# REPORT ON THE STATUS OF ACADEMIC WOMEN IN NEW ZEALAND

PREPARED FOR THE ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHERS OF NEW ZEALAND (INC.)

by

MARGARET A. WILSON

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Even in universities where one might hope to find attitudes to change less entrenched that in society in general the average career pattern for women is markedly different from men. Of the nearly 400 professors in New Zealand's universities only 10 are women (and almost all foreign born). Of the full-time tenured sub-professorial staff less than 10% are women and they are disproportionately found in the lower grades. And this despite the proven fact that in 1983 and looking across all faculties the Liaison Officer at Victoria University was able to report that "Overall and on average women students performed better than men".

It is the job of the Human Rights Commission to grapple with facts such as these, and to try to have something done about them.

(Professor Margaret Clark, Human Rights Commissioner, H.R.C. News, September 1984)

At the risk of being unfashionable, I do not quite see that women are disadvantaged in universities.... On the staff side I would have said the universities were models in equal opportunity; appointments have always been made strictly on merit. I'm personally not in favour of reverse discrimination.

(Professor David Hall, Chairman, University Grants Committee - University of Auckland News, Vol.14, No.7, November 1984.)

# INTRODUCTION

The question of the equality of women in New Zealand society has been the subject of much debate over the past 15 years. This debate has taken place at all levels of our society and within many of its institutions. In 1975 a Select Committee presented a Report on the Status of Women in New Zealand Society which acknowledged that women were discriminated against in many areas of their lives. The report suggested that not only must steps be taken to change attitudes towards women but also that legislation was necessary to enforce equal rights and opportunities for women. Statutory expression was given to this recommendation in the Human Rights Commission Act 1977, which provided legal remedies for women discriminated against in employment. Although this Act has assisted many individual women, its real effectiveness for women lies in the identification of systematic discrimination and the provision for institutions to undertake equal opportunity programmes. This was demonstrated by the Human Rights Commission's Inquiry into the Banking Industry, which identified discriminatory practices, and resulted in discussions between the Commission, the Trading Banks and the Bank Officers' Union with the aim of introducing equal opportunity programmes.

It has been difficult to introduce equal opportunity programmes because there is no perceived need for them. Discrimination is insidious and very rarely acknowledged. It is therefore necessary to define and identify discrimination within specific institutions and devise a response to reverse any discriminatory practices that have been identified. That is the purpose of this Report. It will attempt to briefly define the various forms of discrimination, then examine the position of women in New Zealand universities in order to identify any areas of discrimination against women. If such areas are identified suggestions will be made as to appropriate steps to be implemented to prevent discriminatory practices.

## BACKGROUND

This study arose out of a decision of the A.U.T.N.Z. Standing Committee on Staffing Issues to recommend to A.U.T.N.Z. Council that a strategy be implemented to promote the equality of academic women and that an essential part of this strategy be the development of an affirmative action programme. This proposal was considered by the Council on 24 September 1983 and the following resolution was passed :

> That a research project be set up under the supervision of Ms Margaret Wilson, Auckland, to -
>
> (i) *show the position of women academics in New Zealand universities, e.g. numbers, positions held, length of service, distribution, etc.;*
>
> (ii) *examine some of the reasons for the present position of women - (it was envisaged that this information would be gained through interviews with a representative sample of women;*
>
> (iii) *analyse the New Zealand situation in comparison with similar recent studies in Australia and elsewhere;*
>
> (iv) *look at the feasibility of affirmative action programmes, if seen to be desirable.*

In order to establish the status of women with accuracy it was decided to send a questionnaire to all academic women working in New Zealand universities in 1984. The definition of an "academic woman" presented some difficulty because of the different types of employment contracts used by universities, but it was eventually decided to include all women academics who were employed on a 12 month contract. This included part-time as well as full-time women academics and was considered the best way to include the maximum number of women. Some women may still have been excluded, however, because of the different methods used by universities to employ staff and also because some women may have taken up their appointments during the year.

Work commenced on the questionnaire at the end of 1983 and the beginning of 1984. A sample of the questionnaire was sent to several people for testing before it was finally distributed. Before the questionnaire was distributed it was also necessary to obtain the names and departments of the women to be surveyed. University Calendars were not sufficiently accurate because they did not include the names of many women who work as academics in universities. I therefore wrote to the Registrar of each university and requested a list of the names of the academic women who fell within the survey's definition. With the exception of one university all responded

positively and promptly. When women heard of the survey or after they had received their questionnaire, they sent me the names of women who had been omitted from the universities' lists. Eventually the maximum number of women were identified in all universities and the questionnaire was posted in March 1984.

Work then commenced on preparation of a questionnaire to be sent to a matching sample of academic males. The distribution of this questionnaire was weighted to equate as near as possible to the number of women in each university and also to the status of the academic women. The purpose of the male questionnaire was to compare the relative positions of women and male academics. There seemed little purpose in establishing a profile of academic women in New Zealand, without establishing how this compared to the position of male academics in comparable positions. It was also important to establish what differences there were, if any, in the career preparation and development of academic women and men. In this way it was hoped to be able to identify at what stage, if any, discrimination against women took place. Such identification was necessary if a programme for change was to be considered.

A total of 560 questionnaires were sent to women academics of whom 425 (75.89%) responded. A total of 505 questionnaires were sent to male academics of whom 298 (59%) responded. The high response rate from women academics is evidence of the high level of interest in the questionnaire. As well as replying to the questionnaire many women also sent me copies of reports on the position of women in their own departments or disciplines, or referred me to articles on the same subject. Several women also commented that they found the questionnaire difficult to answer because it raised questions for them about their own position in the university and focused for them a feeling of unease they had had about the progress of their careers. Although the response to the academic male questionnaire was lower, the response rate was sufficient for a useful comparison to be made.

Whilst the main questionnaire provided data for the development of a general profile of academic women, I felt it was important to supplement this material with interviews from a selected representative number of women. It was important because the interviews provided an insight into the reality of an academic woman's life in a New Zealand university in 1984. Women were asked to indicate on their questionnaire if they were prepared to be interviewed. A large number indicated they wanted to be interviewed or would not object to being interviewed. I felt it was important to select a cross-section of women in terms of age, academic and marital status, disciplines and attitudes, as indicated on the questionnaires, to such issues as feminism and the need to change university practices to promote equality for women. Twenty-five women were selected to be interviewed - four from each university with the exception of Lincoln College where, because of the small number of women employed, only one woman was interviewed. The interviews were conducted during August 1984.

The women interviewed were aged between 24 and 62 and were distributed thus :- one professor, two readers/associate professors, one senior lecturer above the bar, seven senior lecturers below the bar, six lecturers, four assistant lecturers and four tutors/researchers. This sample reflected fairly accurately the academic distribution of women. The marital status of the women was also reasonably representative with seven

women interviewed who had never married, eleven who were currently married, one who was in a de facto relationship and six who were no longer married. While it was difficult to categorise acurately the attitudes or values of the women interviewed, they fell into three basic categories. The first category comprised the twelve women who described themselves as feminists and supported changes to the existing practices of universities towards women. The second category of women did not describe themselves as feminists and by in large felt the fact they were women made no or little difference to them as academics. Six women fell into this category. The third category were women who were uncertain as to whether or not they were feminists, but believed some changes were necessary to improve the status of women academics. Seven women fell into this category.

The interviews will be used where appropriate in the text of the report. A separate section is also included in the report analysing the results from the interviews as the interviews conveyed aspects of an academic woman's experience that could not be included in a questionnaire. For example, the importance of patronage when obtaining one's first appointment; the fact that some of the married women felt that their male colleagues' attitudes towards them were influenced by the fact they had two roles - one of academic and one of mother and wife; the difficulties some women felt in obtaining academic credibility if they researched in areas relating to the study of women; the frustration women feel at not having security of employment, though they may have worked for a department for a number of years. At times during the interviews I was reminded that the traditional subordinate role of women appeared to have been transferred into the university system. This area needs more research than has been undertaken in this survey.

Apart from the individual interviews undertaken at each university, I also attended a meeting which had been arranged by the A.U.T.N.Z. liaison person appointed at each campus. These meetings were open to all academic women who were able to attend and were arranged because more women wished to be interviewed than was possible given the time and resources available. An opportunity was therefore provided for women to come and discuss their experiences as academic women and to talk about the study of academic women. I made a record of these meetings and whilst they could not be as thorough as an individual interview, they did assist with increasing my understanding of the position of academic women.

This Report is not the definitive study of academic women in New Zealand. It has limitations but it is intended not only to give a general assessment of the role of academic women in 1984, but also to raise questions that will require further study and investigation. It is submitted that the conclusions that arise from this study justify the need to develop an affirmative action programme for academic women. The details of such a programme will take time to develop to ensure that the programme is appropriate to the needs of the women and will thus ensure the equality of academic women.

The study is organised to follow through the various stages in the life of an academic woman. There is first a general profile of the position of academic women, followed by an analysis of the family and educational background of academic women compared with academic men. I then examine the university career of the women. This involves an analysis of their qualifications at the time of their first appointment to an academic position and their promotion experiences, which in turn involved an analysis of their teaching commitments, their research and publication records, and their contribution to the admnistrative life of the university. There then follows an analysis of the effect of the double role of academic and partner/mother on the position of women. Finally there is a section upon the attitudes towards the equality of women both from analysing the questionnaire and the interviews and meetings conducted with academic women. The study concludes with suggestions for an affirmative action programme to improve the status of academic women.

