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In this Issue

Sounds, Silences and Contradictions: Gender Equity in Commonwealth Higher Education

By Dr Louise Morley
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Clare Burton Memorial Lectures in September 2003
Dr Louise Morley presented her lecture**,** *Sounds, Silences and Contradictions: Gender Equity in Commonwealth Higher Education*, as part of the Clare Burton Memorial Lectures in September 2003.
ATN WEXDEV organised the Clare Burton Memorial Lecture and paid for Dr Louise Morley to come out and give the lecture. A Clare Burton Scholarship for post-graduate study is also offered by **ATN WEXDEV**. For further information see:
http://www.uts.edu.au/oth/wexdev
Dr Morley's lecture focused on an analysis of some of the sounds, silences and contradictions emerging in studies on gender equity in Commonwealth Higher Education.
Morley stated that "women's under-representation in senior and decision-making roles is not merely symbolic.n It is a form of status injury. nThe lack of women in senior positions is both cultural misrecognition and a material and intellectual oppression." n

Morley asked "what is to be equalised when we call for equality? nIs there a collective dimension to gender equity across the globe? nWhat are the aspects of gender inequality that universally disturb and discomfort?"

The **Sounds** that Morley identified as having emerged in gender equity in Higher Education are:

- The Changing Purpose of the University
- Counting Women In: The Access Agenda
- Gender Mainstreaming
- The Gendered Division of Labour
- Gender Violence and Sexual Harassment
- Organisational Culture and Micropolitics
- Women as Managers
- With respect to the **Silences**, she considered:
- Masculinities
- Backlash
- Intersection of gender with race, religion, social class, disability, sexual orientation
- Alternative lifestyles for women
- And in relation to the **Contradictions she** examined:
- Is it possible to 'do' gender work without a feminist analysis?
- Whose feminist analysis?
- What theoretical tools are appropriate to the analysis of injurious acts?
- Gender experts not influencing their own organisations.
- Feminisation
- Morley concluded with the following questions:
- How can one avoid elite formation and development of multiple higher educations?
- How can gender equity go beyond cultural recognition and symbolic or token inclusion?
- What opportunities and choices is higher eduction opening up for all women?
- How can gender equity initiatives in higher education contribute to the redistribution of social and economic rights of women in wider civil society?

Sounds, Silences and Contradictions: Gender Equity in Commonwealth Higher Education

By Dr Louise Morley, Director of the Centre for Higher Education Studies, University of London Institute of Education, UK. (l.morley@ioe.ac.uk) **Acknowledgements**

Globalising Inequalities

The history of women's engagement with the academy has been characterised by exclusion and inequality. Seven decades ago, Virginia Woolf (1938:184) asked:

> Do we want to join the procession or don't we? On what terms
> shall we join that procession? Above all, where is it leading us,
> the procession of educated men?

Many women globally are still asking the same questions about participation and more poignantly why, having decided to join the procession, they are still at the back of the parade. The devaluing of women has become a normalised social relation in the academy – even within the changing political economy of higher education (Morley, 2003a). As staff, they are more likely to be in junior positions and as students; their qualifications are worth less in the labour market (Hogarth *et. al.*, 1997). The academy forms part of a more complex matrix of gender relations, with gender inequality omnipresent in the wider civil society. For example, 66 per cent of the world's illiterates are women. On average, women's salaries are 25 per cent lower than those of men and politically and globally, women represent only 10 per cent of parliamentarians (UNESCO, 1999).

The political economy of higher education is rapidly changing, but generally women are still concentrated in the care giving and service areas and are a minority in the areas in higher education where power is exercised and decisions are taken. Despite potent advocacy and inquiry combined more recently with progressive legislation in many national locations, there is horizontal and vertical segregation in the academy on a fairly global scale. While there have been some equity gains in higher education - particularly in relation to women's access as students - the past and present look strikingly similar. So what is the way forward when universal patriarchal power appears so hard to denaturalise?

Mapping the terrain has been one strategy for change. In Europe, the issue of 'persistent inequalities' in higher education is frequently debated and documented (Husu and Morley, 2000). For example, in Britain, the first woman became an academic

in 1893, and the first woman was appointed as a professor in 1894. By the 1970s, the proportion of women academics was virtually the same as in the 1920s. Scandinavia has some of the most sophisticated equity policies in existence, with quota systems, high state investment in childcare and careful monitoring of recruitment and promotion processes. However, women still only constitute 11.7 per cent of the professoriate in Norway and 11 per cent in Sweden (Husu, 2001). In the 'developing' world, gender equity is rapidly becoming encoded in national targets, supported and promoted by the international donor and policy context. Yet progress is also extremely slow.

