

least 15% lower than elsewhere and it is doubtful if the extra amenities are fully offsetting. The use of more competitive rates of pay carries with it an implication that rates of pay for Professors in different cities will differ not only because of the 'content' of staff but because of location. This has funding implications for universities and for their claims on central apportioning bodies for shares of the total grant.

Conclusion

Tenure is an integral part of any system of employment. It has long since become part of the accepted package of emoluments in relation to career, occupation and job choice. To lower it inevitably involves costs both on employer and employee and especially bears on the attractions of employment for new employees. There is nothing sacrosanct about any conditions of employment in perpetuity but both the benefits and costs of change must be fully assessed. Easing costs in one area increases them elsewhere.

Changes should be made for good and enduring reasons, most advantageously with cooperation of employers and staff, because goodwill should not be dismissed as irrelevant. As the academic standing of institutions is of critical international concern both for schools and for students, due attention must be paid to the international mobility implications of proposed changes as the quantum and quality of university staff are indelibly interwoven with the whole social fabric and industrial system of the nation.

The implications of educational reform are essentially long-run — hence they must be well thought through. In such a review political expediency should have no place.

Footnotes

1. There is another factor that may serve to ease access to tenure, one that has applied since 1975 in the United Kingdom, and is presumably a point the retiring Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge was referring to in his recent reported address (*The Australian*, October 21, 1981). The Employee Protection Act of 1975 made it very difficult, and extremely costly, for enterprises to dismiss workers after a comparatively short period of employment, somewhere about two years. The costs imposed upon firms rendered labour costs more like capital costs and made bankruptcy rather than a phased rundown of enterprise more likely when trade turned persistently sour. Universities were by inference, rather than so far by test, to be an industry within the terms of the Act.

The Statutes of Cambridge University provide for two categories of lecturer grade. The lower, Assistant Lecturer or Demonstrator, is for a maximum term of five years, three years in the first instance and renewable for a further two. With the passage of the Act the university has tightened the terms of appointment so as to ensure that the job offer is restricted to a fixed term and therefore outside the requirements of the Act. Since I left in 1977 it may be that there has been increased difficulty in claiming that such appointments do not fall within the terms of the Act, hence the Vice-Chancellor's comment. I do not know. For the Lecturer grade (there are no Senior Lecturers or equivalent) to which admission can only be gained through open advertisement competition the Statutes provide for appointment for three years in the first instance, with the possibility of a further three before appointment runs to the retiring age of 67. Such terms may be regarded as in contravention of the 1975 Act and doubtless place appointing bodies in a dilemma with their only protection being the more rigorous scrutinising of potential staff before appointment. This, whilst it imposes costs, is more necessary as would-be employees for whom security in the job tends to outweigh pay considerations are now more likely to seek such posts. One must presume that such types of applicants would be those whose alternative job opportunities are more restricted.

Be that as it may, one cannot overlook the fact that it was legislative provision that led in part to the phenomenon now being decried.

DISCRIMINATION, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND WOMEN ACADEMICS: A CASE STUDY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW ENGLAND

Bronwyn Davies

Social & Cultural Studies in Education
The University of New England

Introduction

The Federation of Australian University Staff Associations (FAUSA) has adopted an affirmative action policy for itself and its member associations, and has advocated the adoption of such policies in Australian universities. The Chairman of the N.S.W. Higher Education Board "has called on universities to establish affirmative action programmes to rectify the disadvantages currently suffered by female academics".¹ Many universities have recently formed women's groups actively pushing for affirmative action. And individual academic women are beginning to insist on their rights to equal opportunity.

However, in the United States, while affirmative action plans have resulted in an increase in the numbers of women employed, they have not brought about a change in attitude.² Though it was not at any time a requirement that merit be put aside as the primary basis for selection and promotion, many men nonetheless perceived the "new" women as inferior, asserting that they had been employed through "reverse discrimination", not through merit. In other words the discriminatory attitudes, while perhaps a little more self-conscious, were still very much in evidence. It is to the conceptual frameworks which give rise to these attitudes that we must turn our attention if affirmative action in Australian universities is actually to achieve anything beyond a slight increase in the number of women employed and an accompanying increase in negative attitudes towards these women.

This paper sets out to analyse discrimination, drawing on the understanding of the term developed through the enactment of a variety of Anti-Discrimination Acts, and to show, through a case study of one university, how discrimination manifests and perpetuates itself in a systemic cycle of discriminatory attitudes, acts and outcomes.