# DISCRIMINATION

*Many years were spent waiting before the sacred gates of the universities and hospitals for permission to have the brains that professors said that Nature had made incapable of passing examinations examined.... When at last permission was granted the examinations were passed.... Still Nature held out. The brain that could pass examinations was not the creative brain; the brain that can bear responsibility and earn the higher salaries. It was a practical brain, a pettifogging brain, a brain suited for routine work under the command of a superior.*

*(Virginia Woolf, "Three Guineas")*

Before the results of the survey are considered, it is important to define what is meant by the term discrimination, and why women consider the elimination of discrimination on the basis of sex a pre-condition to their equality. It is important because frequently behaviour is not recognised as being discriminatory. It is also not often recognised that the way in which institutions are organised can result in discriminatory practices. Further, the effects of discrimination upon women and the consequences of such discrimination upon the community are not always understood by those who have never experienced discrimination. A brief consideration of these issues will assist in placing the results of this survey in their proper context. It will also assist with the identification of steps that will be necessary to reverse the current discriminatory practices.

Discrimination against women is evidenced by the making of decisions that affect them on the basis of their sex or characteristics attributed to their sex, in circumstances where their sex or characteristics attributed to their sex are neither relevant nor appropriate. Discrimination in this context involves an element of injustice or unfairness and inequality of treatment between two people or two groups of people. Such discrimination is considered unacceptable by the community as evidenced by the enactment of the Human Rights Commission Act 1977 which makes it unlawful to discriminate against women in specific circumstances, including employment.

Although women have achieved formal equality in law, they have not achieved it in all aspects of their lives. This is partially the result of the difficulties involved in pursuing a remedy under the legislation, obtaining proof of discrimination and having access to the resources required to undertake such an action. It is also the result of the difficulty involved in identifying the precise cause of the discrimination. Frequently discrimination is not just the result of an individual act by one person against another but is the result of procedures and practices that have the effect of discriminating against women.

Discrimination takes many forms but may be categorised as being either direct or indirect for the purposes of this Report. Direct discrimination may be either intended or unintended, but intended is the most easily identifiable. This occurs when the discriminator acts on the basis of beliefs that are deliberately discriminatory against women. For example, if there are two people applying for a job, a man and a woman, and the job is given to the man because it is assumed that all women will marry and have children and, therefore, will inevitably leave the employment. In such a case there may be no factual basis for this assumption but it is acted upon to the detriment of the woman. In such instances the discriminator will often acknowledge the reasons for the decision even though it clearly discriminates against the woman. It is this form of discrimination that is most easily subject to legal remedy.

Unintended direct discrimination occurs when the discriminator does not realise that a decision is based upon a discriminatory belief. This form of discrimination is evidenced by decisions made on the basis of characteristics that are attributed to women. For example, a married woman is passed over for promotion and preference given to a male colleague of equal standing because it is assumed he is the 'bread winner' and serious about his career whereas she already has another job as wife and mother. Often this attitude is unconscious but it does result in discrimination because, again, assumptions are made that may not be valid.

Indirect discrimination is more difficult to identify because it is not associated with the specific actions or motivation of an individual. It occurs when what appear to be neutral employment practices have the effect of discriminating against women. An example of such a practice was given in a recent Australian article which cited the preference within some universities and departments for non-Australian degrees, on the grounds of such degrees being superior. Whether or not this is a valid assumption, such a practice discriminates against women because current family and social structures make it more difficult for them to obtain overseas qualifications. Another form of indirect discrimination takes place when the needs of women are not incorporated within the practices of the institution. For example, the failure to acknowledge women's needs with respect to the provision of flexible maternity leave and child care facilities can result in an apparently equal, neutral system operating in a discriminatory way.

It is the combination of all these forms of discrimination interacting that results in systematic discrimination against women. The elimination of one form of discrimination will not result in women having equality of opportunity. It is important to change attitudes but this alone is not sufficient while institutions continue to be blind to the fact that many of their apparently neutral employment practices have the effect of discriminating against women. In order to change these practices it will be necessary to develop a new set of criteria and practices that both acknowledge the position of women and endeavour to provide women with genuine equal opportunity.

Change to accommodate the needs of women is often not seen as necessary by those who make the decisions that affect women's lives. It is difficult to understand the frustration and despair that is felt as a result of discrimination, unless it has been experienced. If consideration for others is not seen as a sufficient reason to change existing practices, there are two other societal objectives that may provide justification for change. The first is the attainment of social and economic justice which is a generally accepted objective of our society. The second is the need for society to utilise fully the skills and talents of the members of the community not only for the good of the individual but also for society as a whole. This can only be achieved by the elimination of discrimination because discrimination results in waste and under-utilisation of the skills and talents of half of the community.

## GENERAL PROFILE OF ACADEMIC WOMEN IN NEW ZEALAND

The following analysis is based upon the answers to a questionnaire that was sent to 560 academic women and 505 academic men employed in New Zealand universities in 1984. The response rate to the questionnaire was good with 425 (75.8%) of women and 298 (59.0%) of men responding to the questionnaire. In the text of the Report the women's responses will be given first and the male responses will be given in brackets where it is appropriate. A detailed analysis of the responses will be included in tables in the text.

According to the Department of Statistics publication "Profile of Women" (1985), there were 2,999 academics employed in teaching positions in New Zealand universities in 1983. Of this number 404 (13.5%) were women. Their distribution throughout the academic structure is shown in Table 1 :

TABLE 1: Females as Percentage of Total University Staff by Academic Rank 1970-1983

| Teaching Post | 1970 | 1976 | 1979 | 1981 | 1983 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Full professor | 1.3 | 1.6 | 2.1 | 2.6 | 2.9 |
| Senior lecturer, associate professor, reader, lecturer-in-charge | 6.5 | 7.3 | 7.6 | 7.2 | 7.7 |
| Lecturer | 12.9 | 13.4 | 17.2 | 20.0 | 20.4 |
| Junior lecturer, assistant lecturer | 28.3 | 23.5 | 32.0 | 33.0 | 45.4 |
| Instructor and demonstrator engaged in teaching | 28.9 | 13.2 | 24.0 | 36.6 | 45.2 |
| Percentage of total teaching posts: | 10.7 | 9.5 | 11.4 | 12.3 | 13.5 |

Source: Department of Statistics

The Statistics Department data indicate a steady increase in the percentage of university positions occupied by women particularly in the lower status levels. These statistics are similar to the results obtained from the A.U.T.N.Z. questionnaire distributed in 1984 which indicate that most academic women are employed in low status positions (refer Table 2).

TABLE 2: The Academic Status of Respondents to the A.U.T.N.Z. Survey

| | % Female | % Male |
|---|---|---|
| Professor | 2.6 | 17.2 |
| Reader/associate professor | 4.3 | 16.2 |
| Senior lecturer > bar | 7.7 | 7.8 |
| Senior lecturer ≤ bar | 21.3 | 14.2 |
| Lecturer | 25.4 | 32.4 |
| Junior Lecturer | 11.3 | 6.0 |
| Research Fellow | 5.5 | 3.4 |
| Tutor | 13.4 | 1.4 |
| Other | 8.4 | 1.4 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The average age of the women respondents in the Academic Women's Survey was 40 (42), with the oldest respondent being 65 (64), and the youngest being 22 (21). The majority of women were born in New Zealand - 61.6% (62.2%). The next biggest groups were from the United Kingdom - 17.5% (24.0%) and the United States - 5.7% (2.7%). Only 1.3% (1.8%) described themselves as Maori.

The respondents were also asked to indicate their marital status. The majority of women indicated they were married - 59.1% (82.6%), while 22.7% (8.7%) indicated they had never married and 3.8% (4.4%) stated they had been married but were no longer married. An interesting feature of these statistics is the marked difference in marital status between female and male academics.

The majority of women stated that they were employed full-time - 77.0% (96.8%). The respondents were also asked to indicate if their positions were tenured and 57.9% (83.0%) stated that they were. Expectations of gaining tenure differed markedly between women and men as did the likelihood of gaining tenure.

Women in non-tenured positions who responded to the question whether they preferred their position to be tenurable responded in a ratio of 4:1 in favour of tenure. Men responded similarly. The reality, however, is that tenure was only possible for 26.5% of women in non-tenured posts. The figure for men was almost 50%.

As may be expected, the largest group of women respondents was employed in the arts/social science faculties - 46.0% (30.2%). Other faculties in which women were employed in some numbers were found to be - science 16.2% (22.2%), medicine 12.9% (8.7%) and commerce 7.9% (11.5%).

TABLE 3: Distribution of Total Academic Staff by Sex and Faculty

| Category | % Female | % Male |
|---|---|---|
| Agriculture | 3.3 | 7.6 |
| Architecture | 0.2 | 1.4 |
| Arts/Social Sciences | 46.0 | 30.2 |
| Commerce | 7.9 | 11.5 |
| Computing | 1.4 | 0.7 |
| Dentistry | 0.7 | 2.4 |
| Engineering | 0.5 | 3.8 |
| Horticulture | 1.2 | 1.0 |
| Law | 2.4 | 3.8 |
| Medical | 12.9 | 8.7 |
| Science | 16.2 | 22.2 |
| Veterinary Science | 1.0 | 1.0 |
| Other | 6.2 | 5.5 |

Therefore, if one was attempting to give a general description of an average New Zealand woman academic she would be described as being aged 40, employed in a full-time tenured position as a lecturer in an arts/social science faculty, and likely to be married or to have once been married. She is distinguishable from her male colleague by her lower academic status, the faculty in which she is employed, and the fact that she is more likely not to be married. It is also interesting to note that in all faculties except arts/social science and home science, she will be in a minority. Academic women are distributed throughout the universities as shown in Table 4 :

TABLE 4: Distribution of Academic Staff by University

| | % Female | % Male | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Otago | 2.9 | (18.4) | 21.3 |
| Massey | 2.5 | (15.1) | 17.6 |
| Victoria | 2.3 | (11.1) | 13.4 |
| Auckland | 2.0 | (19.8) | 21.8 |
| Canterbury | 1.5 | (13.3) | 14.8 |
| Waikato | 0.9 | (5.4) | 6.3 |
| Lincoln | 0.2 | (4.6) | 4.8 |

These statistics were obtained from the A.U.T.N.Z. General Staff Survey 1983, to which 2,241 academic staff responded. The percentages given relate to the total of the staff who replied to that survey, and because it was a more comprehensive survey, they give a more accurate picture of where women are employed in New Zealand universities.