Lund (1998) saw that there is no significant difference between high-income countries and low and middle-income countries in the Commonwealth regarding the percentages of full time women academic staff employed. In South Africa, authors note despite the fact that race and gender were areas that the government was keen to address via transformative policies for equality, the situation has not changed much since 1990 (Martineau, 1997; Mabokela, 2000; Ndungane,1999). Makehubu (1998) observes how Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland have women entering the academy as students, but not as academics or managers. Examples from across the Commonwealth demonstrate that women comprise less than a quarter of professors and executive heads.

Percentage of women professors and executive heads in selected Commonwealth countries
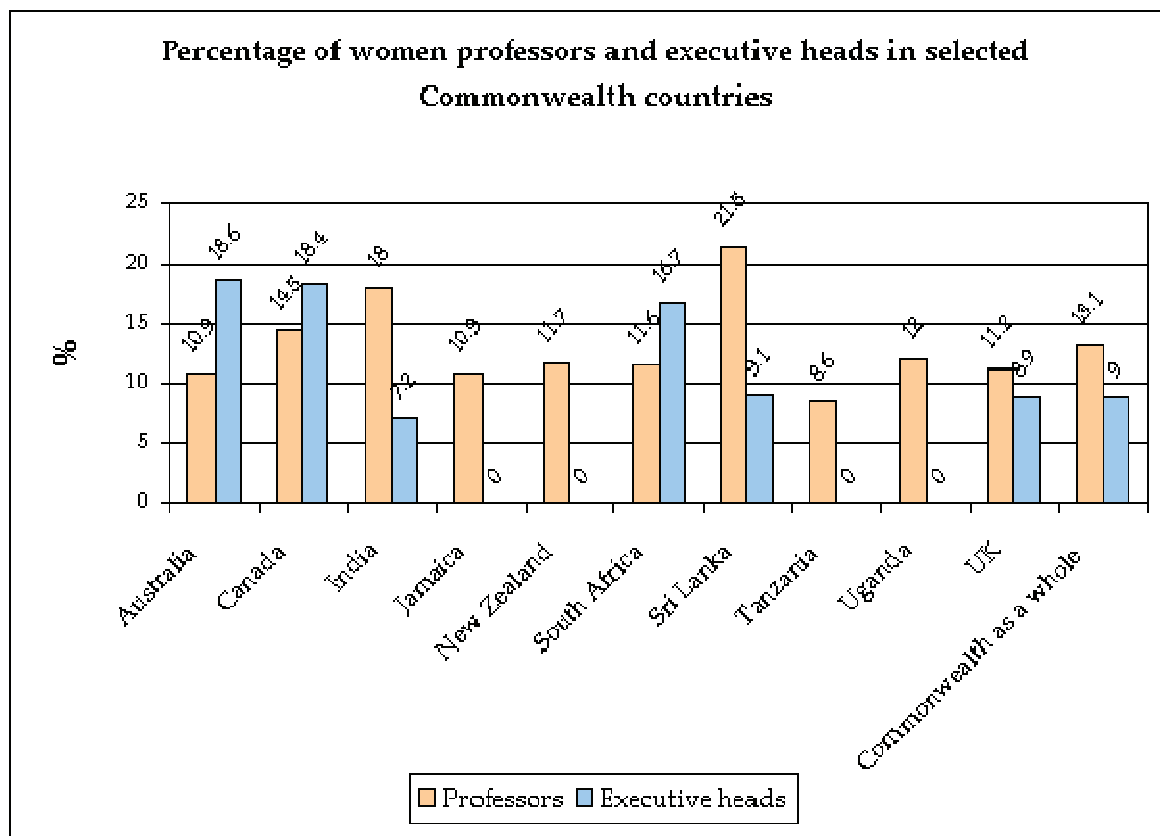
Women's under-representation in senior and decision-making roles is not merely symbolic. It is a form of status injury. The lack of women in senior positions is both cultural misrecognition and a material and intellectual oppression (Fraser, 1997).

We must consider what is to be equalised when we call for equality? (Sen, 1992). A key question is whether there is an ideal morphology of the gender equitable university and a collective dimension to gender equity globally. What are the aspects of gender inequality that universally disturb and discomfort? The globalisation of neo-liberalism and post-colonial formations and relays of power have resulted in policy borrowing and transfer across nation-states. Ironically, neo-liberal policies for quality assurance and the audit culture have been successfully globalised while policies for gender equity have not. However, globalised communication systems allow us to see both quantitative indicators and that similar questions are raised internationally about women in higher education. With gender equity, the notion of the global is contradictorily positioned as both a threat – for example, of the market eclipsing state welfarism - but also an opportunity for access to new ideas, new contacts, new international resources and new forms of solidarity through international declarations. The role of international agencies in driving equity concerns is problematic- raising questions about whether the momentum for gendered change is organic, dynamic and indigenous or a form of contract compliance for international funding.