Discrimination

Discrimination occurs at four levels. These levels are partly historical. At the first level are the more direct, readily recognisable forms of discrimination which were the first to be judged inadmissible and unlawful.³ The more complex forms of discrimination may be neither direct nor intended and are identifiable more in terms of actions and outcomes

than in terms of deliberated motives and recognisably discriminatory beliefs. They are, nonetheless, related to a set of understandings about the nature of the world, the effect of which is a discriminatory pattern of outcomes for women. It has taken longer to understand these more complex forms of discrimination and for the law courts to acknowledge discrimination in the absence of intended discriminatory acts.

Direct intended discrimination

This first form has been called "motivation" discrimination, and occurs when the discriminator knowingly acts on the basis of a belief which discriminates against women. The act of discrimination can be identified by all parties as "a series of isolated and distinguishable events..." which have the effect of preventing a particular woman from gaining access to work or to promotion.⁴ It has also been called "ill-will" discrimination though it may not be experienced by the discriminator as motivated by ill-will. If, for example, a male discriminator fails to employ a young woman who is better qualified than a young man he does employ, on the basis of a belief that the woman will inevitably leave work to have children, he may experience no feeling of ill-will towards the woman in question, though the consequences for her career may be quite damaging. His action may be identified by her as an act of ill-will. Regardless of any wish to do harm, if his intention was to exclude her on the basis of characteristics which he assumes attach to all females and if he acknowledges the reasons for his decision (if only to himself), then his act belongs in this category of direct intended discrimination.

Direct unintended discrimination

This second form of discrimination occurs when the discriminator treats two people of equal qualifications differently, perhaps not realising that his action is being influenced by invalid assumptions about the nature of the social world. In proving this form of discrimination it is the **action** rather than the **motivation** that is the critical defining feature of the discriminatory act.⁵ Though the person discriminated against may believe that the discriminatory act **was** motivated by discriminatory intent, it may be equally plausible to believe that the discriminator has simply failed to examine or even take cogniz-

ance of his underlying assumptions or motivations. He may genuinely believe that his perceptions of the woman in question as an inferior candidate to the equally qualified male are not related to sex. He has assumed that her work is inferior without close examination (its assumed inferiority perhaps leading him not to bother with close examination) and has employed or promoted the male over her because as "anyone can see" (or so he believes) the male is superior. An example of an invalid assumption made in this kind of case is that age combined with productivity is a true indicator of worth. A young male who has published the same amount as an older female must be better, the argument goes, without taking cognizance of the five or ten years taken out by the woman to produce her family. Another invalid assumption, often openly admitted, is that young women with children are a poor risk since they take time off work to look after sick children. But women with children probably take off less time than older men do when they are at the peak of their careers (and incomes) and are suffering from the usual stress-related or "success-related" illnesses. Indeed a survey by the Department of Productivity found "that there was no overall difference in absenteeism between men and women but that absentee rates related to the level and type of work performed rather than the sex of the worker".⁶ Another example of a different kind would be where the woman is perceived as having unacceptable personality traits, such as assertiveness and brusqueness, which are similar traits to those found in male colleagues but regarded as unattractive in a female colleague, and therefore as good reason not to appoint or promote her.

Indirect discrimination

In each of the above forms of direct discrimination, the actions of individuals and their detrimental effect on a specific woman are involved. With indirect discrimination the motivations and actions of individuals are irrelevant in the establishing of the existence of discrimination. Indirect discrimination can be said to exist where employment practices that appear to be "neutral on their face in terms of equal treatment and even in terms of their overt intent" nevertheless have "a disparate effect on women..." This form of discrimination can be proved by

showing that women... are adversely affected by a seemingly neutral employment policy. Theoretically it does not even require identifiable victims. Nor does it require any proof of intent to discriminate — proof that for most discrimination victims is all but impossible to obtain. Theoretically, it matters not at all

whether the employer is covertly using the employment practice to keep out... women or whether he believes it is neutral and merely for the good of the business. Indeed, the only defense available to the employer would be to prove beyond doubt that the questionable practice was both necessary for the operation of the business and that it was in fact related to job performance. Even if the employer could prove this, the practice might still be prohibited if another practice (or test) could be found that would satisfy the employer's 'business necessity,' prove equally related to job performance, but have a less discriminatory impact on minorities or women.⁷

A perfect example of such a practice is the preference within some universities and within some departments in particular, for non-Australian degrees. Such a preference is based on the belief that such degrees are superior and that holders of such degrees will necessarily enhance the university in question. However, our current family and social structure simply makes it more difficult for women to attain overseas degrees. Further, with the current high percentage of staff with overseas degrees in Australian universities it is very hard to sustain an argument that that which is gained outside Australia is in any identifiable sense different from or superior to that which is gained within Australian universities.⁸

Indirect discrimination is also indicated where differences between men and women are **not** taken into account, thereby harming women's opportunities. An example of this is the absence of child minding facilities on campus.