## FAMILY AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

One of the most disturbing facts that emerges from the general profile of academic women, is that women comprise only 13.5% of academics employed in New Zealand universities (refer Table 1). Although this Report is mainly directed at the role and status of women academics, it was recognised that an essential qualification for an academic career is a university degree. It was, therefore, considered important to try and determine if there were any distinguishing factors in the backgrounds of male and female academics that affected the likelihood of their pursuing a university education. Questions were therefore included in the questionnaire relating to parental occupations and qualifications, and the educational experience and qualifications of the respondents prior to enrolling for a university degree.

### Family Background

The respondents were asked to state the education/qualifications of their parents. The responses to the question concerning the mother's education/qualifications were as follows :

TABLE 5 Highest Educational Qualification attained by Mothers of Academic Staff

| Category | % Female | % Male |
|---|---|---|
| Primary Education | 10.2 | 14.3 |
| Some Secondary | 26.3 | 32.4 |
| U.E. or equivalent | 15.9 | 9.8 |
| Some Tertiary - not University | 0.9 | 1.0 |
| Tertiary Qualification - not Univ. | 12.1 | 8.4 |
| Some University | 2.1 | 1.7 |
| University Qualification | 17.3 | 9.1 |
| Trade Qualification | 0.5 | 3.1 |
| Nil | 14.7 | 20.2 |

Overall it appeared that the mothers of academic women were better academically qualified than the mothers of academic men. It could be argued that these women have provided role models for their daughters and encouraged them to undertake a university degree.

The responses to the question concerning father's education/qualifications were as follows:

TABLE 6: Highest Educational Qualification attained by Fathers of Academic Staff

| Category | % Female | % Male |
|---|---|---|
| Primary Education | 8.3 | 11.8 |
| Some Secondary | 19.0 | 27.2 |
| U.E. or Equivalent | 10.2 | 9.4 |
| Some Tertiary - not University | 1.2 | - |
| Tertiary Qualification - not Univ. | 8.8 | 4.5 |
| Some University | 4.5 | 0.7 |
| University Qualification | 32.2 | 24.4 |
| Trade Qualification | 2.8 | 5.2 |
| Nil | 13.0 | 16.7 |

Again it appeared overall that the fathers of academic women were better academically qualified than the fathers of academic men. Academic women would appear then to have parents who are better educated than their male counterparts. Their experience and appreciation of higher education may have encouraged the women to undertake a university education.

The respondents were also asked to indicate the main occupation of their parents while they were growing up. The categories of occupation were reduced to professional/non-professional/in the home. The results of this question were as follows:

TABLE 7: Occupation of Parents of Academic Staff

| | Mother | | Father | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Category | % Female | % Male | % Female | % Male |
| At Home | 68.2 | 71.9 | - | 0.3 |
| Non-Professional | 15.4 | 18.0 | 57.2 | 67.4 |
| Professional | 13.5 | 8.1 | 40.9 | 29.9 |

The significance of these results lies in the not unexpected fact that the majority of mothers of both academic women and men were employed in the home. It is also interesting to note two other factors that emerge from the results. First, a higher percentage of academic women's mothers were employed in professional occupations - 13.5% (8.1%) which equates with the results of the educational qualification of the academic women's mothers. Second, the higher percentage of academic women's fathers who have professional occupations - 40.9% (29.9%).

Education Profile

The educational profile of the academic women respondents can be summarised as follows. The majority of women were educated in New Zealand - 67.8% (68.7%) and went to school in a city or town - 81.2% (83.0%). Since the type of school is often thought to be influential in the attainment of higher qualifications, the respondents were asked to state whether they attended a state or private school, and whether the school was single sex or co-educational. The majority indicated they had attended a state school, - 72.7% (75.3%), and that the school was a single sex school - 58.5% (60.1%).

The subjects studied at school can have an important influence upon the gaining of employment so the respondents were asked to indicate whether the courses they had studied were a balance of arts/science, or predominantly arts or science. The respondents indicated that 42.8% (40.5%) had studied a balance of arts/scence, while 30.6% (23.1%) studied predominantly arts, and the remaining 26.6% (36.4%) studied predominantly science.

The respondents were also asked to state their highest scholastic achievement at secondary school. The results for male and female academics were similar with the male academics having a slightly higher level of achievement overall.

TABLE 8: Highest Scholastic Achievement of Academic Staff at Secondary School

| Category | % Female | % Male |
|---|---|---|
| School Certificate | 1.9 | 1.4 |
| 6th Form Certificate | 0.7 | 1.0 |
| University Entrance | 21.0 | 16.2 |
| Higher School Certificate | 19.8 | 23.4 |
| Bursary | 31.7 | 33.4 |
| Scholarship | 13.8 | 14.8 |
| Other | 11.0 | 9.7 |

These results indicate that there is a very similar profile for both academic women and men in terms of parental occupation and qualification, though the women's parents were on average better qualified. In terms of location and type of educational institution attended, subjects studied, and qualifications obtained, there was very little difference between the women and men respondents.

## UNIVERSITY CAREER

This section of the Report will look at the qualifications held by academic women, the level at which they were first appointed to a position in a university, the criteria for promotion, and the recognition by the universities of the double role of many women, that is, the role of both an academic, and a partner and mother. The questionnaire that was sent to both academic women and men academics sought information to establish if there were any significant differences between the women and men in relation to their qualifications and their treatment by the universities. Through this method, it was hoped to identify the areas of discrimination, if any, against women and thus enable appropriate remedies to be recommended to prevent future discrimination.

### Qualifications

In order to undertake a university career it is necessary to have both the appropriate qualifications and the motivation. It is, therefore, also important to have the opportunity to undertake a university education and to complete studies undertaken there to their highest level. Respondents were asked to indicate if they entered university immediately after leaving school; the influences upon their decision to attend university; their main sources of financial support while at university; the reasons why they undertook post-graduate study; whether they received travel grants to study overseas to obtain a post-graduate qualification; and whether their university scudy was interrupted and, if so, for what reason.

In answer to the question relating to the time in their lives that they had gone to university, 82.5% (80.3%) of the respondents indicated that they had come directly to university from school. It should be noted that it is only a recent phenomenon that more women have attended university later in life, a development which may increase the pool of women eligible to undertake a university career. The vast majority of both women and male academics currently employed, however, came direct from school to university.

The reasons for undertaking university study varied. The respondents were asked to indicate whether the following influences were very important/important/not important in their decision:- interest, preparation for job/career, family tradition/expectation, parents, relatives, teachers, friends. The respondents stated that interest was very important or important for 98.2% (96.5%) of them, while 87.2% (86.6%) indicated preparation for a job/career was very important or important. The results would indicate that women do not undertake university study as a means to fill in time before they marry but are serious about pursuing a career. The other influences that were rated as very important or important were family tradition/expectation - 52.4% (42.8%); parents - 63.9% (55.2%); teachers - 51.9% (38.7%). For academic women then, the influence of parents and teachers was more significant than for academic men.

On the question of financial support while at university, it appeared that the main source of financial support for the majority came from University Scholarships/Bursaries/Teachers College salary - 57.7% (51.2%). A further 21.4% (17.1%) received their main financial support from their parents, while 13.7% (27.6%) supported themselves on their own earnings. State support is obviously important in providing an opportunity to undertake university study. It is also significant that a larger number of academic males were able to support themselves through university. Although it can only be speculated as to why this is the case, the fact that women's work is paid less may have some bearing on this situation. The question also arises as to what is likely to happen in the future if state support is not available or is not sufficient to enable university study to be undertaken. This could seriously affect the number of women who are able to attend university.

The results change significantly when it comes to financial support for post-graduate work. There is a decline in the number receiving state support and an increase in the number relying upon their own earnings. For those respondents studying for a Masters Degree, 43.5% (35.6%) stated that their main source of income was a Scholarship or a Teachers College salary, while 35.8% (49.4%) relied upon their own earnings, and only 8.1% (3.4%) were supported financially by their parents. The pattern changes again for those studying for a Doctorate Degree. For the first time more men than women stated that their main source of finance was a Scholarship - 44.1% (49.8%). Also for the first time, a higher proportion of women than men stated that they relied upon their own earnings - 39.2% (36.9%). This result is particularly significant because the Doctorate Degree is now considered an important qualification for an academic career.

