Academics had been so widely breached that their integrity could not be maintained as an asset, and rates wars (ARDH, 26 October 1989). There is, however, evidence of breach of public funds paid in mainboard public companies, which are appropriate to the private sector, are being breached in the public sector. Indeed the pushing of public resources, which are largely driven by pressures within the manufacturing sector, is not necessarily appropriate to the public sector. It reflects the relative lack of influence of public unions within the ACTU.

In the context of the fiscal crisis of the state, governments have sought to increase efficiency in public administration in the Commonwealth public service through subjecting that sector to some of the practices and disciplines of the private competitive market sector. Any deficiencies in legislation that may have resulted in such a process has been met by an attempt to redefine the concept of public service to that which is appropriate to the "privateers". The discussion on public sector efficiency has been legitimised by a discourse of "efficiency" and "equality" being redefined along private sector lines. Models of corporate management developed from the public sector, including the "management of objectives" for the private sector, has been adopted in the public sector, including the "management of objectives" for the private sector. All models of public sector work have been subjected to a number of measures ranging from retrenchment, to centralisation, to the creation of entrepreneurial mindsets of managers and the work organisation.

It is, therefore, an error to see higher education as a particular target of the structural adjustment policies of modern liberal democratic governments. Indeed the refusal of many academics to see themselves as part of the public sector workers involved in excess contractual and less collegial relations with their employers is a barrier to the making of alliances between the public sector workforce and the public sector to resist or modify the process of structural adjustment.

There are sufficient contradictions involved in subjecting public sector work to private sector models of management. The consequences model the cost of structural adjustment. There are, however, some difficulties containing them. In an industrial relations context, both at the level of the national level and the regional level, these contradictions need to be addressed, otherwise the effective role of service provision in the public sector will be converted to the exchange value of services provided in the private sector.

References


Access to university education in Australia 1852-1990: Changes in the undergraduate social mix

Don Anderson

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are analysed in order to see which social groups have had greater access to university education at different times in the 20th Century. In the post-war development of universities in Australia, and 1961, when the University of Melbourne was established, and the Murdoch Report came out, universities were in the limelight. The idea that universities should be restricted to a small intellectual elite had some currency in the 1950s, but universities were defended by the Murdoch Committee. Rather, observing the strength of the arguments, they advised against controlling numbers with a university selection and said that universities should be put in a position to admit qualified applicants who had a good education. (p. 2) The University Charter had an impact while there were no degrees in physics as in the case of that in 1963. (p. 8). If Murdoch had been 5 years rather than Robben rather than others there might have said that Murdoch was influenced? The Murdoch Committee accepted without qualification that the capacity of higher education must be vastly increased. It


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Access to university education in Australia 1852-1990: Changes in the undergraduate social mix

In the course of expansion during the later 20th Century Australian university education changed from an elite to a mass system. In 1921 1.4 per cent of 17 to 27 year olds were university students, 60 years later 12 per cent were. In 1990, to thanks to expansion, but also to a redefinition of university to include Colleges of Advanced Education, the proportion is over 20 per cent. Until then a steady but flat trend in numbers keeping pace with population increase. (See Figure 1.) Then suddenly in the mid-1950's a surge starts. Indeed centralised planning forced the university system to grow at a faster rate than the population of school-leavers. Not all new students are young school-leavers however, and, due to matriculate age, enrolment, the fraction of the population getting a university education at some time or other in their life is considerably higher than the above proportions. The first quantification of "life-time" participation was done by Burns (1962, p. 57), who estimated that, of those who reached the age of 14 in 1946, one boy in a policy, in 1946, one boy in 14 would enrol in university by age 30. And the Martin Committee, writing in 1962, expected that by 1970 one-sixth of males and one-sixth of females would enrol sometime during their lifetime at a higher education institution. These were startling figures at the time. In the event, a different centralised planning caused the university system to grow at a faster rate than the population of school-leavers. Today about 11 per cent of the Australian school population has a bachelor's degree. This is equivalent: among those born after 1960 about 25 per cent have degrees. (See Figure 2.) Among those of existing age (born before 1926) about 5 per cent have degrees. The dip in the curve in the 1940s is in the group of at least 20 who have the opportunity to graduate. Last year the paper these trends
recommended that this should occur in a structure of two distinct parts: universities and technical colleges (later named colleges of advanced education). The Committee justified its expediency views by point- ing out that there was an under-tapped pool of ability which included the children of working-class families. The Committee advised Radford (Director of the Australian Council for Educational Research), who had advised of this gross exploitation in university participation from social classes. Radford reported that:

It is highly improbable that less than 2 per cent of sons and less than 1 per cent of daughters of unskilled or semi-skilled fathers have the ability to do university work, as against 30 per cent of the sons of university professional fathers and 24 per cent of the daughters of university professional fathers. (p. 43)

Although we are inclined to think of the Murray and Report as setting the stage for expansion, a glance at Figure 1 shows that the transition from elite to a mass system of higher education had really started before Murray. In 1939 total student numbers increased 12 per cent over the previous year — nothing like what had happened before except in the catch up years immediately after the First and Second World Wars. Rising demand was super- imposed on rapid population growth as, prob- ably for the first time in history, a majority of citizens were coming to set more education as the chief means of advancing their social classes, or at least of those of their children. The two reports recognised the social trend, recommended in governments that they set the ball in motion that the masses could be educated decently, and recom- mended coordinating structures that en- couraged for 30 years.

A young person's family or social class environment is of course not the only con- straint on access to universities. Native ability has something to do with it and so does the quality of schooling and individual purposes and ambition. Access is also a function of the number of places that are available and whether these are within reach financially or geographically.

This paper explores the social map, look- ing for regions which are inhabited by students and potential students. The social class of students' families of origin is the main focus with some references to sex, religious, regional and educational, and in ad- dressing the question "Who gets university education?" I will attempt to sketch a picture of different regions since the University of Sydney was established in 1852. At the end I will take a quick glance at where Australia stands on an international level of democratization of higher education.

Social class and improving access 1852-1945

Students rarely seem to get a generous or favourable reception in universities in general. For instance, in 1887-1891, 10 of the 33 students in Sydney's history (1865) a reform group was established with the principal aim of opening "the doors of the university to the intellect of the whole country" (p. 30). Linked with the democratization of education was a press for a more utilitarian cur- riculum. Sherburne Moore, founder of the reform group, deflected what he saw in Sydney's tertiary imitation of the two ancient universities of Rome and saying that was un- suitably adapted to the country's educational needs. "The education of the great univer- sities in the Mother Country is essentially un- practical — it is not at all in accord with the spirit of this mechanical age."

I propose to look at the numbers of students, the proportion of women, the proportion of students from Sydney's private schools and the proportion of students from the West preparing a generation of Australia's leading public intellectuals.

In the early days apparently both Sydney and Melbourne found it hard to attract many students. The first students in Sydney had graduated from Sydney. According to Mac- millan, Melbourne was more successful that Sydney in the range of applicants — the students seem to have been more suc- cessful and more willing to accept a wider range of students, although I cannot find the source of evidence for the latter.

Melbourne's Council made concessions enabling students who worked to qualify for a degree without attending lectures. From this it may be inferred that a university education (of sorts) at Melbourne was not overly dependent on family wealth. Blayney, however, observed that few students used this privilege (p. 22); which is perhaps what might be expected since they still had to sit for examinations in all subjects.

But Melbourne's historian Graham Findlay, in an unpublished paper, reports an opposite response by students. By 1894, he says, more students were not attending lectures. They might account for more than half a century's enrolment, he observes.

Under these conditions to combine employment and university study was common. Students from schools and solicitors' offices tended to the University in odd hours cased by their employers, or helped by the numerous tendency of some courses to be flexible, read the set text books as they saw fit and use the Univer- sity only examination days.