International events can serve to encode gender equity in policy priorities. An example was the first World Conference on Higher Education hosted by UNESCO in Paris in 1998. Representatives of 182 countries endorsed *the World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty First Century: Vision and Action* with its commitment to in depth reform of higher education throughout the world. Article Four of the Declaration is specifically concerned with gender (UNESCO, 1998). It was noted, however, that women comprised only 20 per cent of the delegates to the World Conference. (UNESCO, 1999).

The UNESCO conference was preceded by concern within the Commonwealth on this issue. Colonialism meant that elitist, patriarchal practices were exported and reproduced throughout the Commonwealth. The under-representation of women was seen by the Commonwealth Secretariat as one the most important issues facing universities (1994). It was perceived as a human rights issue. Research conducted by the Association of Commonwealth Universities (Lund, 1998; Singh, 2002) indicates that women are seriously under-represented in all sections of employment in HEIs. Studies have been undertaken of a number of aspects of gendered change, for example women's career development (Lund, 1998) or women as higher education managers (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1999) or the gendered trends in student enrolment in particular regions (UNESCO, 1995).

This paper aims to examine the nature of writing on gendered change in Commonwealth higher education institutions and attempts to analyse some of the issues that have emerged from scholarship and practice relating to women as students

and staff in higher education in the Commonwealth. In so doing, it aims to highlight some of the sounds, silences and contradictions that have emerged around gender equity.

Policy Drivers for Change

The global political economy of higher education is changing rapidly. Moves towards audit, accountability, user-pay and the enterprise culture have been accompanied by debates on democratisation and the relationship of higher education with globalisation and wealth creation (Morley, 2003a). National interests in Commonwealth countries are frequently articulated in the context of global formations. Some Commonwealth countries have experienced major political upheaval, civil war and militarism e.g. Nigeria and Sri Lanka. Others have had socialist governments ostensibly sympathetic to issues of inclusion e.g. Tanzania. The general political trend, reinforced by the international donor community, is towards democratisation. Democratisation is accompanied by an emerging sense of rights and entitlements. Although the contexts of higher education institutions vary considerably in different regions, generally in all regions over the last ten years, there has been a movement to a somewhat more inclusive orientation in higher education. Policy discourses vary. In some locations, the emphasis is on affirmative action (Manya, 2000). In South Africa, the policy focus is on redress and repairing damage/injuries to women - particularly black women (Samson, 1999). In Europe, the discourse used to be equal opportunities (Morley, 1999) whereas now it is more likely to be social justice and inclusion. Internationally, attention is being paid to gender mainstreaming (Bishop-Sambrook, 2000). Policy drivers in the Commonwealth include:

· public sector reform

· commitment to transparency in governance

· human rights

· economic and social development

· poverty reduction

· social justice and inclusion

· human capital theory

· the learning society and lifelong learning

· new markets and the enterprise culture

· international competitiveness

· international development targets

· partnerships with civil society

· multilateral collaboration

· state welfarism

· democratisation programmes e.g. in South Africa

· macro-economic management

· new social movements

Additionally, theoretical influences have challenged gendered hegemonies in the academy. Feminism, postmodernism and post-colonialism have all raised questions about the power/knowledge conjunction in so far as what is taught in universities and disqualified knowledges (Stanley, 1997; Spivak, 1999). Questions have also been raised about how power is implicit in how knowledge is produced and transmitted (i.e. methodologies for research and pedagogies) (see hooks, 1995; Ribbens and Edwards (1997). The power base of university governance, funding and management has also been challenged. Neo-liberalism in general and new managerialism in particular have been interrogated by feminist theorists to uncover the gendered processes involved in the formation, governance and audit of universities (Brooks and McKinnon, 2001; Morley, 2003a). So, in the midst of considerable policy and theoretical development, what is happening to gender equity globally?

The Intellectual Beginnings of the Study

The intellectual beginnings of this study were the observation that gender, higher education, and development have rarely been intersected, leading to a silence in terms of policy, literature and research studies. Gender scholars across the globe are trying to account for the persistent inequalities in dominant organisations of knowledge production. However, there is some unevenness in the data that are being produced. The West has produced a sizeable amount of published qualitative and qualitative data and critical literature, whereas lower-income countries have had to rely on some gender-disaggregated statistics, quantitative studies - often funded by international organisations and lone, unfunded studies remaining in the grey literature domain. This

was the starting point for the current research project that I am directing in London1[1]. International students come to London - many to study gender equity in higher education - and point out how the dominant literature in the field is from the UK, USA, Northern Europe, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Yet there is considerable gender equity activity also in low-income Commonwealth countries. But the nature of gendered change in higher education has not been systematically mapped across the Commonwealth and there has been an absence of multilateral dissemination. This led to the formation of a partnership with gender scholars in Nigeria, Sri Lanka, South Africa, Uganda and Tanzania to begin to map and evaluate interventions for gendered change in access, curriculum transformation and staff development.