The difficulty that women have in obtaining higher qualifications is demonstrated by the responses to the question on the obtaining of travel grants to study overseas for post-graduate qualifications. The respondents stated that 80.2% (66.1%) had never received a post-graduate travel grant to pursue further qualifications, while 16.4% (29.6%) had received one grant, and 3.1% (4.0%) had received two or more grants. The reasons for this discrepancy between women and male academics is difficult to assess. It does not lie in the fact that women do not wish to pursue an academic career because in answer to the question seeking the reasons for undertaking post-graduate study, 73.8% (75.3%) stated that qualification for an academic career was a very important/important reason for undertaking post-graduate study. In answer to this question also, 70.9% (60.3%) stated that encouragement from university teachers was a very important/important reason for undertaking post-graduate study. A possible answer may lie in the fact that a much smaller proportion of women apply for such travel grants but further work would need to be undertaken to test this proposition. If women were found not to apply for such grants then reasons must be found for this also.

The lack of financial assistance may also account for the difference in academic qualifications between academic women and men. In response to the question relating to the degrees/qualification respondents had obtained, the following results emerged:

TABLE 9: Highest Qualifications Gained by Academic Staff

| Category | % Female | % Male |
|---|---|---|
| Diploma | 1.7 | 1.0 |
| Degree | 11.2 | 5.9 |
| Honours | 11.4 | 8.4 |
| Masters or Equivalent | 33.8 | 19.9 |
| Ph.D. or Equivalent | 35.6 | 58.0 |
| Other | 6.2 | 6.6 |

The fact that only 35.6% of women have obtained a Doctorate Degree compared with 58.0% of men has important implications for the level at which women were appointed to their first academic position, and also to their prospects for promotion.

Apart from financial factors as a reason for women's low achievement at the Doctorate level another possible reason also emerged from the questionnaire. The respondents were asked to indicate if their university study had been interrupted and, if so, for what reason. In answer to this question 43.9% (32.5%) indicated that their university studies had been interrupted. The reasons given for the interruption were as follows:

TABLE 10: Reasons for Interruption to University Study of Academic Staff

| Category | % Female | % Male |
|---|---|---|
| Finance | 6.9 | 19.8 |
| Professional Employment | 18.4 | 36.0 |
| Other Employment | 11.5 | 15.1 |
| Marriage/Family | 20.1 | - |
| Holiday/Travel | 5.2 | 4.7 |
| Combination | 18.4 | 4.7 |
| Other | 19.5 | 19.8 |

The most significant factor emerging from this table is that 20.1% of the women indicated their studies were interrupted for marriage/family reasons, while none of the men gave this as a reason. The second factor of note is that 36.0% of the men indicated that professional employment was the reason for the interruption while only 18.4% of the women gave this reason. The significance of these two results is that while professional employment may be considered as an additional qualification for employment as an academic, marriage/family reasons have never been so considered.

What has emerged from this section of the questionnaire is that while women and men share a common parental and school background, enter university at the same stage, undertake academic study for similar reasons, and have similar financial support during their undergraduate degree study, the differences between their circumstances begin to emerge at the post-graduate level. Their financial circumstances start to diverge as do their life experiences. Importantly also, their qualifications show a difference. The difference in academic qualification at post-graduate level is significant because it is an important factor, not only in obtaining academic employment, but also in the level at which the appointment is made. The level of first appointment can also have a marked effect upon future promotion prospects.

At the most important stage of preparation for a university career, then, women appear to be less well prepared to compete with men for academic positions. The reasons for this have not been fully explored in this Report, but the twin factors of finance and competing responsibilities have emerged from the questionnaire. Both of these factors can be related to the notion that a woman's primary role is that of wife and mother. This is seen in the wages paid for women's labour, and in the expectation that women will forsake paid employment for unpaid employment in the home. This expectation of a double role, it can be argued, has affected the preparation of women for an academic career. Whether this expectation continues once a woman enters upon an academic career will now be considered.

## Appointment

The average age of both women and men at the time of their first appointment to a university position was 28. Entry into an academic position directly after completing university study was undertaken by 53.7% (49.5%) of the respondents. For this group it must be assumed that their academic qualifications were the main qualification for appointment.

For the group that undertook some other activity prior to entry into the university, it may be reasonable to assume that other employment between study and academic employment may have been influential in their obtaining a university position. The period of time between completion of university study and university employment was as follows:

TABLE 11: Time Spent Between University Study and Commencement of University Employment by Academic Staff

| Category | % Female | % Male |
|---|---|---|
| <5 Years | 44.8 | 47.6 |
| 5-9 Years | 30.9 | 37.6 |
| 10-19 Years | 16.0 | 12.1 |
| >20 Years | 5.5 | 2.1 |

The activity pursued during this time was as follows:

TABLE 12: Activity Pursued Between Completion of University Study and Commencement of University Employment

| Category | % Female | % Male |
|---|---|---|
| Related Employment | 56.9 | 83.8 |
| Other Employment | 11.6 | 7.0 |
| Home Manager/Spouse | 7.2 | - |
| Travel/Holiday | 3.3 | 1.4 |
| Combination | 14.4 | 4.9 |
| Other | 6.7 | 2.8 |

The significance of these results lies in the fact that while 56.9% of the women spent their time in related employment, 83.8% of the men were so employed. The fact that 7.2% of the women were involved in the home and no men indicated they were so employed is also important. These two factors are significant because they may influence the level of first appointments. Related employment can enhance qualifications, while home experience is not seen to do so.

The respondents were asked to indicate how many times they had applied for an academic position before they were successful. The result showed that 69.2% (49.0%) were successful on their first application, while 16.8% (28.3%) had been successful after more than one application. The apparent success of academic women in applications for positions may be partly explained by the level at which they were first appointed. Respondents were asked to indicate the status of their first appointment and the results are as follows:

TABLE 13: Academic Status at Time of First Appointment to a University Position

| | % Female | % Male |
|---|---|---|
| Professor | - | 1.1 |
| Reader/Associate Professor | - | 1.1 |
| Senior Lecturer >Bar | 1.5 | 2.1 |
| Senior Lecturer ≤Bar | 0.8 | 5.6 |
| Lecturer | 26.3 | 40.8 |
| Junior Lecturer | 32.9 | 30.3 |
| Research Fellow | 8.7 | 6.0 |
| Tutor | 15.6 | 5.6 |
| Other | 13.5 | 6.7 |

It is obvious from this result that the women were appointed at a lower level than the men. This is most obvious at the level of Lecturer - 26.3% (40.8%), and at the level of Tutor - 15.6% (5.6%) and Other 13.5% (6.7%). It must be noted, however, that most of these lower status positions are non-tenured and that 78.8% of the women in non-tenured

positions stated they wanted tenured positions. Further, it should be noted that when asked what factors had determined the decision to accept an academic appointment 97.3% (97.3%) indicated interest in the subject as being a very important/important factor, while 90.3% (75.2%) stated they accepted the position because the opportunity arose.

The reasons why women are appointed at a lower status level than men is difficult to explain fully. One relevant factor, however, must be their qualifications. The relationship between academic qualifications and the status of first appointment was tested and the results are as follows:

TABLE 14: Relationship Between Highest Qualification Held and Status of First Appointment

| | Diploma | Degree | Honours | Masters | Ph.D. | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males | | | | | | | |
| Professor | - | 6.3 | - | - | 0.6 | 5.6 | 1.1 |
| Reader | - | - | - | - | 1.3 | 5.6 | 1.1 |
| Senior Lecturer >Bar | 50.0 | 6.3 | 4.2 | - | 1.9 | - | 1.9 |
| Senior Lecturer ≤Bar | - | - | - | 1.9 | 7.1 | 16.7 | 5.9 |
| Lecturer | - | 50.0 | 29.2 | 48.1 | 41.7 | 16.7 | 40.4 |
| Junior Lecturer | - | 18.8 | 45.8 | 40.7 | 27.6 | 33.3 | 31.5 |
| Research Fellow | - | - | - | - | 9.6 | 5.6 | 5.9 |
| Tutor | - | 6.3 | 12.5 | 5.6 | 3.8 | 5.6 | 5.2 |
| Other | 50.0 | 12.5 | 8.3 | 3.7 | 6.4 | 11.1 | 7.0 |
| Females | | | | | | | |
| Professor | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Reader | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Senior Lecturer >Bar | - | - | 2.4 | 1.7 | 0.7 | 4.0 | 1.4 |
| Senior Lecturer ≤Bar | - | - | - | 1.7 | - | 4.0 | 0.8 |
| Lecturer | 14.3 | 9.8 | 19.0 | 17.6 | 38.8 | 44.0 | 26.4 |
| Junior Lecturer | 28.6 | 26.8 | 47.6 | 38.7 | 26.9 | 20.0 | 32.6 |
| Research Fellow | - | 4.9 | 2.4 | 5.0 | 16.4 | 12.0 | 9.2 |
| Tutor | 42.9 | 26.8 | 9.5 | 26.1 | 5.2 | 8.0 | 15.8 |
| Other | 14.3 | 31.7 | 19.0 | 9.2 | 11.9 | 8.0 | 13.0 |

The significance of these results lies in the relationship between the degree and first appointment at the level of Lecturer because this is the level at which most academics obtain their first appointment. The tables show that 52.6% of men with Ph.Ds were appointed at Lecturer or above whereas only 39.5% of women with Ph.Ds were appointed at these levels and no women were appointed above Senior Lecturer. Taking a Masters Degree as the highest qualification 21% of women were appointed Lecturer or above while 50% of men with the same qualification were appointed Lecturer or above. It is difficult to assess why there should be such a difference for those with Masters qualifications unless appointments are made on potential and it is assumed that women with this qualification are not potential career academics.