It was more than 50 years, however, before the part-time system as we know it emerged, the early Melbourne professors being ashamed that the curriculum could not be fragmented and social studies was 1.2. Towards a common decision for a handful of young men from the middle and lower middle classes. The other history which records some in- terest by the founding fathers in having a university open to all classes is the flourishing of the O'Connell movement on Western Australia. According to Alex- ander Mackenzie was chief among the moving spirits, it was determined that the new university should be available to the sons of the peasantry. For "whence, indeed, Hackett regarded the new university as primarily, if not exclusively, intend..."
ing financial difficulties, and a chronic inability to attract students, thus pressures rather than any local initiative or community spirit, had forced some colleges to close before commencing studies. The university success story is not as well remembered with much affection by former students who were the first to benefit. A second part-time is under consideration but the role of the university in education has been less significant than might have been anticipated.

The importance of the part-time provision is that it is an opportunity for students who are unable to attend full-time. Several institutions, such as the University of Melbourne, have developed part-time courses for students who are unable to attend full-time. The courses are generally offered in the evenings and weekends and are designed to fit around the student's other commitments.

One of the early bills actually specified that students need not attend lectures. However, only a small number of students took advantage of this provision, and in fact many students continued to attend lectures. The reason for this was that many students found that the lectures were important for their understanding of the subject matter, and that they were unable to自学 the material on their own.

The University of Melbourne, which opened in 1853, was the first university in Australia. It was established to provide education for the rapidly growing population of Melbourne and the surrounding region. The university has since grown to become one of the largest and most prestigious universities in Australia, with a reputation for excellence in research and teaching.

The University of Melbourne has a long tradition of part-time study, with the first part-time course being offered in 1911. The course was designed for students who were unable to attend full-time due to work or family commitments. The course was quite limited in scope, with only a few courses being offered, and was not very successful.

The University of Melbourne has continued to offer part-time courses over the years, with the number and variety of courses increasing over time. The university has also offered a number of online courses, which have become increasingly popular in recent years.

The University of Melbourne has been a leader in the development of online learning, with the university's Centre for Distance Education and Learning (CDEL) being one of the first to offer online courses in Australia. The university has been successful in attracting a significant number of students to its online courses, and has been recognized for its innovative approach to online learning.

The University of Melbourne has also been active in the development of new technologies, such as virtual reality and artificial intelligence, to enhance the learning experience. The university has been successful in attracting a significant number of students to its programs in these areas, and has been recognized for its innovative approach to education.
The two greatest demoralisation of student movement dates from the 1950s and 1960s, when the student movement was first formed in Australia. The post-war baby boom generation had reached the schools and state and federal departments desperately sought additional teachers. They recruited using a package of incentives including free tuition, a salary, additional tutorials, counseling, and accommodation for all students.

There were barrages induced high student numbers to sign up in full years (Form 11). The social mix of Arts and Science faculties changed as students were attracted from poorer families (i.e., from 1962 onwards, all students had access to free tuition). The headcount was a problem that the university administration and the faculties were made aware of. The new students were more likely to drop out than to continue.

In the 1960s, the social sciences were in crisis. Students were attracted from poorer families (i.e., from 1962 onwards, all students had access to free tuition). The headcount was a problem that the university administration and the faculties were made aware of. The new students were more likely to drop out than to continue.

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Erratum: Please replace page 44 with this sheet.

Figure 4: Students aged less than 24 years attending Universities as a percentage of all persons aged less than 25 years.

Figure 5: Non-Catholic students in Non-Government Secondary Schools as a percentage of Secondary Students.

Figure 6: Students aged less than 24 years attending Universities as a percentage of all persons aged less than 25 years.

The statistical categories of "family wealth", "private school" and "university" overlap one another, as has been reported in numerous studies and may be inferred from the maps. Many private schools, especially non-Catholic private schools, have specialised as academic preparatory institutions, schooling their pupils for university entrance examinations.