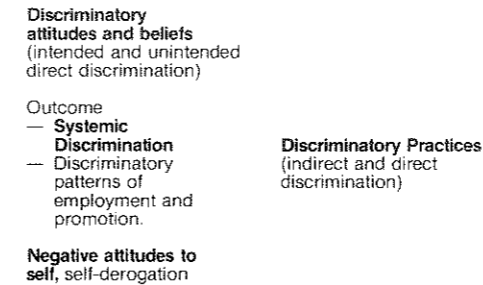
This is indirect discrimination by omission... The absence of... child care services, (and) flexible maternity leave discriminates indirectly against women in the workforce and women wishing to enter the workforce.⁹

Systemic Discrimination

Systemic discrimination is all of the above forms of discrimination; it is the combination of discriminatory attitudes and practices which directly and indirectly decrease employment and promotion opportunities for women. Further, it includes the inevitable negative attitudes women develop towards themselves and their careers as a result of these reduced opportunities.

Each of the first three levels of discrimination influences the other and each feeds into the final outcome, that is a systemic discriminatory pattern of employment and promotion for women. (See Fig. 1).

Figure 1
The Social Construction and Perpetuation of a discriminatory workplace



Discrimination Illustrated: The University of New England

This social construction of a discriminatory workplace involving the complex interplay of discrimina-

tory acts, attitudes and beliefs, can be straightforwardly illustrated through employment and promotion statistics. So, for example, amongst the women academics of University of New England (U.N.E.) you will not find any Chancellors, Deputy Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors, Pro Vice-Chancellors, Chairs of the Board, Deans of Faculty, Heads of Department, members of Academic Advisory Committee, nor will you find any Professors. You will find, however, two Associate Professors, four Senior Lecturers, twenty-one Lecturers, thirty-eight Tutors and five Research Assistants. There are also fifty-seven casual Lecturers and Tutors who are not listed in the *Calendar* and so are omitted from the following tables. As is shown in Table 1, the women constitute fifteen percent of the academic staff, and of these fifteen percent, sixty percent are in vulnerable (non-tenured) positions. In contrast, only twenty three percent of the men are in vulnerable positions.

Table 1
Numbers and Percentages of Academic Women and Men Employed at each Level by Faculty in 1982 at U.N.E.

	Arts		Science		Education		Rural Science		Economics		Resource Management		Continuing Education		Combined																			
	Male No.	Female % No.	Male No.	Female % No.	Male No.	Female % No.	Male No.	Female % No.	Male No.	Female % No.	Male No.	Female % No.	Male No.	Female % No.	Male No.	Female % No.																		
Professor	12	100	0	0	11	100	0	0	3	100	0	0	5	100	0	0	7	100	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	100	0	0	
Emeritus Prof.	2	100	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	100	0	0	
Assoc. Prof.	12	92	1	8	16	100	0	0	2	100	0	0	8	89	1	11	6	100	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	46	96	2	4		
Sen. Lecturer	46	100	0	0	25	90	3	10	16	93	1	7	14	100	0	0	21	100	0	0	2	100	0	0	4	100	0	0	128	97	4	3		
Lect. (Plus temp. Lect.)	35	72	12	28	587.5	112.5	16	78	3	22	5	83	1	17	15	94	1	6	4	100	0	0	3	100	0	0	3	100	0	0	83	82	18	18
Sen. Tutor	2	50	2	50	2	67	1	33	1	100	0	0	1	100	0	0	2	67	1	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	67	4	33	
Tutor	25	62	15	38	11	65	6	35	5	57	2	43	4	50	4	50	13	65	7	35	3	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	61	64	34	36	
Res. Asst.	0	0	1	100	4	57	3	43	0	0	0	0	16	94	1	6	3	100	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	83	5	17		
Total	135	80	33	20	78	85	14	15	45	86	7	14	53	88	7	12	68	88	9	12	13	100	0	0	8	100	0	0	400	85	70	15		
Total in Vulnerable Positions	26	19	18	55	17	22	9	64	7	15	3	42	20	38	5	71	17	25	7	78	4	31	0	0	1	11	0	0	91	23	42	60		

(Source: 1982 U.N.E. Calendar)

Arts has no women above Associate Professor. The women in Arts constitute 20% of staff. 55% of these women are in vulnerable positions (in contrast with 19% of men in vulnerable positions).