A Ph.D. Degree does not necessarily qualify a women for a tenured position, as can also be seen from the results. While the results are similar for women and men with Ph.Ds who were appointed as Junior/Assistant Lecturers - 26.9% (27.6%), they vary considerably at the level of Research Fellow - 16.4% (9.6%); Tutor - 5.2% (3.8%); and Other - 11.9% (6.4%). In total then 60.4% of women with a Ph.D. qualification were appointed at levels below Lecturer, and mainly to non-tenured positions, while only 47.4% of men with the same qualification were appointed at those levels.

While the appointment of women at a lower status level may be attributed to their lower qualifications, this cannot explain why women with the highest academic qualification (Ph.D.) are also appointed at a lower status level than their male colleagues with the same qualification. Nor is it the case that women do not want tenured positions, because they indicate that they do. Women are willing to take such an appointment if it is available. The problem may be that they are too willing to accept non-tenured positions. Although, if no other position is available they have little choice but to accept such low status positions. A consequence of accepting these positions, however, is that it is more difficult to obtain tenured career positions.

It is appropriate at this point to note the relationship between universities and the percentage of staff who hold tenured positions. The results of this relationship are as follows:

TABLE 15: Relationship Between University of Employment and Percentage of Tenured Staff

| University | Tenured Staff | |
|---|---|---|
| | % Female | % Male |
| Auckland | 57.3 | 87.9 |
| Waikato | 55.6 | 81.0 |
| Massey | 49.4 | 72.2 |
| Victoria | 71.7 | 83.7 |
| Canterbury | 57.4 | 100.0 |
| Lincoln | 43.8 | 86.4 |
| Otago | 62.5 | 79.7 |

It can be seen from these results that overall Victoria - 71.7% - employs more of its women academics in tenured positions, but this figure is lower than the percentage for men at any institution. It would be useful if more work was done on the total numbers employed in each institution. It must also be remembered, however, that the questionnaire sent to male academics was weighted to take account of the fact that more women hold untenured positions.

## Promotion

This section of the Report deals with the issue of promotion. It is recognised that it is often difficult to assess why one person was promoted and another was not because of the personal factors involved, the different policies operating within particular universities and within particular faculties and departments. There are also structural factors to be considered such as the limit on the number of Associate Professors/Readers, and the way in which the Senior Lecturer bar has been applied in the past. This bar has been removed from the scale since the questionnaire was distributed.

It is possible, however, to look at the normal criteria for promotion - teaching, publication and contribution both to university administration and to the community - and try to assess the performance of academic women compared with academic men in these areas. Naturally the quality of each activity cannot be assessed but some idea of the amount of work performed can be. Unfortunately it has not been possible to assess with accuracy whether women waited longer for promotion at various levels. This is an exercise that needs to be undertaken at each university to take account of the various different policies that apply.

Although it is not possible to assess if women wait longer for promotion than their male colleagues, the questionnaire did ask the respondents to rate their chances of promotion in the next five years. They were asked to state whether they were confident, optimistic, uncertain, or pessimistic. The results indicated that 16.8% (28.2%) were confident; 28.1% (20.8%) were optimistic; 26.4% (27.3%) were uncertain; and 28.7% (23.7%) were pessimistic. These results show that the women were less confident than their male colleagues about promotion. Whether this is a reflection of women being less confident in general than men, it is difficult to judge. Their attitudes may, however, be based upon past experience with promotion success.

Overall it appears that if women overcome the barrier to appointment as Lecturer, they compete well with men for promotion. This may not be surprising given the small number of women eligible for promotion and the fact they probably had to be very able to achieve their positions in the first place.

As has been stated, one of the criteria for promotion is teaching. Although it is possible to assess the quality of teaching, it was not possible to do so in the context of this Report. During interviews and meetings held with academic women, many women mentioned that they placed a higher priority on teaching than on other aspects of their work. They also stressed in that context that to be a good teacher required much research but that this research was not acknowledged because it was not published. Several women mentioned that they were not only assigned to large first year classes but were also expected to handle individual student queries which was often very time-consuming.

Concern was expressed by several women during the interviews that teaching appeared to be accorded a low priority and status within the university. The emphasis was on published research and not on competent teaching. One woman stated that she was not surprised that students often complained about the quality of the teaching at universities. Although several women stressed they were committed to their teaching, they felt it interfered with their ability to complete their Doctorates, or to publish their research. The trade-off between teaching and publishing research appears to be a real dilemma for many women who know that unless they publish they cannot expect promotion. Overall then there was a feeling amongst many of the women that teaching had been downgraded as an academic skill, and that this was not only a detriment to themselves in terms of their promotion chances, but also to the university as a whole.

Because of the importance of publications to the success of a promotion application, questions were asked about the number of times the respondent had participated in professional conferences and the number of publications. Participation in professional conferences is important because it provides an opportunity both to test one's research prior to publication and to meet people who may be able to assist with the publication of research. Respondents were asked to state the number of papers they had presented at academic or professional conferences in the last three years. Perhaps the most interesting result from this question was that 42.1% (23.1%) of the respondents had never presented a paper at a conference: 19.5% (20.4%) had presented one paper; 9.5% (19.7%) had presented two papers; 13.3% (13.3%) had presented three papers; 15.6% (23.5%) presented over three papers. It is obvious from these results that women do not participate in conferences through the presentation of papers to the same extent as their male colleagues. Whether this is because of their low level of participation within academic and professional associations [40.5% (58.9%) indicated they have held an authority position in a professional organisation], or because they are preoccupied with teaching and other commitments, or that they simply lack confidence cannot be ascertained from the result. Further work needs to be done in this area.

The results to the question concerning the number of books, parts of books and Journal articles respondents had published are shown in the following table. The significance in these results again lies in the number who have published no books - 75.7% (64.2%); no part books - 52.9% (41.4%); and no Journal articles - 21.9% (7.3%)

TABLE 16: Number of Publications

| Number | % Female | % Male |
|---|---|---|
| Whole Books | | |
| Nil | 75.7 | 64.2 |
| 1-3 | 20.1 | 25.9 |
| 4-9 | 4.1 | 10.1 |
| 10+ | - | - |
| Part Books | | |
| Nil | 52.9 | 41.4 |
| 1-3 | 37.2 | 45.0 |
| 4-9 | 8.9 | 10.4 |
| 10+ | 1.0 | 3.2 |
| Journal Articles | | |
| Nil | 21.9 | 7.3 |
| 1-3 | 29.9 | 15.4 |
| 4-9 | 27.9 | 24.5 |
| 10+ | 20.3 | 52.8 |

Since promotion is largely dependent upon publication, it is a matter of concern that women have a lower publication rate. It is, therefore, important to try and establish why women do not publish more. Some reasons for this situation have already been suggested. For example, women are found in lower status positions, with heavier teaching commitments. They also accord teaching a higher priority than published research. Women in lower status positions may also not yet be ready to publish their research. Other reasons for the rate of publication that were advanced by women during the interviews and meetings included the lack of funding for areas in which women research; that women sometimes research in areas not well understood or accepted by male colleagues, for example, women's studies; the fact that many women prefer to work collectively and publish collectively; and that often women work in areas where few other academics work, so support for their research is difficult to find. Another reason given for the lack of publication for promotion purposes was that women often write and publish in journals that are not considered "academic:" and therefore are not counted for promotion. Examples of this type of work varied from submissions to Parliamentary Select Committees to articles in newspapers and magazines such as "The Listener". More research in this area needs to be carried out because it is obviously a matter of concern to many academic women.

The final area of activity that is assessed for promotion is contribution to university administration and the community. In order to assess this contribution the respondents were first asked to state the number of hours they spent each week on administration and policy making in their department and in university administration. The results for departmental administration showed that 70.0% (74.9%) spent between 1 and 10 hours a week on this activity, while 13.8% (31.1%) spent between 1 and 10 hours a week on university administration. These results again illustrate the low status positions occupied by women in the university. Normally it is only Professors or Readers/Associate Professors who actively participate

in university administration. Sub-professorial participation is normally dependent upon election to governing bodies (Council and Senate) as a sub-professorial representative. The significance of this system is that women, because of their low status, are not well-represented in the authority decision-making positions witin the university.

Since the most obvious way to assess contribution to the university is through service on committees or holding positions of authority, the respondents were asked to state if they had held a position of authority in their department, faculty or institution. The results were as follows:

TABLE 17: Positions of Authority Held within the University by Academic Staff

| Position | % Female | % Male |
|---|---|---|
| Dean | 1.2 | 5.7 |
| Sub-Dean | 1.9 | 4.0 |
| Head of Department | 6.1 | 17.1 |
| Director | 3.1 | 1.0 |
| Other | 14.8 | 11.7 |

Although relatively few women have held positions of authority, a larger number 32.9%(50.7%) stated that they had served on a faculty committee and 43.8% (68.1%) had served on a departmental committee.

The respondents were also asked to state if they felt it is more or less difficult for a woman to achieve a position of authority in a university than it is for a man. In answer to this question, 77.6% (53.2%) stated it was more difficult for a woman. It is also interesting to note that 35.57% (31.1%) stated they would be prepared to hold a position of authority. The respondents were also asked if they thought it was more or less difficult for women to handle an authority position than it was for men. In reply to this question 35.3% (25.6%) felt it was more difficult, while 62.3% (74.4%) felt it was the same for women and men.

A general conclusion from these results is that women held fewer positions of authority in universities and they generally felt that it was more difficult for women to achieve authority positions. This may account for why just over-one third of the women respondents were prepared to hold an authority position, while at the same time nearly two-thirds felt it was no more or less difficult for a woman than a man to handle authority positions. It could be concluded that while women have confidence in their own ability to handle athority positions, they have little confidence that the university will give them an opportunity to do so.