A first step has been to undertake a search of the published and 'grey' literature in low-income countries.2[2]. The transcripts of women experiencing higher education, both as students and staff in Commonwealth remain relatively hidden. Lack of published literature does not imply lack of activity or lack of cultural capital. Rather, it can reflect the power relations and gendered and racialised gate-keeping practices embedded in publication and research awards. Salo (2003) notes how when African scholars are included in international debates on higher education, they are usually men who overlook feminist contributions. The absence of women's voices can also relate to different organisational priorities, performance indicators and cultural traditions. However, the lack of sustained published documentation of specific gendered interventions for change means that environmental scanning and widespread dissemination of initiatives for gendered change is impeded.

Lack of Intertextuality: Gender, Development and Higher Education

There is a lack of intertextuality between three distinct bodies of literature. First, the literature on gender, development and education rarely considers higher education. Gender has begun to be a category of analysis at basic level education in lower income countries. For example, DFID's International Development Targets refer to 'universal primary education in all countries by 2015' and 'no gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005' (DFID, 1998:3). These targets are essential for poverty reduction; sustainable development and indeed creating a population appropriately qualified to enter higher education.

A human capital argument has been that past investment in higher education failed to yield the expected payoffs to national development in many regions of the world.

1[1] The project is funded by the UK Department for International Development and the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The website address for the project is: www.ioe.ac.uk/efps/GenderEqComHE

2[2] This will be published as an annotated bibliography early in 2004.

Manuh (2002) describes how investment in higher education was downgraded in Africa in favour of basic education in the period immediately following Structural Readjustment Programmes in the early 1980s, whereas the development of learning economies has led to a recent massification of higher education throughout Africa. Gender is considered specifically in relation to rates of return for male and female students on university education. Brock-Utne (2000) points out that post Jomtien funding agencies have been encouraged to focus on basic education as this is where the greatest returns to education, and the greatest educational need is perceived to be. For example, twenty to thirty children can be educated at primary level for the cost of one year at higher education (Chapman and Claffey, 1998). There is a hierarchy of needs approach, with higher education being perceived at the 'luxury' end of the educational market. Yet the university has traditionally been a pivotal institution, linked to the reproduction of gender and class privilege.

> Second, the literature on higher education in the 'developing' world tends to be characterised by a gender – neutral approach. Gender only tends to be a category of analysis in relation to access. While we are informed by World Bank estimates (2002) that by 2015 there will be 97 million students enrolled in higher education and that half of these will be in the 'developing' world, there is no attempt to gender these students. The qualitative experiences of women once entered remain largely unresearched and untheorised.

Within the Commonwealth, as elsewhere, new competitions, markets and new sites of learning including the workplace and the community are emerging. The enterprise culture and the rapid expansion of private education are providing opportunities and threats. Internationally, private higher education is 'one of the most dynamic and fastest-growing segments of postsecondary education at the turn of the 21st century' (Altbach, 1999:1). Yet few questions are raised about the social responsibility of private providers. In the mainstream literature in higher education studies, course content, pedagogies and organisational cultures have barely been examined for the extent to which they engage with difference, diversity and strategies for transformation (Morley, 1999).

The enormous expansion of ICT (Information Communication Technologies) throughout the 1990s began to change both the world economy and the place of higher education institutions in that economy. Debates on borderless universities, offshore, franchised, satellite and on-line learning and the expanding global reach of higher education remain ungendered. (Morley, Unterhalter and Gold, 2003).

The third body of literature is that on women in higher education. There are few qualitative studies in the public domain denoting women's experiences and engagements with higher education outside the West. Gender has entered some higher education discourses in high-income countries. There is some literature on equity and higher education in the UK e.g. Bagilhole (2002); David, (2003); Eggins (1997); Howie

and Tauchert (2002); Leonard, (2001); Morley (1999; 2003a) and Deem and Ozga (2000); in Australia -Blackmore and Sachs (2001); Brooks and MacKinnon (2001); Burton (1997); Chesterman (2002); Currie, Thiele and Harris (2002); Probert *et. al*. (1998), in Canada - Acker (1996); Wyn *et al*. (2000), in New Zealand – Brooks (1997), in South Africa - De La Rey (2001) and in Singapore, Hong Kong and Thailand -Luke (2001). All confirm the difficulties at the policy, institutional, organisational and micropolitical level of putting into place strategies for social inclusion in higher education institutions (HEIs).