Science has no women above Senior Lecturer. The women in Science constitute 15% of the staff and 64% of these women are in vulnerable positions (in contrast with 22% of men in vulnerable positions).

Education has no women above Senior Lecturer. The women in Education constitute 14% of the staff and 42% of these women are in vulnerable positions (in contrast with 15% of men in vulnerable positions).

Rural Science has no women above Lecturer except for one Associate Professor. The women in Rural Science constitute 12% of the staff and 71% of these women are in vulnerable positions (in contrast with 38% of men in vulnerable positions).

Economics has no women above Lecturer. The women in Economics constitute 12% of the staff and 78% of these women are in vulnerable positions (in contrast with 25% of men in vulnerable positions).

Resource Management has no women at any level. Continuing Education has no women at any level.

Overall, within the university 15% of staff are women, and 60% of these women are in vulnerable positions. This is in contrast with only 23% of men in vulnerable positions. At the other end of the scale, only six (9%) women are in senior positions (Senior Lecturer and above) whereas there are 217 (54%) men in senior positions.

* Vulnerable positions include temporary or fixed term lectureships, tutorships (excluding senior tutorships), and research assistantships. Casual positions are not included since these people are omitted from the Calendar.

Though similar imbalances occur in other universities, the U.N.E. balance is, in general, weighted more heavily against women than in other universities. (See Table 2).

Table 2
Percentages of women and men in senior positions at U.N.E. contrasted with the overall percentages for other universities.

	% women of total women in each position		% men of total men in each position	
	All Universities	U.N.E.	All Universities	U.N.E.
Professor				
Assoc. Prof.	19%	9%	58%	54%
Senior Lect.				
Lecturer				
Senior Tutor	81%	91%	42%	46%
Tutor				

(Sources: Fourth Annual Report of the Anti-Discrimination Board; 1982, U.N.E. Calendar.)

If we look at the promotion patterns we can see a similar discriminatory pattern emerging. The percentage of women who gain promotion to senior lectureships, for example, is consistently lower than the percentage of men who gain promotion.

Between 6% and 13% of male Lecturers are promoted each year whereas promotions for female Lecturers generally do not occur, though there is an occasional exception every few years.

Table 3
Promotion to senior lectureships for males and females at U.N.E. for the period 1978-1981.

	Male		Female			
	No. promoted	Total no.	%	No. promoted	Total no.	%
1978	6	97	6%	0	22	0%
1979	12	94	13%	0	24	0%
1980	7	84	8%	1	22	4%
1981	7	79	9%	0	19	0%

(Source: 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982 U.N.E. Calendars)

If we look at the productivity rates for women and men (measured by papers published and papers presented to conferences) we find some curious anomalies. The women in general have been less productive than the men, except in the Education Faculty, where the women consistently produce more than the men and the men in other faculties.

Table 4
Publications and papers to Learned Societies for the years 1978, 1979, 1980 comparing average productivity of males and females in each Faculty at the level of Lecturer and above.

	Arts		Science		Education		Rural Science		Economics		Res. Management	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1978	1.6	0.5	1.3	0.4	1.5	2.2*	2.0	1.9	1.8	—**	1.4	—
1979	1.8	0.6	1.4	0.8	1.7	3.5*	1.5	0.0	1.9	—	2.0	—
1980	1.7	0.3	1.3	0.8	1.8	4.1*	2.4	2.3	1.6	—	1.1	—

(Source: 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982 U.N.E. Calendars)

* Highest average productivity across faculties for men and women for years 1978, 1979, 1980.

** Indicates no women.

On average men produce between one and two papers per year in each Faculty (the only exception being Rural Scientists in 1980). In Arts and Science, women produce on average less than one paper per year.

In Education women produce on average between 2 and 4 papers per year (i.e. more than the average for men in each Faculty).

In Rural Science women's productivity is uneven and ranging from none to more than 2.

If we look at the Lecturer level in particular (shown only for the three faculties with female Lecturers) we find that in Arts in particular the women Lecturers are comparatively unproductive.

Table 5
Publications and papers to Learned Societies for the years 1978, 1979, and 1980 comparing average productivity of male and female lecturers in three faculties.