During the interviews and meetings held with academic women, several commented upon the need to become involved in the administrative life of the university. Some regarded it as a waste of time to go to meetings which they felt achieved very little. Others stated they did not have time to participate because of their workload and home commitments. Still others who had participated in committees felt that this was important and had

benefited their careers because they had learnt how the system worked and people in authority had got to know them. This last comment was made in the context of the need to understand that the university is an hierarchical insitution and in order to survive within it, it is important to understand how it functions.

Although contribution to the community is one of the criteria for promotion, it is difficult to assess the importance of this factor. The questionnaire did not pursue this issue but in any future study this may be an area for further research. Several women in the interviews indicated that they felt the university had a responsibility to the community and that they made their skills available, without cost, to community groups. Comment was made, however, that this activity could be time-consuming and was not recognised as a legitimate part of the job. One woman did comment that the acceptability of community involvement depended upon the Head of Department and whether or not he or she supported such activity.

Double Role

. The last issue to be considered in this section of the Report is the double role of many women who work in the university: that of academic and of partner and mother. Women in paid employment are expected to undertake two full-time jobs with little recognition of the consequences this may have for them. It is often assumed that since this must be the woman's choice, she should bear the consequences of her choice. This attitude has led to discrimination against women because it assumed it is a personal problem and not an institutional or structural problem. This part of the Report attempts to assess the domestic responsibilities of both women and male academics, particularly in relation to the care of children, and to examine what recognition of this responsibility is given by the university.

In order to assess the domestic responsibilities and support given to the respondents they were asked to state their living arrangements, whether their husband/partner was supportive of their academic career, how many children they had and their ages, and who was primarily responsible for the care of children. Respondents were also asked whether they had applied for maternity leave and their level of satisfaction with this leave. Finally, respondents were asked about their child care arrangements.

The responses to the question on living arrangements indicated that 19.6% (4.0%) lived alone; 27.0% (23.2%) lived with a husband/wife; and 33.6% (58.9%) lived with a husband/wife and child/children. The remainder lived in a variety of other arrangements such as with friends, partners, in groups, with a child/children, and parents. Those respondents living with a husband/wife/partner also indicated that 69.7% (69.6%) of them had very supportive spouses/partners. The interesting points to note about these results is the greater number of academic women who live alone compared with academic men, and the higher number of men who live with a wife and child/children. Why this is the case is a matter for future study.

In the light of the above results, it is not surprising that in an answer to the question - "Do you have any children?" - 48.8% of women stated yes compared with 78.2% of the men. Of those who have children 19.0% (12.7%) have one child; 45.5% (39.3%) have two children; and 24.0% (28.4%) have three children. The important question for women's ability to be able to cope with their double role is not so much the number of children they have but their age, because of the need to provide child care. The results of the questionnaire established that 12.1% (27.2%) have pre-school children; 22.4% (36.2%) have primary school children; 20.4% (34.8%) have children in secondary school; and 14.7% (24.2%) have children who have left school.

On the question of child care, respondents were asked to state the main provision that had been made for child care and the results are as follows:

TABLE 18: Main Provision of Child Care for Academic Staff with Children

| Type of Child Care | % Female | % Male |
|---|---|---|
| Paid help | 17.7 | 6.4 |
| University creche | 8.6 | 3.6 |
| Other creche | 4.0 | 3.9 |
| Wife/partner | - | 35.2 |
| Family | 7.6 | 1.4 |
| Other | 7.1 | 4.3 |
| Not applicable | 55.1 | 45.2 |

This result is significant because when the responses of the women who needed to make use of child care are analysed separately, 39.3% (11.7%) of them employed paid help to care for their children, while 19.1% (6.5%) used a university creche, and 16.9% (2.6%) relied upon family support. On the male questionnaire there was a specific category for child care by a spouse and of those who required child care 64.3% stated the spouse cared for the children. It appears then that of those who require child care, the majority of women seek assistance outside their relationship, while the majority of men rely upon support from within their relationship.

Of those respondents who needed to make use of child care, 44.4% (50.6%) stated they were very satisfied with their arrangement, and 35.1% (29.0%) were reasonably satisfied. Perhaps this result is not surprising since there may be a reluctance to admit an unsatisfactory arrangement. It is significant, however, that 77.0% (67.9%) of the respondents stated yes to the question - "Should the university provide more child care facilities?" This result would have included some respondents who do not have children but it does indicate a general perception that there is a need for more child care facilities.

It would appear then from this section of the questionnaire that more academic men than women have children; that of those who have children, the majority have between one and three children; and that women have

significantly less pre-school children. The principal method of child care for women is paid help, while for men it is their spouse. Although there are reasonably high levels of satisfaction with existing child care arrangements, over three-quarters of the women and two-thirds of the men support more university child care facilities.

On the question of maternity leave, only 10.5% stated they had applied for maternity leave. A question may be asked as to why this number was so small. A partial answer may lie in the fact that it is only since 1982 that women had a legal right to apply for maternity leave and that prior to that time it was a discretion exercised by the university on the recommendation of the head of department. Some women during the interviews and meetings indicated that they had found this a difficult and humiliating process. Others stated that they had had little diffculty. It appeared to depend upon who was exercising the discretion. Some women also felt it affected future career prospects because it was assumed that their first responsibility would be to their child and not to their job, and that they would not want to advance in their career.

From the small number who had applied for maternity leave responses were sought on whether they were very satisfied, reasonably satisfied, satisfied, not really satisfied, or unsatisfied with the period of the leave, the financial arrangements ad the re-employment conditions. On the period of the leave 39.1% were very satisfied; 10.9% reasonably satisfied; 21.7% satisfied; 17.4% not really satisfied; and 10.9% unsatisfied. On the question of financial arrangements 34.1% were very satisfied; 17.1% reasonably satisfied; 17.1% satisfied; 4.9% not really satisfied; and 26.8% unsatisfied. There was, therefore, slightly less satisfaction with the financial arrangements than with the period of the leave. In both cases, however, about 30% were not happy with either arrangement. There were, however, higher levels of satisfaction with the re-employment arrangements - 58.5% were very satisfied; 7.3% reasonably satisfied; 22.0% satisfied; 4.9% not really satisfied; and 7.3% unsatisfied.

The final question in the maternity leave section asked whether the access to or availability of maternity leave had influenced the decision to have children or to have more children. Although 61.0% of the respondents stated the question was not applicable to them, of those women who did find the question applicable 28.2% stated that the access/availability of maternity leave had influenced their decision. The assumption that it influenced their decision against having children was reinforced in the comments attached to this question and from the interviews and meetings with women. For these women, it appears that a conscious choice was made whether or not to have children and one influence in that choice was the lack of adequate maternity provisions within the universities. Some women felt this was an inequitable choice and that women should be able to pursue both an academic career and the role of a mother. They felt further that the universities should acknowledte this fact through more appropriate conditions of employment relating to women.

Academic males in their questionnaire were asked if academic women should have access to maternity leave and 96.9% stated that they should. The men were also asked if they should have access to paternity leave and 84.3% stated yes. When asked if they had ever applied for paternity leave, only 2.1% indicated that they had so applied.

In summary then, 59.1% (82.6%) of the respondents are currently married and 48.8% (78.%) have had children. Although there appeared reasonable satisfaction with the arrangements for care of children, 77.0% (67.9%) want improved child care facilities in universities. There is also reasonable satisfaction with maternity leave for the few who apply, except in the area of financial arrangements. A very high proportion of men (96.9%) support women having access to maternity leave, and also support (84.3%) the right of men to have paternity leave. This latter result may be indicative of the changes taking place in the attitudes to parenting. The results also show that for many academic women the responsibility of fulfilling their double role is a daily reality.

## ATTITUDES TO EQUALITY AND EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION

The last part of the questionnaire asked a series of questions about women's attitudes towards equality for women, their experiences of discrimination, and their attitudes towards change to prevent discrimination and improve the status of women in universities. A similar series of questions were included in the questionaire distributed to the academic men.

Both academic women and men were asked if they thought change is necessary to enable women to play an equal part with men in society. In response to this question, 95.3% of the women and 82.4% of the men stated change was necessary. Implicit in the answer is the recognition that women are currently not equal with men in their public life. The respondents were then asked to indicate the importance of individual effort, reform within the present system, and radical change in social attitudes and institutions in effecting a more equal role for women. The respondents indicated as follows:

TABLE 19: Attitudes to Equality of University Academic Staff

| | Not Important | Important | Very Important |
|---|---|---|---|
| Change Through individual effort | | | |
| % Female | 6.2 | 30.6 | 63.2 |
| % Male | 6.7 | 41.1 | 52.2 |
| Change Through Reform Within the System | | | |
| % Female | 7.3 | 53.4 | 39.3 |
| % Male | 15.2 | 43.3 | 41.5 |
| Change Through Radical Change to Attitudes and Institutions | | | |
| % Female | 12.5 | 27.7 | 59.8 |
| % Male | 22.4 | 30.6 | 47.0 |

Although both the women and men respondents agree upon the need for individual effort, the men are less willing to accept the need for structural and attitudinal change. This is understandable since their experience of discrimination would be less than the women's experience. Overall, however, there is a high degree of recognition that some structural and attitudinal change is necessary for women to achieve equal status.

