advertisements analyzed, there were also apparent shortcuts intended to achieve these goals in shrinking markets. Specifically, advertisements for English language teaching positions employed contradicting interdiscursive strategies to promote positions for idealized exotic 'native' speakers. In addition, the oversupplied market of academics faces survival pressure within the limited market of institutional and external research funding. We also document Japan's academic job market including part-time English teachers outsourced to private businesses, with dispatch companies a potentially distinct Japan-based innovation in the further fastfoodization of the academic profession. Like ready-made meals, dispatch companies catalogue applicants into parcels delivered without the need for universities to directly involve themselves in hiring, training, or quality control, and absent academic creativity and autonomy for these dispatched workers.

Concerning the impact of interdiscursivity across disciplines in the job advertisements, they are universal in presenting lip service to ideals and standards that are not necessarily compatible with a marketized higher education landscape. For example, while some STEM advertisements explicitly solicit applications from female researchers, none explicitly specify childcare availability, maternity/paternity leave, or the other kinds of support necessary to foster a gender inclusive work environment. At the same time, in the humanities and social sciences, while the availability of research support is not specified, requirements to qualify for the positions advertised and to attain promotion once in position include publication. This is not to claim that support is not available to those in position in all cases; the availability of such support could be implicitly understood and therefore excluded from the advertisements. Such a circumstance could reflect Japan as a high-context culture in line with Hall (1976), where few details need to be supplied. This resonates with Muller and Skeates (Forthcoming), who note that such advertisements require applicants submit proof of an ability to research, but tend not to specify what and how much research and publication is expected.

Further, the advertisements are ostensibly seeking applications from researchers educated and (currently) based outside of Japan. However, the STEM advertisements represent research funding in a Japan-centric way,

centering around the Kaken funding system, which is likely opaque to those not already familiar with it. Thus, when ideals of inclusivity encounter the forces of efficiency and quantification in marketized higher education, it is the former that lose out to the principles of the latter, at least in the discourse of its job advertisements examined here.

Concerning our investigation's limitations, we examined a convenience sample of job advertisements in English collected over a short span of time, which limits the universality of our findings. However, our focus on discussing the broader tensions within how Japan-based higher education is represented helps to mitigate this. Our analysis suggests that across disciplines the academic profession, traditionally tuned towards upward mobility and distinctive for its own codes and procedures, is currently struggling for survival amid forces of marketization and neoliberalization. Ideologies and policies were rarely simply aped (Ball, 1998), with national and local contexts in play, such as using Japan-specific identifiers to indicate preferred research specialisms (local) and efforts to recruit women (national). CDA (Fairclough, 2012), in this instance, facilitated studying and explaining "social wrongs," understood as facets of "social systems, forms or orders that are detrimental to human well-being" (p. 13). We scrutinized how the professional and social practices of Japan-based higher education are (re)created by marketized discourses. This application of CDA to the academic profession in Japan represents one contribution of our study, as Japan-based higher education remains relatively unexplored using such methods. Much of the literature to date examines data from primary sources such as surveys (Arimoto, 2011); statistical data produced by MEXT and other governmental agencies (Huang, 2015); and reports and recommendations (Saitou, 2011). While such publications provide insights into policy, they neglect to discuss tensions and issues surrounding the philosophies underpinning Japan-based higher education's discourse. For example, our review demonstrates how Japan-based higher education is romanticized in such literature, with faculty depicted as largely concentrating on research first and teaching second. However, our examination of the job advertisements presented here shows the reality is different from such romanticized depictions, with metrification and competition prevalent and the availability of support resources apparently scarce.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, we found Japan-based higher education subject to the same forces of marketization affecting the academic profession more broadly, albeit with local affordances. These findings engage and further larger discussions of the marketization of the academic profession.

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