Since the 1960s, when the information was first collected, these schools have retained more than three quarters of their students, and in recent years, have increased the proportion of students from middle and upper socio-economic backgrounds attending them. This increase may be due to a variety of factors, including the attractiveness of the academic environment and the prestige associated with attending a private school.

These trends are reflected in Figure 9, which shows the proportions of students in public and Catholic school graduates who are attending university. The figure indicates that the proportion of students attending university has increased over time, with a significant increase occurring in the 1990s.

Figure 9: Non-Catholic students in Non-Government Secondary Schools as a percentage of Secondary Students.

Achieving equity objectives.

The following paragraphs examine the changing fortunes of Aboriginal, women, students from private schools, Catholics and children from working class families, except for Aborigines, who are insufficiently numerous to be caught in the course of our social survey, which after all, is not designed to produce precise estimates of the proportion of men and women in the population who have graduated. The main conclusion is that the achievement of equity objectives is likely to require a greater emphasis on the provision of opportunities for all students, including those from disadvantaged groups, to gain access to higher education.

Figure 10: Social and economic characteristics of students who attended university in 1989.

Whereas Aborigines, women, Catholics and students from private schools have all advanced from less than average positions in the participation stakes, the gap between the social classes remains relatively small, with the proportion of students from working-class families who have attended university remaining relatively stable over time. This suggests that more needs to be done to improve the educational outcomes of these groups.
bottom third of the social order.

The most plausible explanation for the period of more equal representation followed by regression to the more persistent pattern of inequality is that access was less competitive in the 1970s as the number of new places in England kept pace with demand, but that in the 1980s the system again became highly competitive and, unlike the other years, the number of places available was lower.

The general phenomenon is universal in other countries of the West and in the former socialist countries, universities are inhabited in disproportionate numbers by children of the educated, the wealthy and the powerful. Indeed, as we shall see in the next section, inequality in Australia is less stark when viewed in an international context.

**Australia compared**

Of all the Western industrialised countries, Sweden has made more determined efforts through government intervention to create a more equal society, including one where access to higher education is even across several groups. I was able to obtain some statistics of Swedish enrolments for the post-World War II period corresponding roughly to the ACER data for Australia used in Figure 3.

The graphs for participation in higher education by members of the top, middle and bottom thirds of the Swedish social order (based on father’s occupational prestige) are in Figure 12. It appears that the pessimistic comments of Osnabrun about the failure of democratisation of participation in Sweden are not justified. The graphs show an experience of youthful participation in the late 1960s but that the lion’s share of the new places is taken by the upper third. That trend is reversed towards the end of the 1970s; the overall impression however is of a persisting inequality.

The remaining four sets of figures are from surveys of the adult population in the United Kingdom, the USA, Poland and Australia. In each case the equal thirds method has been used and the rate of participation in higher education for each is plotted for three time periods, or five in the case of Poland. Because definitions vary of what it means to participate in higher education detailed comparisons are not possible, but the general trends do however suggest that the access gap between the top third and the rest is greater in each overseas country than it is in Australia.

Participation in the United Kingdom was much increased in the 1950s but the gap between the top third and the two lower thirds remained substantial (Figure 13).

The same gap is apparent for Poland and appears to persist from the 1940s to the 1970s (Figure 14). Whatever equalising effects the socialist period may have had in Poland since 1945 they do not appear to have touched higher education.

In the USA overall participation in higher education is of course much greater than in most other countries (partly because of definitions). Nevertheless the same pattern prevails. In Canada, England and Poland there is a gap between the top third and the rest: and inequality between these sectors seems to have become greater since the 1950s (Figure 15).

The meaning of higher education is not identical for all social groups, and in the case of the USA the sort of college likely to be accessible to the middle and lower orders is very different from that which can be realistically aimed at by the top. Thus the net identical levels of participation by the lower two thirds in the USA may reflect differing interpretations of the importance of college attendance for careers advancement. In particular, those in the middle group who did not make it to prestige institutions may have preferred opportunities in business or the labour force not available to those from less well placed families.