The lack of intertextuality has created a policy gap. There are limited opportunities to theorise structural and cultural barriers or indeed to analyse qualitative experiences of women in higher education on a transnational basis. Writers across the Commonwealth draw attention to how lack of sustained qualitative data means that the complexities of organisational culture and gendered relays of power are unrecorded. Additionally, the lack of research on gender and higher education is having a serious impact on knowledge production and dissemination, scholarship and literature in the field.

Searching and Reading International Literature: Methodological Challenges

The lack of intertextuality, plus the lack of sustained publication of women's experiences of higher education outside the West, led the project to undertake a search of 'grey' *i.e.* semi or unpublished literature in the field. This has been analysed alongside some of the published studies. The intention is to begin a dialogue across different bodies of literature in order to enrich the examination of issues relating to gender and higher education in high, middle and low-income countries. The methods used are standard literature search techniques including a range of bibliographic tools, both text and web based, to identify writing and datasets in the field of gender and higher education. In addition researchers, writers, or project directors in this field were contacted to request assistance in identifying literature. The literature was analysed to identify major themes and trends. Significant gaps and contradictions were also noted.

While conceptual purity might be an unrealistic aspiration in international gender work, there are always dangers of Westerners misrecognising cultural and organisational practices and imposing inappropriate theoretical frameworks on to empirical studies from different national locations. It could be argued that all equity work involves values imposition. However, a major methodological challenge has been how one reads the traces of what gets spoken in diverse socio-cultural contexts without degenerating into orientalism and objectification (Meijer, Prins and Butler, 1998).

Themes have emerged in writing from a range of sources across different regions in the Commonwealth. Sometimes, these formulations and associated silences and contradictions articulate with international calls for gender equality in education. As these studies demonstrate, inclusivity has qualitative as well as quantitative implications. Some of the emergent sounds are reminiscent of Young's exploration of 5

faces of oppression: exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence (Young, 1990).

The Changing Purpose of the University

An example of cultural imperialism mentioned by Young (1990) can be seen in shifting notions of the purpose of the university. The notion of the purpose of the university has been contested in different periods and in different regions of the Commonwealth. The university has been viewed as ungendered, a site for knowledge to serve national interests and ungendered notions of citizenship. It has also been constructed as a Western import with distinct political and economic aspirations. The literature marks a shift in the purpose of the university in low-income Commonwealth countries away from elite formation in colonial times followed by nation-building (Makhubu, 1998), and towards the international knowledge economy. In low-income Commonwealth universities, the university was originally perceived as a vehicle to serve the interests of the Empire. Universities were outposts - Legon in Ghana, Makerere in Uganda and Ibadan in Nigeria were originally colleges of the University of London. Writing on Kenya, Manya (2000) observes that the development and purpose of European universities was used as a model for those in Africa. African universities were established to nurture an African male elite, who could relate well with the concerns of Europeans. Mwomonoh (1998) similarly describes African universities as Western imports grafted on to existing societies, rather than being in a historically organic relationship with local and national communities and indigenous knowledge.

Changing formations of the global have had an influence both on notions of the purpose of the university and on approaches to change (Barnett, 2003; Kenway and Langmead, 1998). Increasingly, higher education is being framed as a source of labour market training and there is a more explicit concern with universities producing new workers (Morley, 2003a). Hence, Commonwealth universities could be described as having been through 3 major phases: serving the needs of Empire; serving the needs of independence and nation-building, and more recently, serving the needs of the knowledge economy. But as gender scholars point out, all three phases have been permeated by male dominance.

All phases could also be constructed in terms of elite formation. In spite of major policy changes, the Bourdieuian debate on whether higher education is concerned with social reproduction or change (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) is still apparent throughout the Commonwealth. A persistent question relates to the transformatory potential of higher education itself. This is a central aspiration in countries in transition such as South Africa. Higher education is seen to be a pivotal social institution and part of a rehabilitation process, raising consciousness and contributing to changing professional and social practices. While this can sound utopian and over-ambitious in a market economy, the university has sometimes been a site for the articulation of democratic and progressive values including feminism and anti-colonialism (Morley, 1999). In

Bernstein's taxonomy of symbolic control (2001), the school system is coded as reproductive, while universities are perceived as 'shapers' i.e. they form and influence, rather than merely transmit received knowledge. Feminist scholarship has also indicated how social movements have impacted on the academy. While the reproductive or change binary is often overdrawn, the past evidence seems to suggest that many Commonwealth universities were reproductive, but hopes for the future in countries such as South Africa frame them as transformative.