	Arts		Science		Education	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1978	1.5	0.5	0.9	0	0.9	2.2
1979	2.0	0.5	0.6	1.0	1.3	3.5
1980	0.8	0.3	0.1	1.0	2.1	3.3

(Source: 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982 U.N.E. Calendars.)

Table 6
Percentage of women within the various categories who have experienced discrimination and who believe there to be discrimination at U.N.E.¹¹

		Clerical/ Secretarial/ Administrative (%)	Academic (%)	Other (%)
		Personal experience of discrimination	Race Sex Marital Status Age	0 7 5 7
Beliefs about discrimination at UNE in terms of jobs and promotions	Sex	31	44*	35
	Race	13	22*	11
	Marital Status	55	54	46
Personal experience of sexual harassment	Sexual comments	16	26*	8
	Suggestive scrutiny of body	13	18	5
	Propositions	7	11	3
	Physical contact	8	11	0
	Mocking remarks	12	18	13
PERCENTAGE TO BE RE-EMPLOYED IN 1982		95	74*	94

¹¹ Each category would appear to have approximately the same percentage of people aware of discrimination except in the following areas: a far greater percentage of academic women have experienced discrimination on the basis of sex; a greater percentage of academic women believe there to be discrimination on the basis of sex and race; a greater percentage of academic women have experienced sexual harassment in each category; and finally and probably significantly, a far greater percentage of academic women did not expect to be re-employed in 1982.

We can assume that these women entered academe with at least the same ability and enthusiasm as their male colleagues. The task in front of us is to discover what happens to these women to depress their productivity and their subsequent progress through the university. Three equally pressing questions which also emerge from this material and which need answering as part of any affirmative action programme are:

- Why are women given fewer jobs?
- Why, when they do get jobs are they more usually untenured?
- Why when they gain tenured lectureships is the next step (promotion) so rare?

In order to get at the experiences of these women, a questionnaire was sent to all women on campus asking them about their experiences of discrimination at U.N.E.¹⁰ One hundred and ninety women replied, fifty-seven of these being academics. Twenty of the respondents agreed to a follow-up, in-depth interview. Of the academic women who returned the questionnaire thirty-three percent said they had experienced direct discrimination either on the basis of their own or others' experiences of direct discrimination, or on the basis of the systemic discrimination evidenced by the lack of academic women at higher levels throughout the university.

These figures are surprising for those of us who wish to think of the university as a place of higher learning and enlightenment. But the reality is that the very presence of the women is experienced by many of the men as a threat to their (male) values, practices, and conceptual frameworks perhaps especially where they are seen to have an equal chance, along with the men, of success — as in Arts and Education. Part of this conceptual framework, of course, relates to women's roles and to what constitutes acceptable "womanly behaviour". Many of the comments on the questionnaires centred on this issue. The attitudes encountered by the academic women can be divided into (i) personal attitudes relating to everyday interaction and (ii) political/economic attitudes relating to decision making on employment and promotion issues. These attitudes are relevant to direct and indirect, intended and unintended discrimination, i.e. they are part of the total pattern of systemic discrimination.

1. Personal Attitudes

(a) Inability to treat women as persons

- discomfort at working with equal or higher status women
- exclusion of women from informal "mateship networks"
- blocking of serious academic discussion by continually turning the talk into sexual "fun" talk, or

- modifying talk to stilted politeness because "there are ladies present".

(b) Insistence on traditional female role

- women disallowed from taking responsibility in the department
- assumption that women will carry out menial tasks
- assignment of domestic and secretarial functions to female academic staff
- women not encouraged to pursue higher degrees or to publish
- sexual passes made which emphasize the male/female dimension of the relationship and de-emphasize the colleague/colleague relationship
- women regarded as somehow unnatural and unpleasant if they assert themselves with their male colleagues

(c) Linguistic traditions maintained which assume an all-male university

- academic staff and students referred to as "he" in formal discussion and documentation.

2. Political — economic attitudes

(a) Not taking women seriously or at face value

- Women's competence is doubted until "proofs" have been provided (e.g. tenure being made conditional on completion of Ph.D.).
- Proofs themselves doubted (e.g. a male was heard to say of his female colleague "how do I know she has published all these papers?").
- Proofs ignored (a temporary lecturer who had published extensively over a number of years and who wished to apply for a tenured position was asked by her Head of Department whether she had any publications; this despite the fact that publications are listed in the Calendar, in research grant applications, etc.).
- Proofs assumed to have less weight than equivalent male proofs (e.g. a female lecturer resigned when she failed to gain promotion while her male colleague with apparently fewer qualifications and publications gained promotion).
- Current status assumed to be an artefact of husband's academic status, rather than a result of own ability.