The women academics were then asked a series of questions relating to their level of participation in women-centred activities such as political action, projects relating to women, women's studies courses, consciousness-raising groups and publications. Overall, about one third of the women respondents indicated that they had been involved in one or more of these

activities. The highest response was given to participation in political action for women's causes - 38.7%. Only 29.3% had been involved in activities designed to change the conditions or status of academic women. Whether this was due to the lack of organised activity or a reluctance to place one's career in jeopardy can only be speculated upon at this stage.

The women were also asked to state if they considered themselves to be feminists. Of the sample, 51.8% stated that they did, 33.5% said they did not and 14.7% were undecided.

Although no definition was given as to the term "feminist", and several respondents commented that they were uncertain how to answer because this depended upon the definition, it was thought to be important to establish the numbers of women who clearly identified themselves as a feminist. It was seen to be important because it indicated the level of understanding of the issues relating to women and the need to undertake action to change the current status of women. As can be seen from Table 24, 51.8% identified themselves as feminist.

The women were also asked if their colleagues treated them the same as male colleagues and 69.3% stated yes while 30.4% stated no. On the question - "Have you encountered any discrimination with respect to your employment?" - 35.4% stated yes while 64.6% stated no. When asked, however, if they would support a programme to change and improve the position of women in the universities, 66.3% stated yes while 4.8% stated no, and 28.9% stated they did not know. Many of the women who stated they did not know commented that it would depend upon the programme. It may, therefore, be assumed that some programmes for change would receive substantial support from academic women. A similar question was asked in the academic male questionnaire and the response was that 59.8% stated yes, 16.0% stated no, and 24.2% stated they did not know for the same reasons as the women. They wanted to consider the type of programme before they supported it. Overall then, there does appear to be support from both the academic women and men for a programme to improve the position of women in the university.

Women were also asked to make any general comments at the end of the questionnaire. Many took this opportunity. While some comments were brief and touched on the need for change in areas such as improved child - care, more flexible working arrangements with full status for part-time academics, or the need for more awareness amongst male colleagues of sexist attitudes and behaviour, some respondents cited instances in detail of personal experiences of discrimination, particularly relating to appointment and promotion. A few also set out full programmes for change involving a commitment by the universities to an affirmative action programme. Some respondents commented that there should be no change and that women knew what they were getting into when they joined the university and had to adjust. These women cited instances of how they had coped and how they thought that other women should do the same. A representative sample of these comments will be included in the next section of the Report which analyses the interviews and meetings conducted with academic women. It seems more appropriate to include them in that section because many of the women who commented in the questionnaire also asked to be interviewed and had expressed their views at length in case this was not possible.

Several questions were asked in the male questionnaire about their attitudes towards and experience of, discrimination against women. In response to the question - "Do you think the university discriminates against women in any way?" - 40.6% stated yes. When asked if they knew of any instance of discrimination against a female colleague, 19.5% stated yes, while 82.9% stated no. However 17.1% stated they knew of an instance of discrimination in favour of a female colleague. The male respondents were also asked if they had experienced any instance of discrimination against themselves and 8.8% stated yes. This response may be compared with a similar question asked of the women academics, 34.4% of whom stated they had personally experienced discrimination in the university. The levels of experience, therefore, are greatly different on this question and may account for some of the attitudes towards the question. It is encouraging, however, that even without direct experience of discrimination, 25.0% of the male respondents stated they had been involved in activities aimed at changing the status or conditions of employment of women academics.

A series of questions were asked of the academic males to establish their attitudes towards women in different roles. The first series of questions related to women's marital status and role as mother. The responses were as follows:

TABLE 20: Attitude of Male Academics to Marital Status and Work by Women

| | Strongly Agree | Moderately Agree | Neutral | Moderately Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Married women should not work | 0.7 | 0.7 | 9.0 | 12.3 | 77.3 |
| Married women with pre-school children should not work | 9.3 | 16.8 | 19.7 | 16.1 | 38.0 |
| Married Women with school-age children should not work | 2.2 | 3.6 | 15.2 | 26.0 | 53.1 |
| Unmarried women have greater devotion to their work than married women | 2.9 | 16.6 | 30.3 | 18.8 | 31.4 |
| Married women are less reliable on the job than men | 1.4 | 4.3 | 9.3 | 19.9 | 65.1 |
| Prejudice against women attaining top positions | 12.1 | 26.7 | 16.4 | 26.7 | 18.1 |

The results of these series of questions is a little confusing for women because while 77.3% of the males strongly disagree that married women should not work, only 38.0% strongly disagree that women with pre-school children should not work, and 53.1% strongly disagree that women with school-age children should not work. While the attitudes of the respondents are understandable in terms of traditional role expectations for women, they also indicate that women must make a choice between children and a career. It is this attitude that many women find both discriminatory and a barrier to restructuring the conditions of employment in the university, to ensure that all academics should be assessed on their academic abiliy alone and not on their role as spouse and mother. It is also this attitude that prevents a recognition that academic women with children have practical needs which must be met if they are to participate fully in academic life, e.g., adequate maternity leave and child care facilities.

It is encouraging to see that only 19.5% of academic men strongly agree or moderately agree that unmarried women have a greater devotion to their job compared to married women. This result is consistent with the 77.3% who strongly disagree that married women should not work. Also the fact that only 5.7% strongly agree or moderately agree that women are less reliable on the job than men shows that there is little prejudice relating to women in paid employment within the universities.

It is sometimes assumed that women have to be better than men to succeed in their careers. In response to the statement that a woman has to be better than a male competitor to succeed in academic life, 35.8% of the male respondents strongly agreed or moderately agreed. Also, as shown in Table 20, 38.8% of the male respondents strongly agreed or moderately agreed that there is a strong if unacknowledged prejudice amongst academics against academic women holding top positions.

The academic men were also asked if they consciously or unconsciously felt themselves to be superior to women and 49.1% strongly agreed or moderately agreed with this statement, while 34.0% moderately or strongly disagreed. The purpose of this question related to the confidence felt by the dominant group in the university. It has been mentioned by several women that women lacked confidence and that this sometimes prevented them from asserting themselves even when they knew they were more able than their male colleagues. If nearly 50% of male academics do feel superior to women then this identifies another area where change is necessary to ensure that prejudice does not affect the career prospects of women academics.

Finally a question was asked on whether greater encouragement should be given to women to pursue academic careers. Of academic males, 69.1% either strongly agreed or moderately agreed with this statement, and only 11.7% either moderately disagreed or strongly disagreed.

This question was important because it indicated a willingness amongst male academics to recognise discrimination against women and to be prepared to act to overcome it. The fact that 69.1% strongly or moderately agree with this statement illustrates that there is a considerable basis of goodwill amongst most academic males to work for change in the status of academic women. When this result is considered with the fact that 59.8% of academic men stated that they would support a programme to improve the position of women in universities, it suggests that the environment is sufficiently supportive to undertake such a programme. All that is now required is the programme and the will to implement it by the universities.

## THE THOUGHTS AND EXPERIENCES OF ACADEMIC WOMEN

*"The only time women take over the university is in the evening when the cleaners take over."*

*I have decided not to continue as an academic partially because of the treatment of women. I feel I have been beaten."*

*"Universities should be places to find challenges to structures instead of reinforcing the hierarchical structure. Women must be brave enough to challenge from inside."*

The above comments are from women who were interviewed as part of the preparation of this Report on the status of academic women. As explained earlier in this Report, 25 women were selected as a representative cross-section of the women who responded to the questionnaire. The purpose of the interviews was not to record their thoughts and experiences in detail but to provide some insight into the reality of an academic woman's life in a New Zealand university in 1984. General observations have been extracted from the interviews and meetings with academic women in order to protect the identity of the women, because several women observed that speaking out against sexism in universities or supporting women's rights could have a detrimental effect upon their careers. Whether this fear is justified or not, it was sincerely felt by several women who cited instances of ridicule when they raised the question of treatment of women at meetings or who felt that if they asserted their right to equal treatment they were seen as making a nuisance of themselves and as being difficult. As one woman put it - "It should not be necessary to make a fuss to get recognition of what you are entitled to."

The thoughts and experiences of the academic women fall into three broad categories - attitudes/behaviour, institutional, and academic. Each of these categories will now be considered in turn.

### Attitudes/Behaviour

Several women commented upon the sexism of the environment within which they worked. One woman also coupled this sexist environment with a racist environment as being a double barrier created for Maori women. Older women also felt that sex and age together provided a double barrier. Not only were their careers affected by their late entry but also it was felt their careers were marginal to their other roles. One woman who had entered late upon an academic career stated that she was so grateful to get her non-tenured position she did not feel in a position to assert her career ambitions for a permanent position. The frustrations of women who entered late upon a career were summed up by one woman who stated - "I waited so long to get the job I enjoy and am good at and now I am told I must retire."

Several women commented upon the superior attitude of some men toward women. As one young woman academic stated - "New Zealand men seem to feel they have a right to be aggressive." The need to be "one of the chaps" was also commented upon, as was the power of the "old boys' network". If you were not in the network then you did not know what was happening and this could affect your career. The need for a women's network was frequently mentioned but some women commented that men feel threatened by women. Overall, though, the view was often expressed by women that they must be more assertive in pursuing their own interests. One woman illustrated the price to be paid for non-assertion when she recounted how she had waited six years at the Senior Lecturer bar in the confident expectation that her head of department had recommended her for promotion. When finally she hereself applied, she was promoted. Her frustration had reached the point where she stated that she had decided to leave the university.

Several married women commented that they felt their marital status had impeded their career prospects. This was particularly felt by two women who had husbands working in the same institution. One woman had had a struggle to be appointed to a permanent position and the other had been told she only had the job because of her husband, yet she had been appointed prior to him and he had followed her to the university. The attitude was, however, that women were not seen as competent academics in their own right. One woman also commented upon the change of attitude towards her when she became pregnant.