Yet throughout the Commonwealth the university is frequently constructed as an institution complicit with social divisions. Certain social class cultures facilitate the crossing of gender positioning and ease women's entry into elite organisations (Gunawardena, 1990; Lovell, 2000). Jayaweera (1997) indicates how the heavy investment in higher education in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh has allowed benefits to accrue to the affluent and middle class. This raises complex questions about whether widening access and participation are redistributive measures.

Counting Women In: The Access Agenda

Low participation rates are an example of marginalisation (Young, 1990). Paradoxically, neo-liberal constructs of enhancing participation in an enterprise culture have produced some greater demographic shifts than equity interventions (Morley, 1997). More recently, human capital theory and economic competitiveness have driven the access agenda. Concerns about inclusion have emerged at a time of the engagement of virtually all higher education institutions with issues of globalisation, marketisation, and increasing the quantity and quality of high level human resources because of economic policies concerning growth in particular sectors. Hence the access agenda is both democratising and economistic.

However, the access agenda has gained international policy attention and raises questions about structures and mechanisms for inclusion. Some Commonwealth countries, notably Malaysia, South Africa, Nigeria, India and the UK have encouraged increased enrolment in higher education in order to underpin increased international competitiveness and national prosperity. Various structural inequalities have related to identities e.g. indigenous peoples in Guyana and Malaysia, to scheduled castes in India, to tribes in Kenya and to race in South Africa (Mabokela, 2000). Some access strategies have been reserved places, the use of district codes in Sri Lanka or postal codes in the UK or quota systems for women and scheduled castes in Indian universities, for Malay students in Malaysia, or the improved access to higher education through special programmes for working class undergraduates or for indigenous peoples in Australia, New Zealand or Canada. The UK initiated a major policy drive to increase participation to 50 per cent by 2010, with particular reference to the inclusion of lower socio-economic groups (HEFCE, 2001).

Changing quantitative representation requires a nuanced understanding of social context. Kwesiga's (2002) study of women's access to higher education in Uganda is a richly textured exploration of the complexity of factors that interconnect to create barriers for women to access education. She also reveals the importance of understanding the specific contexts in order to identify localised solutions to women's access to education. Kwesiga argues that change must begin at the familial level, involving parents and extended family. Also, important is change at the social level, including policy change and transformation of the educational system itself. Nawe (2002) comments on the slowness of change of the access agenda, with women's participation in higher education at the University of Dar es Salaam moving from 22.2 per cent in 1979/80 to 23.8 per cent in 2000/1. Several short term strategies were recommended for enhancing female access to higher education e.g. gender sensitisation programmes, counselling for confidence building, and outreach programmes to schools. Long-term strategies included role modelling, gender education at all levels, a gender-sensitive appraisal system and the creation of a friendly and secure environment.

There are at least 4 trends in the literature relating to the access agenda and incorporating practical and strategic approaches. The first documents and berates under-representation in higher education in general and in certain disciplines in particular, such as science and engineering. These arguments are framed in human rights or economic rationalities (Makhubu, 1998). The second deconstructs the barriers (Alele Williams, 1992; Kwesiga, 2002). The third identifies strategies for inclusion (Nawe, 2002) and the fourth links access to wider social transformation and detraditionalisation (Morley *et. al.* 2003).

It is questionable how far access is linked to social and organisational transformation and distribution of resources. Sexual differences are social practices and there are varying accounts of the impact of higher education on social change and detraditionalisation. New constituencies in higher education can still be formed by traditional gender power relations. There is an interconnection between the social and the psychic. The psychic operation of norms can impede political change (Butler, 1997). Weakened by the effects of externally imposed power, individuals can internalise or accept its terms. Oversocialisation can ensure social reproduction.

Jayaweera (1997) points out how, in spite of being university educated, many Asian women continue to internalise negative gender norms and passively accept oppressive social practices including dowry deaths, and female feticide and infanticide. Whereas Joshi and Pushpanadham (2001) describe how educational opportunities for women in India have brought transformational change in social and domestic relationships. Educational ambition is gendered. Biraimah (1994) notes that, once entered in universities, Nigerian men and women's career aspirations are vastly different. Male students, regardless of class, maintained extremely high educational goals, while females, who came primarily from high socio-economic status families, held less elitist goals

Successful access policies mean that there might be some small expansion of numbers of students and of particular kinds of students, for example women or groups defined by social class, race, religion or ethnicity. However, there is still the notion of a particular 'body of knowledge', or canon, to be transmitted to an elite 'student body'. Gender equity is only within set frameworks. It is concerned with women, not gender inequalities or feminism as theory or political practice. Women are included as students, teachers or managers, but the different forms of knowledge or practice, they or any similarly subordinated group might bring, is not given epistemic recognition. Power is not redistributed, even though the potential space for access to power might have been widened. As Lovell (2000: 27) suggests we need 'to challenge the terms of the game itself and not simply secure entry for women as legitimate players'.