(b) Assumption that women do not have responsibilities/dependents and do not therefore, "need" to work.

- Men given priority over women on the basis of their assumed need (e.g. two applicants of equal quality were shortlisted for a job. The man got the job because of his "responsibilities". In fact the woman had dependents and the man did not).
- Jobs terminated because the husband can provide support (e.g. a tutor, whose contract was terminated before it should be was told that the university could not be expected to employ all "the wives" and

that her husband was known to have a good income. This decision was reversed).

- Temporary and casual conditions of work offered to women on the assumption that they are only working to fill in the day or pass time, not out of serious commitment to career or out of actual need to support dependents (e.g. casual lecturer paid \$1,000 to run a year long course which involved weekly lectures and tutorials. The original offer was \$300).

(c) Assumption that if women have children they should not work

- Absence of any facilities on campus for minding babies accompanied by a university ruling that babies are not allowed in classes.

These are the attitudes that many of the women encounter in their day-to-day work life. Accompanying these is the experience of their own and others' failure to gain tenure and/or promotion. Careers of success, which are experienced by men as the norm, are by no means normative for the women. The question arises then as to how women cope with a discriminatory work place. What attitudes do they develop to the normative pattern for women (i.e. careers of failure) that they see around them? On the basis of my follow-up interviews and of informal conversations with other academic women, I have set up a model of four ideal-types of academic women (using "ideal-types" in Weber's sense of the term).¹² Very few women will fit neatly into one or other of these categories or types — rather the ideal-types may serve to clarify our thinking about the variety of strategies women develop within a discriminatory work place. Negative attitudes to self, and self-derogation are an integral part of systemic discrimination. These attitudes, along with the discriminatory attitudes detailed above must be understood if affirmative action programmes are to be successful.

Idealist

The idealist voluntarily takes on heavy teaching loads because of her concern for students. She believes she shouldn't publish until she has something really worth saying. She may be slow to start but will eventually publish high quality material. The idealist is not aware of herself as a female academic. She sees herself as a person first, whose own personal flaws (e.g. perfectionism) prevent her from getting on.

Pragmatist

The pragmatist enjoys teaching, and is unwilling to buy into a competitive model. The quality of life is of prime importance and so she will write and publish if she enjoys it. She tends to enjoy aspects of life outside the academy e.g. children, creative art, sport, etc. She may occasionally publish. Pragmatism is often combined with temporariness, and therefore a realistic assessment that publications

will not get her anywhere anyway.

Conflictive

The conflictive type experiences a great deal of tension surrounding her career. She has much of the departmental administria passed on to her. She is required to take on burdensome teaching loads. She experiences role conflict re children and husband or partner. She is aware of the fact that she is not encouraged to publish. She feels uncertain about her own worth (and often, therefore, doesn't publish because she believes she has nothing worth saying). She may eventually publish, at great personal cost.

Competitive

The competitive type enters into the publishing/promotion game with enthusiasm. She resists heavy teaching loads and administria. She overcomes any barriers that are placed in front of her at whatever personal cost. She publishes frequently. She, along with the women in each of the above categories, may or may not gain tenure and/or promotion.

The women least susceptible to the prevailing male attitudes are the pragmatists. Unfortunately they are often in temporary positions and so pass out of the system. The idealists survive, but being slow to publish are also slow to seek promotion and so tend to stay at Lecturer level. The conflictive type and the competitive type are very much aware of and bothered by the prevailing attitudes. The conflictive type will find a great deal of tension involved in trying to publish and often cease doing research in order to survive. The competitive type often succeeds and finds the success exhilarating, though lonely, because much has been sacrificed on the way. They often find it difficult to identify with other women because the other women are demonstrably not making it. Because of the supreme efforts they have to make to "succeed" they often lose touch with other women and can't quite see why other women are not prepared to put in the same efforts to succeed as they have. With the development of strong women's groups on campuses this type is now more likely to receive support and also more likely to understand the problems faced by the other women.

Affirmative Action

The Report of the F.A.U.S.A. working party on affirmative action states that

affirmative action is essentially the revision of standards and practices to ensure that universities are in fact drawing from the largest market place of human resources in staffing their faculties

and that affirmative action requires

a critical review of appointment and promotion criteria to ensure that they (universities) do not inadvertently foreclose consideration of the best qualified persons by untested pre-suppositions which operate to exclude women.