The final set of graphs portrays participation rates for Australia from the 1920s to the 1960s. As a check against possible unreliable spikes in data from one survey, I have used a different source from those of the previous Australian graphs. The data are from two national surveys of the adult population carried out in the 1970s by Acklin (1977) at ANU.

The graphs show rate of attendance for three age groups whose approximate period of participation would have been the 1920s and early thirties, the late 1930s and 1940s, and the 1950s and early 1960s. The picture remains the same. There is substantial inequality between the top third of students, and it appears to increase in the post-war period (Figure 16).

But there is not the persistent gap between the participation rates of the top third and the rest that we saw for Sweden, England, Poland and USA. Or put it another way, if you are born into a family of low to modest status in Australia you chances of getting a higher education are certainly lower than those of one higher born, but the difference is nowhere near as great as in the other countries we have examined.

**Equity or equality: Summary**

Compared with USA and several European countries the social mix of Australian students has been much more representative of the population at large, particularly of families of modest means and educational attainments.

Access in Australia since World War II has been facilitated by a combination of measures found in few other countries. These include the low cost of tuition, special arrangements for adult entry, opportunities

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Figure 8: Per cent of Graduates in Population by Age: Men and Women. Source: National Social Science Survey, RSSS, ANU.

Figure 9: Per cent of Graduates in Population by Age: Type of School. Source: National Social Science Survey, RSSS, ANU.

Figure 10: Per cent of Graduates in Population by Age: Religion. Source: National Social Science Survey, RSSS, ANU.

Figure 11: Per cent of Graduates in Population by Age: Social Classes. Source: National Social Science Survey, RSSS, ANU.
for part-time and external study, and the tradition of earning students continuing to reside in their parents’ homes.

Although tuition fees were not abolished until 1974, a majority of students before that time. This was to the post World War II years did not pay fees (which were never substantial anyway) and many received financial help in addition. In the latter years of the War and subsequently students in courses regarded as being of national importance received free tuition and allowances. Men and women who had returned from the armed services were recipients of free tuition, living allowances and travel assistance.

In the 1950s a generous scheme of Commonwealth Scholarships was introduced together with means-tested living allowances. But shortages of engineers, doctors, scientists and teachers led to additional aid schemes under which employers paid tuition costs and living allowances to selected students who placed themselves under an obligation to work for the sponsor. Not unusually prospective employers required their recruits to study courses and subjects which were going to be "useful". The largest of such schemes by far were those run by State Educational Departments for teachers training.

Arrangements for part-time and external studies originated in the need to entice school teachers into higher education. Part-time study goes back to the late 19th Century when, in order to keep numbers up, universities relaxed rules which had required students to sit for examinations in all of the subjects set for a course in a particular year. This allowed teachers to attend lectures after work, and in just one or two subjects. Subsequently the part-time system was extended so that students were not required to turn up on campus for lectures, notes being sent to them in the post. The chief beneficiaries of external study were country school teachers who were able to upgrade their qualifications by correspondence. The part-time system (about one third of undergraduates are part-time, most of them being in full-time employment) encourages students and employers with utilitarian intentions. Studying part-time while employed is not the easiest or most satisfactory way to do a university degree and students are inclined to choose those subjects which will advance their careers.

And employers are more likely to approve time off for lectures if the subjects are "relevant" to students’ subsequent work tasks, or rather, what employers think will be relevant. The Commonwealth Public Service, probably the single biggest employer with the largest number of part-time students, now makes approval for study conditional on its possible contribution to the student’s career.

These innovations, which have made higher education accessible to a broad spectrum of social classes in Australia, have had the effect of strengthening those parts of the curriculum regarded by students and employers as of immediate and practical value. Studentship entered students into professional and vocational courses; even school teachers were encouraged from honours courses or "useless" subjects like philosophy or the classics.

