Such circumstances provide a context in which institutional hierarchies are likely to arise, in which the voices of the undergraduate students are ranked above those of others. We already are beginning to see the signs of this happening in publications like The Independent (14.11.93). Figure 1 presents a snapshot of a recent issue of The Choice Magazine, a publication based on the undergraduate community, which first appeared in 1991, one year of the Dowling reformations, and which is designed to highlight the most popular courses and choices - the basis of consumer democracy. With its plethora of league tables measuring the virtues of universities against one another on such (often) obscure criteria, mostly of an instrumental kind, as the "knitting of the elementary" of which conveys a considerable range of themes, everything from New England's "Looking in a Landscape" to Janet Cook's "The University of the Year" and "Most Popular University" is in conjunction with the Quality Review process, conducted in late 1993, from which some emerged as the university's official "success stories" of the past year, presumably, to that end. The GSU, of Australia's universities (Hastie and Robbins 1994), the national system is being calibrated and whited according to performance criteria. In comparing the two league tables, we note in the light of their frequent posturing about the deficiencies of the unified system, the degree to which the "Great Eight" dominate the official ranking. This is the expense of the consumer-chose universities like QUT, Northern Territory and Deakin, which are relegated to positions further down the pecking order.

The drive towards institutional distinction has paved a way of functional interpenetration and attention to public image, including the generation of mission statements and other forms of institutional discourse associated with corporate identification. Considerable attention has been paid to university image and the various items in which it manifests itself. From university merchandise like t-shirts and silk scarves through to letterheads and postcards, to ensure that its display is co-ordinated and standardized across the university at large. One noticable feature of these changing practices is the ascendency of a corporate ethos, in the widespread use of logos and slogans - the corporatization of image - and the integration of corporate practice, some of the newer universities, particularly those which have sought to establish corporate identities, have dropped such bearings and have adopted logos instead. These have a variety of forms, ranging from semioticised codes of arms to monograms, utilising variously shaped forms. McRobbie argues that the corporatisation of education is a major form of the reification of mass society and the growth of academicism evident in the reduction of the names of these universities to their initial letters (UTS, QUT, RMIT, ANU) reflects the modernist preference for standardisation, form and uniformity.

This trend is even more evident in that other feature of modern corporate practice, the use of slogans as head figure, these reduce the universities to corporate statements that are memorable and catchy. This is achieved through the orchestration use of advertising to promote both the corporate image and advertising codes. Words like "degree", "excellence", "opportunities", "tradition", familiarly together with tellingly used articles and prepositions, form the unthinking vocabulary that constitute the "language of power" of the mass media. The slogans is also a key component of the image projection process, appearing in the foreground of university promotional materials, in the extensive systematised dissemination to the form. Some faculties within universities have adopted the practice ("We're changing the way you study"), and the ramifications of the motto, and the values they inculcate align themselves to a different value discourse from that of the university motto.

In fact, the university slogan is so telling about the values of the university to the student, that one might say the slogan is an important part of the educational values of the past. For instance, most university mottoes align themselves to epistemological and moral traditions: respect, excellence, individuality, and so on (see Weber). In the case of the institution dependent on the university's role in society, the current nature of the "slogan" is a crucial element of cultural reproduction, of the value system. It is in the image in which is derived its corporate image and which centres on promoting the university as a valued place of cultural reproduction, of the value system. The slogan, its implied, in the case of the institution dependent on the university's role in society, the current nature of the "slogan" is a crucial element of cultural reproduction, of the value system. It is in the image in which is derived its corporate image and which centres on promoting the university as a valued place of cultural reproduction, of the value system. The slogan, its implied, in the case of the institution dependent on the university's role in society, the current nature of the "slogan" is a crucial element of cultural reproduction, of the value system. It is in the image in which is derived its corporate image and which centres on promoting the university as a valued place of cultural reproduction, of the value system. The slogan, its implied,
Figure Two: Monash University advertisement

The invitation to get more and get ahead at the expense of others is hardly new. Moreover, critical educators have long since identified schools as sites for admitting a small minority to the rating class and excluding the remainder. With credentialisation in mind, however, and the "clever county" expansion of higher education, the responsibility for sorting the minority from the majority has been shifted to the furthest reaches of the academic hierarchy. The university is not only the new breed of educational image-makers who, in line with the prevailing nature of market ecologies, sell image and exploit vulnerability and weakness. As previously mentioned, tertiary/secondary students are well aware that they are running the race of their lives in the rush to acquire high rates of exchange qualifications. Nonetheless, Griffith University reiterates the point through sporting metaphors in one of its recent advertising campaigns. Radio advertisements introduced with "Take your Marks" and "On Your Blocks" position the undergraduate as a lone runner (or a lone swimmer) straining to cross the finish line "ahead of the rest". Above background effects of a cheering crowd singing "Go, Go, the voice-over advises time spent at Griffith "gaining an edge" because "A Griffith degree will assure you're first in line". Significantly it is not the institution, but the consumer cum competitor put forward for scrutiny here. The undergraduate is prompted to consider their competitive performance and to position themselves as either above or below standard. Hence, the sporting metaphor individualises and decontextualises the problems of "getting ahead". Education requires time for critical reflection yet the runner has no time to spare. Education ought to expand the student's outlook yet the runner, of necessity, remains tuned vision. The sporting metaphor speaks to a less than bright future for the purpose and practice of higher education. Where education is to be offered by the demand for being faster and ahead of others. As universities define themselves in market terms, the images they project of such power for university students are increasingly constrictive and conservative, appealing to a laissez-faire free-for-all, where self-expressive is the dominant imperative of the university student. Broad cultural claims to interpret and analyse the world are overridden by the instrumental demands of commerce and industry. One slick and stylised QUT ad (See Figure Three), for instance, uses an attractive female student (with a smile that could sell toothpaste) to endorse its approach to learning because 'it works for me'. QUT's slogan is happy to have "a degree and a job". Within positional discourse, the two have become interdelegated and kowtowed to its individualism, utilising the powerlessness as a commodity to be acquired. Moreover, the student herself is a commodity - and in this circumstance on an advertising cliché - to bear the university for its real world bread. We note that the 'outside-in' dimension of advertising tells us nothing about her world i.e. the realities of student life. The only conclusion possible is that the APV/ARE happy. Perhaps this fact has a peculiar logic of its own - after all, in a postmodern age, it is said, appearances and image count.

One of the significant legacies of John Watkins is the market-oriented university in which advertising is part of corporate practice, evident in many contexts, in newspapers and the cinema, on radio, buses, and television. The primary function of this advertising is to differentiate universities from their competitors, to brand them in such terms as they are perceived to confer a positional advantage. Much of the advertising is directed at prospective undergraduates. It casts universities as crucial institutions in the currently competitive race for occupational security. What is noteworthy about such advertising is that it rarely pays heed to the cultural benefits of university education. Advertisements are a poignant benchmark of the values prevailing in a corporatised and consumerised culture, showing in shorthand and technical the meanings and images with which commodities and services are associated. Those of universities are no exception, and show the degree to which the dominant meanings of university education are instrumental, are about getting ahead and gaining advantage over one's peers. University advertising, in the end, appeals to an ethic centred on competitive self promotion and it represents yet another telling symbol of the degree to which the consumerist values have colonised most sectors of western societies.

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