It goes on to say that

affirmative action is the taking of positive steps, by means of management programmes, to achieve demonstrable progress towards equal employment opportunity.¹³

It is unfortunately the case that institutions charged with discriminatory practices in relation to specific individuals are unable to engage in constructive discussions about the discriminatory practices involved. It has been found that in every case the institutions deny that they have engaged in any form of unlawful or improper discrimination. Abramson says in her introduction to *Old Boys New Women, The Politics of Sex Discrimination*

I am indebted to the many supervisors, employers and university administrators who didn't have to see me at all but were willing to share with me their reasons for believing that, in the particular case I asked about, there was (always) absolutely no discrimination involved.

She claims that

employers, supervisors and managers are discouragingly unable to react constructively to charges of discrimination... Almost without exception they insist that the complainant is incompetent or mediocre or that she has unpleasant or divisive personality traits.

Affirmative action management programmes remove the burden of proof from individual women and the burden of guilt from individuals within the institution. Once it is recognised that systemic discrimination does in fact exist (as illustrated above) then remedial steps can be taken to ensure that university appointments are genuinely based on merit, and that women, once appointed, are not caught up in a system whose very nature makes success an extraordinary exception rather than a straightforward, relatively predictable progression.

References

1. 'Campaign over Sexism in N.S.W.', *The Australian*, 14 April 1982.
2. J. Abramson, *The Invisible Women: Discrimination in the Academic Profession*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1975 and J. Abramson, *Old Boys New Women: The Politics of Sexual Discrimination*, Praeger, New York, 1979.
3. Abramson (1979), op. cit., p. 23.
4. P. Robertson, 'A discussion of recent proposed guidelines' dealing with discrimination', Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (mimeographed preliminary rough draft) in Abramson (1979), op. cit., p. 24.
5. An action is potentially many different acts, depending upon the interpretation placed upon the action by the actors involved. See P. Harre and P.F. Secord, *The Explanation of Social Behaviour*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1972. In this case the interpretation or re-interpretation of the action as a discriminatory act may become the task of, say, an Equal Opportunity Tribunal, rather than, as is usually the case, the task of the actors involved in the action.

6. Working Women's Centre, 'Occupational Health Part 4: Stress, Job Dissatisfaction and Mental Health', Discussion Paper No. 31, Melbourne, 1978.
7. Abramson (1979), op. cit., p. 25.
8. F. Gale, 'Academic Staffing: The Search for Excellence', *Vestes*, 23, 1980.
9. A. Ziller, *Affirmative Action Handbook*, pp. 17-18, 1980. Many academic women in the United States decide not to have children. See R. Simon, S. Clark and K. Galway, 'The Woman Ph.D.: A recent Profile', *Social Problems*, 15, 2, 1967, pp. 221-236. They have shown that the women who marry but opt not to have children are more productive than their male colleagues. It is nevertheless a high price to pay and a price that male academics rarely, if ever, have to contemplate.
10. The survey was initiated by the New England and

- North West Association for Women who set up a committee to investigate the situation of women at U.N.E. The Committee comprised Bronwyn Davies, Jan Macintyre, Janet Dash and Jenny Weissel.
11. This table is taken from B. Davies, Preliminary Report of the NENWAW survey of women at U.N.E. NENWAW Newsletter No. 3, 1982.
12. The interviews have not yet been analysed in detail. This typology will be extended and elaborated when the analysis is completed.
13. C. O'Donnell, J. Dash, B. Davies, J. Gaha, P. Moore, and T. Rowse, "Report of the working party on affirmative action" *Supporting Paper to the 1982 F.A.U.S.A. Representative Council Meeting*, F.A.U.S.A., Melbourne, 1982, pp. 4-5.
14. Abramson (1979), op. cit., p ix.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

WOMEN IN ACADEMIC LIFE: IMPLICATIONS OF THE STEADY STATE.

Introduction

In these days of economic and political conservatism, the "steady state" of Australian universities has become increasingly shaky. Reductions in federal funding and attempts to reduce university enrolments through re-imposition of fees for post-graduate and second degree students have forced administrators to take unpleasant and unpopular steps to reduce expenditures. The Vice-Chancellor of Macquarie University, Professor E.C. Webb has described the major loss of teaching staff resulting from funding cut-backs as affecting "the people at the bottom": tutors who are appointed on short-term tenure.¹ Such a policy will not only have adverse long-term effects on student education and on postgraduate research, but will also act regressively to reduce recent improvements in the employment status of academic women, who form a relatively high proportion of tutorial staff. This would be indeed a retrograde step at a time when the need for social justice in the employment of women is increasingly recognised. This paper considers the distribution of women in university teaching positions, offers tentative explanations of that distribution and explores its implications.