Women particularly resented the patronising attitude of some male colleagues. One commented that this may also relate to the low status of women in universities and that it may be a feature of the importance of status in the university, as much as being attributed to sexism. Some also felt their ability was not taken seriously because of their low status in the institution. Although the women may have resented the patronising attitude of some men, nearly all commented upon the importance of having a patron or senior colleague who supported their work and their career advancement. Many commented upon how helpful some male senior colleagues had been in promoting their careers. The attitudes of heads of department were identified as being of crucial importance to the advancement of both women academics and women students. Several women commented that they had been encouraged by these men to undertake graduate study and to apply for an academic appointment and had been supported by them for the appointment. Three instances were given, however, where the head of department had either discouraged an academic career or been unsupportive to the appointment and promotion of women.

The overall attitude that emerged from the interviews and meetings on this point was that universities are seen as sexist environments by many women academics. As one woman commented - "Women see themselves as separate from the university. They feel alienated from the male/macho world." The constant sexism is seen as exhausting and the "last straw" when you have to cope with heavy teaching loads and students' demands. Most frequently cited solutions to this situation were the need for more women in positions of authority, the need for women to work together and form networks and the need for women to assert themselves. However, many of the women expressed the view that they were pessimistic that the universities would change, and that if you could not adjust and cope with the environment then the only alternative was to leave.

## The University as an Institution

Under this heading I have collated the comments from the women on the rules and regulations that govern the universities. Several women commented on the hierarchical and undemocratic way in which decisions are made within the university. A feeling of impotence emerged as to how to pursue grievances or to have an input for change. This may again be because of the low status of many women within the university. For most women the head of department is an all-powerful figure not only on questions of appointment and promotion, but also on allocation of work and support for research.

Another general point that emerged was the perception that universities do not value community involvement by academic staff. Several women mentioned the demands on them from the community and their willingness to assist. If they undertook such work, however, it prevented them from undertaking and completing the published research that was important for promotion. One senior academic woman mentioned that her department was very conscious of the importance of this work and supported staff members' involvement in providing research and service that was relevant to the community.

Other specific comments related to the feeling of many women that they provided the "unskilled" labour in the university through their work in non-tenured positions. It was felt that the university got their labour "on the cheap". These comments were linked to the importance of the level at which the first appointment was made because this had an impact on future promotion. Several women cited instances of either being appointed at a lower level than male colleagues with similar qualifications, or being appointed to a non-tenured position when men with similar qualifications were not. Some women stated that they had challenged such appointments and been successful while others had not. In both cases deep resentment was felt at the way in which the decisions had been made.

On the question of appointments, one senior woman academic who stated she had not encountered any discriminatory behaviour, noted that appointments were often a question of being "at the right time and place". She further noted that it was easier in the 1950s than it is today because of the cut-backs in funding to the universities. Another woman, who also stated that she was not conscious of any discrimination, noted that she had achieved her appointment and promotion because of a shortage of staff in her discipline at that time. Interestingly, however, she did comment that - "I have gone as far as I can go because I cannot sell myself or socialise as is necessary to get on."

Many of the women noted that you needed to know "the rules of the game" to get promoted and, if this meant publishing research, then they would do it. Other women were not prepared to compromise their teaching in order to be promoted. The need for women to be involved in administration was also mentioned. This was seen as a way to find out how the system worked and to be known. Some women, however, felt administration was boring and distracted them from their work. In this context, one senior woman observed that more women were needed in the professional administration of universities in non-academic positions of authority. She felt this could be of assistance to women academics.

Although several women commented upon their workload, this was only considered to be a problem when it prevented them from completing their Doctorate degrees, or interfered with them publishing their research. Two women cited money as the reason they undertook non-tenured positions in order to complete their Doctorates. In retrospect, however, they felt that this may not have been a wise choice because they had little time for their own work.

Overall, many of the comments made by the women in this section reflected the findings of the questionnaire, in particular, the low status of women in the universities. Although some of the problems may be overcome by adopting an equal opportunity programme for universities, the problem still remains of the hierarchical undemocratic way in which decisions are made within universities. To remedy this would require a structural change independent of any equal opportunity programme. It is indeed questionable whether an equal opportunity programme can be successful unless there are other structural changes within universities. It is fair to observe also that the universities are not the only institutions in the community that require such changes.

## Academic Issues

The majority of women in the interviews spoke of how much they enjoyed their academic work. They were committed to it and were concerned that academic standards could not be higher. This view was expressed most frequently in relation to teaching within universities. They felt it was undervalued as a skill. Two women also commented that some methods of teaching seemed designed to support male aggressive objectives, rather than the imparting and understanding of knowledge. Teaching was seen as time-consuming and not simply confined to the classroom. Several women commented that they were sought by women students outside classes for guidance and assistance. When there are few women in a department this creates extra stress and pressure. One young Maori woman academic commented upon the lack of support within the universities for women and Maori students. She saw the need for a Marae at each university to help provide that support as well as to confront racism.

Several women also commented upon the lack of support or recognition for their subject areas. One commented that people-orientated or applied courses in science were considered "soft science" and therefore not valued, even though there appeared to be a student demand for these courses. Similar comments were made relating to other disciplines. One of the difficulties seen was that often the head of department or senior male colleagues were unfamiliar or ignorant of such areas of study and therefore discounted their importance and value. Specific reference was made to the need for more women's studies courses, though three women said they did not support such courses.

Related to the need to recognise developing areas of academic study is the problem that women stated they have in getting resources and proper working conditions to undertake their work. As one woman stated - "I spend a lot of valuable time fighting for good working conditions." Also some women commented that they liked to work in groups, not only from preference

but because that was the way in which good research can emerge. If few women or people in their area of research are appointed this becomes difficult, if not impossible.

Overall then, the women expressed a high level of commitment to their academic work. This commitment was expressed particularly in relation to teaching, but many also mentioned their research. Many felt that women were more "people-orientated" and that this was undervalued within the university. Some did acknowledge, however, the support from male colleagues for their approach to their work. Again, however, they felt their low status prevented their ideas being taken seriously or implemented.

## Programme for Change

Included in the questionnaire was a section seeking general comment from the respondents about the changes they saw as necessary to improve the status of women in the universities. Many of these comments have already been mentioned in the text above. It is useful, however, to try and summarise these suggestions and comments.

A minority of comments from respondents stated there was no need for change. Several commented that any programme for change would be counter-productive because it would alienate male colleagues. Others thought that many of the problems of women were personal and professional. Thus, if women asserted themselves, then they would succeed. They also expressed the view that a price had to be paid if women wanted both a family and a career. One woman's comment summed up the views of many who did not support a programme for change. She wrote - "A programme does not change anything - every woman just has to think of herself - what she wants in life and take action to achieve it - slowly or rapidly - it does not make a difference."

Most women who responded with comments, however, did support a programme for change. Most indicated one or two features of such a programme, while a few wrote out a detailed programme for change. The matters to be included in any programme that were most frequently mentioned were as follows:

- improved child care facilities;
- better maternity leave provisions;
- education programmes for male colleagues so that they were made aware of sexism and its effect upon women students and staff;
- assertiveness training for women academics so they would be better prepared for job interviews, promotion procedures, and for challenging discrimination on the job;
- more flexible working conditions, with permanent part-time positions;

- more women's studies courses and publications;

- encouragement for women to take positions of authority and responsibility;

- an affirmative action programme that involved a commitment by the universities to equal opportunity for women, a method of monitoring progress made to employ and promote more women, and the allocation of resources to ensure the effectiveness of such a programme.

A few women also suggested the introduction of a system of quotas to ensure women were employed, though several women said they were opposed to quotas.

In concluding this part of the Report, I would like to make one or two general observations based upon the interviews, the meetings I attended, and the responses to the questionnaire. The two feelings that emerged most strongly from the women were anger and frustration. Many women had difficulty in expressing how angry and upset they were both at their own treatment and that of other women. Much of their anger was directed at the pointlessness, as they saw it, of the sexism they had experienced or observed. Even those who stated that they had not encountered discrimination could not understand the reasons behind some of the decision-making within the universities. Most of the women had found ways or were struggling to find ways to control their anger. Their resentment at having no method of legitimately expressing their concerns was apparent, however.

The frustration expressed by the women was directed mainly at the waste, as they saw it, of both human and physical resources within the universities. Often this frustration had led women to comment that they did not see how anything could change. For this reason a few had decided to leave, while many had decided to retreat and get on the best way they could. The fact that they had stopped publicly participating did not indicate, however, that they accepted or approved of the system.

I was surprised at the extent and depth of feeling because those to be interviewed had been chosen as representative of women who had responded to the questionnaire. It must be stated that few of the women dwelt upon personal grievances. Their comments were based upon personal experience and observation. It must be acknowledged that some women stated they had encountered no discrimination. These comments came predominantly from women who had been appointed in the 1950s and followed a traditional academic career path, or from women who had just entered their first academic appointment. Although they acknowledged no personal discrimination, they all commented upon aspects of the university that did appear discriminatory.

Finally, I must state that there is still much work to be done in this area. This was a general survey to compile a general profile of academic women in New Zealand and as such has limitations. For example, it could not take account of different policies and practices in the various universities. I hope, however, that it will provide the basis for further research to be undertaken, and for action to redress those aspects of discrimination that are obvious. The questionnaire would indicate that there is a high level of support for such a programme for change.