Gender Mainstreaming

A strong argument, originally from feminist academics and women's studies scholars, but more recently from international organisations, is that access needs to be accompanied by organisational and curriculum change. Gender mainstreaming is now an initiative supported by international organisations including the European Union, the Commonwealth Secretariat and UNESCO (Leo-Rhynie *et. A.al*, 1999; UNDP, 2002; UNESCO, 2002). It is a strategy that claims to make women's and men's experiences an integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes. It is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes in any area and at all levels. There have been specific interventions to introduce women's disqualified knowledges into the curriculum throughout the Commonwealth (e.g. Abdulwahid, 2000). One of the earliest initiatives for gender mainstreaming was undertaken in Makerere University, Uganda (Bishop-Sambrook, 2000).

Gender mainstreaming is highly controversial. One idea is that it is the successful integration of gender into institutional development. The curriculum, forms of pedagogy and 'best practice' have increasingly been perceived as value-laden, context-specific and norm-related. A contradictory view is that it is deradicalisation and a bland form of contract compliance. In this construction, feminism is no longer seen as a disruptive challenge to patriarchal organisations, but has been diluted to become yet another tedious example of new managerial regulation possessing diagnostic authority and suggesting formulaic solutions. There are also questions about areas of exclusion from gender mainstreaming. For example, in Britain, audit is conducted as a gender-neutral activity whereas in Sweden and South Africa gender is a performance indicator in quality assurance audits (Morley, 2003a). A question is how to challenge the gendered hidden curriculum of higher education.

The Gendered Division of Labour

A further example of marginalisation is the gendered division of labour in the academy. This has produced a lot of structures/agency debate. For example, Singh (1999) offers three categories of explanation for the lack of women in senior positions in Commonwealth universities: person centred relating to psycho-social attributes; structure centred focusing on the social structure; culture centred which links gender and organisational structure. These explanatory frameworks are apparent in different studies across the Commonwealth. Lamptey (1992) points out that, in Ghana, contrary to expectations most women reported that they did not face discrimination, but could not advance because of the multiple roles that they perform. Teaching was perceived as compatible with traditional female roles but not research. Research was seen as insecure in terms of funding and requiring fieldwork, which would not be compatible with the roles of wife and mother. The career pathways open for women academics often work against their promotion prospects.

It is worth noting that many of the explanations for the gendered division of labour build upon domestic and private domains utilising norm-related discourses of heterosexuality. Mikell (1997) observes that African feminism is distinctly heterosexual and pro-natal. Kwesiga (2002) argues that forms of patriarchy and family structure differ in the developing world. Yet many of the explanations given for women's under-representation in senior positions are framed within western notions of nuclear families and women's domestic roles.

The division of labour is not merely about redistributing tasks, but is also about redefining the cultural meaning and value of different kinds of work (Hunter, 2000). Women's career ambitions can be more easily tied to domestic, rather than the worldly arenas. Entry into management can be both an opportunity and a form of exploitation of women. In my recent study on quality assurance in higher education, many women were being allowed to enter management to take responsibility for the domestic arrangements of audit - leaving male colleagues free to focus on their research (Morley, 2003a). There has been some sex role spill over, with women's socialised patterns of caring getting appropriated by higher education institutions. Women can get easily trapped in the world that ties them to organisational development, new managerialism, presenteeism and responsibilisation. They are then berated for lack of research productivity (Morley, 2001).

It Comes with the Territory: Gender Violence and Sexual Harassment

Symbolic capital leads to symbolic power, which can also lead to symbolic and actual violence (Moi, 1991). Gender violence incorporates exploitation and powerlessness (Young, 1990). The Panos Institute Report (2003) observes that sexual, physical and psychological violence causes as much of a burden of ill health and death among women aged 15-44 as cancer- and more than malaria and traffic accidents and that sexual violence in the educational sector is an unaddressed issue. Yet it can impede participation and achievement and contribute to drop out, illness and in some instances

suicide. Studies demonstrate how gender violence is normalised in many African schools (Leach *et al*., 2000) and thus continued in higher education. Gender violence takes on different forms across the Commonwealth. At one end of the continuum is the serious violence of cults, gangsterism or rape cultures. At the other end, are the initiation rituals involved in ragging in India and Sri Lanka that are more serious than they appear (Jayasena, 2002).