The Distribution of Women in University Teaching Positions

The position of women in academic life is an important indicator of the possibilities for women in other

Janet George*

Department of Social Work
The University of Sydney

occupations. As Madge Dawson has said in a taped interview:

The university teaching occupation is a sort of test of the limits really — how far can a woman go — she can't go very far.²

That is, even in an environment where women should have the best chance to develop their potential, given the high value placed in universities on academic merit and on a vanguard role in social change, women still face career problems.

The position of academic women in Australian universities is of course not unique to Australian universities; several recent international studies indicate similar characteristics elsewhere.³ Overall, women occupy fewer positions than men and at lower levels in the academic hierarchy than men.

Study of the distribution of women academics in the three Sydney universities illustrates the uneven representation of women and the complexity of a situation where women fare better in some universities and faculties than others, and where some women fare very well indeed.

TABLE 1

The Distribution of Women in Full-Time Teaching Posts, according to Grade Held in University, 1979.

Grade	University							
	Macquarie		N.S.W.		Sydney		All Aust.	
	No.	% of grade	No.	% of grade	No.	% of grade	No.	% of grade
Professor	2	4.8	2	1.4	4	3.1	23.2	2.1
Associate Professor	4	9.7	4	2.6	5	3.0	42	3.4
Senior Lecturer	25	13.7	20	5.6	40	10.7	286.9	8.6
Lecturer	39	25.2	54	11.5	72.4	23.6	522.9	17.9
Principal Tutor	N.A.	N.A.	0	0.0	16	53.3	50.7	51.9
Senior Tutor, demonstrator assistant lecturer	32	39.5	22	44.9	20	55.5	283	37.8
Tutor, demonstrator teaching fellow	36	52.2	69.5	36.4	88.1	41.3	525	39.4
Female staff No. & % of total staff	138	24.2	171.5	12.6	245.5	19.5	1734.6	16.1

(Source: Adapted from tables supplied by Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1979, unpublished.)

As Table 1 shows, women in Australian universities in 1979 occupied 39% of tutoring positions, 18% of lectureships and 2% of professorial positions. In total, women occupied 16% of full-time teaching posts, compared with 13.8% in 1971.⁴ In Sydney, women occupied 24% of full-time teaching posts at Macquarie University, 19.5% at the University of Sydney and 12.6% at the University of New South Wales.

The facts that emerge from these figures are: first that women are under-represented at ranks above Lecturer level, with 16% of total staff yielding 2% of Professors: second, that women are over-represented at ranks below Lecturer level, with 16% of total staff yielding 39% of tutorships, which are normally untenured temporary posts; third, that the situation has shown some improvement, from 13.8% to 16% of total staff, a 15% increase in the 8 years between 1971 and 1979; fourth, that considerable variation amongst universities is evident.

The distribution of women in both full and part-time teaching posts at the Sydney universities in 1980 is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

The Distribution of Women in Full and Part-Time Teaching Posts, According to Grade and University, 1980.

Grade	University		
	Macquarie % of grade	N.S.W. % of grade	Sydney % of grade
Professor	5.3	1.6	2.6
Reader	N.A.	N.A.	4.9
Associate Professor	9.3	3.9	6.9
Senior Lecturer	13.2	5.1	12.4
Lecturer	30.8	13.9	23.1
Lecturer Part time	N.A.	N.A.	7.3
Assistant Lecturer	N.A.	N.A.	28.6
Principal Tutor	N.A.	0.0	47.6
Senior Tutor	41.3	50.0	53.6
Senior Tutor Part Time	100.0	N.A.	33.3
Tutor	57.6	41.6	37.0
Tutor Part time	85.0	N.A.	28.6

(Source: Macquarie University Calendar 1981. University of New South Wales 1980. Statistics University of Sydney Calendar, 1981.

*Part-time staff are not included.

Table 2 shows the trend noted in Table 1, that women appear to fare best overall at Macquarie University (24% of total staff in 1980) then at the University of Sydney (19%) and worst at the University of New South Wales (14%). They represented 5% of Professors and 10% of Associate Professors at Macquarie University, 3% and 7% respectively at the University of Sydney and 1.6% and 4% respectively at the University of New South Wales. Full time female tutors represented 58% of tutorial staff at Macquarie University, 42% at the University of New South Wales and 37% at the University of Sydney.

When the position of women according to faculty was investigated, the distribution shown in Table 3 appeared.