Most undergraduates continue to live at home with their parents into the campus on the days when they have classes. This tradition, made possible because the Australian population is concentrated in a few urban conglomerates, has facilitated access for students who otherwise would have been impeded by the costs of living away from home.

Furthermore some parents, not having experienced higher education themselves, have based their ideas of university life which makes them dubious about some sons and daughters, especially their daughters, having home for the purposes of higher education. But if their children continue to live at home their parental anxieties are lowered and it is still possible to check that Mary is home and in her own bed by 11 o’clock.

The traditions of the student center and part-time student have also contributed to the utilitarian nature of the undergraduate curriculum. The extra curricular life of student communities is part of general education – in politics, in arts and in music and in a group much more diverse than that of school of professional faculty.

The commuter student is, however, likely to socialize in the suburbs rather than around the campus, not participating much in student affairs and hanging up at university mainly for formal classes. In a study of University of Melbourne undergraduates in the 1960s Graham Little (1970, p. 99) found that students who lived in residential colleges participated much more in clubs, meetings and student culture than did students who lived at home with their parents.

In the development of education policy there is a trade-off between equality and liberty. A utilitarian curriculum is part of the price Australian higher education has paid for equality in access. Perhaps even Sheridan Mose, who wanted the 1865 University of Sydney to be more practical, "in accord with the spirit of the mechanical age" would have been surprised at the extent of it.

1The data in the graphs for U.K. and U.S.A. were made available by the Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung. The data for Poland come from an 1984-1986 National Survey of Social Mobility in Poland". International Journal of Sociology, Fall, 1979-80, pp.61-80.

Figure 13: Participation in Higher Education by Age: Social Class I, II, III. U.K. Source: See footnote 1.

Figure 14: Participation in Higher Education by Age: Social Class I, II, III. Poland. Source: See footnote 1.

Figure 15: Participation in Higher Education by Age: Social Class I, II, III. United States. Source: See footnote 1.
The Courts and the Universities

The Honorable Mr. Justice Richard E. McFarrie

There are similarities between the positions of courts and universities in a demo
cratic society. One of the major challenges and many of the solutions apply to
each. Both institutions share a number of features with the judicial system. Each is
inspired by a basic aspiration. Universities aim, by teaching and research, to
shape society. Courts seek to decide disputes within the community by giving fair
trial and appeal processes. Each must preserve the principles of natural justice,
modifying the procedural laws as necessary to achieve this goal. Both are
dependent on government for finance.

Our courts and universities are part of a modern democracy. That is significant for
Professor Weeraratne, formerly a Supreme Court Judge in Sri Lanka, has spoken of the
crises that have required that court system function under independence. While a
colony, the court and the community were not required to be effective in the
court system within which they operate. The independence and impartiality of
effective operation of the courts. They must be preserved by society and be respected
and enforced. An independent, then independent, democracy has been essential for
the community's continuity of government. Only those who will members of the
community act as judges and serve the public. The courts are the only institutions
able to perform the task of deciding whether courts and universities have
obligations to the community. The courts and universities are a part of the community
for their standing, their standing and function. Courts and universities are
influenced by the institutions doing consistently well their street rate and university.
Courts and universities are influenced by the institutions doing consistently well their
court work and university work. This partnership is critical to the success of both
institutions. It is critical to the success of both institutions.

Observation stems from an obvious view of the community. Courts and universities
have a common interest in the success of both institutions. The courts and
universities must be influential in sustaining public life and in fostering
well-being and the success of both institutions. Public education is essential on behalf
of the community.

Neither academics nor judges can afford to retreat from active responsibility for the
running of their universities. Both are expected to concentrate only on their professional
work which is familiar and agreeable to them. Judges to confine themselves to hearing
deciding cases and leave the running of the courts to others: academics to devote
themselves to teaching and research. Both institutions are necessary for the
continuity of society. They are necessary for the continuity of society. The
courts and universities must be influential in sustaining public life and in fostering
well-being and the success of both institutions. Public education is essential on behalf
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