Sexual harassment is a ubiquitous area of gender power. It appears to be one of the many prices that women are expected to pay for entering traditional male reserve spaces. It marks out and reinforces gendered territory. Power accrued through time and the historicity of force makes sexual harassment possible. It problematises women's bodies and sexuality in organisations traditionally dedicated to the life of the mind and the pursuit of abstract knowledge. The accountability that is so revered in the audit culture is not extended to sexual harassment. Speech in relation to sexual harassment remains a dangerous act. Sexual harassment is rife on campus, and is either mentioned or specifically studied in reports from across the Commonwealth (Bajpai, 1999; Durrani, 2000; Gender Study Group, 1996; Hallam, 1994; Mlama 1998; Omale, 2000; Simelane, 2001; Tete-Mensah, 1999). Yet action to combat it is uneven. In Zimbabwe, Zindi's study (1998) recorded that every one of the 2,756 respondents knew lecturers sexually exploiting female students. But 93 per cent said that they would not report sexual harassment and no person had ever been disciplined for sexual harassment.

Sexual harassment affects both students and academics. It can deter young women from applying to enter higher education (UNESCO, 2000). It can also deter women from attracting attention to themselves by occupying senior positions. Sexual harassment was frequently cited as an explanatory factor for women's reluctance to make themselves visible in the academy.

Organisational Culture and Micropolitics

Commonwealth gender scholars frequently note how organisational culture, negative micropolitics, and informal practices impede parity of participation (Morley, 1999; Onsongo, 2000). There are reports of a range of institutionalised patterns and evaluations that constitute women as comparatively unworthy of respect or esteem. The hidden curriculum, gendered networks and homosociality are repeatedly seen to exclude and disadvantage women (Morley, 1999; Singh, 2000).

> Power imbalances in the academy are both structural and played out in micropolitical struggles. Like many aspects of racial and gender oppression, bullying and sexual harassment at work, micropolitics can also be subtle, elusive, volatile, difficult to capture, leaving individuals unsure of the validity of their readings of a situation. What appears trivial in a single instance acquires new significance when located within a wider analysis of power relations. The attribution of meaning and decoding of transactions, locations and language is an important component of micropolitics

(Morley, 1999). Informal practices contribute to women's marginalisation (Young, 1990). For example, in Onsongo's Kenyan study (2000) 69 per cent of women and 92 per cent of men felt encouraged to apply for promotion. She noted how the sources of encouragement for men and women are different. Women relied on heads of departments whilst men were able to garner support from heads of departments, senior colleagues and family and friends. This could be related to socialisation, with career ambition considered 'unfeminine', i.e. it is greedy, pushy, individualistic and competitive. In other words, it is agentic, rather than communal behaviour (Miller, 1976). It is worth noting, that in some non-Commonwealth countries, such as Finland, in spite of evolved policies and codes of practice for gender equity, a highly gendered invitational system for promotion exists (Husu, 2000). Micropolitical relays of gendered power are notoriously difficult to capture.

Women as Managers: Serving Whose Interests?

Strenuous efforts to facilitate more women's entry into management are accompanied by doubts as to whether this serves women's collective and long-term interests. In the context of the neo-liberal political economy and the rise of the audit culture, the token inclusion of women as managers accompanied by the absence of feminist politics may stand in the way of more profound equity transformations from occurring. It can be seen that what writing exists on women's aspirations for senior positions and work at this level stress how difficulties with the gendered nature of the institution are not overcome as women move up the career ladder.

Questions have been raised in the West about women's access to and engagement with power within hierarchical structures (Marshall, 1995; Morley, 1999). There is qualitative as well as quantitative lack, with women in leadership positions being perceived as impostors, second-rate and fraudulent (McIntosh, 1985; Morley, 1999). The psychic life of power means that negativity can get internalised. For example, the women managers in De La Rey's South African study (2001) frequently attributed their career success to luck, chance and factors external to themselves.

It is also debatable whether women managers are necessarily gender sensitive or politically committed to representing women's interests (Luke, 1998). However, there is the view that women managers can make a difference. Tete-Menseh (1999) believes that, in Ghana, in the interests of equity more women should be in management positions, this would also strengthen their collective position and be a catalyst for change. Manya (2000) suggests women are perceived as possessing potentially new management styles of use to higher education. Gill (2000) also explores gendered communication skills that could be useful as management tools There is a tendency for this line of argument to be deployed by some writers to suggest that women innately possess more interactive, nurturing skills, and that women are a homogenous group. Lamptey (1992) tells how, in Ghana, women are perceived as lacking in the social skills and personality traits that make up an effective manager. The model is male biased.

However, she believes that this situation seems to be changing as the manager's role expands to encompass elements such as good interpersonal skills and intuitive capabilities previously considered feminine. The gendering and essentialising of management styles and skills are themes in much of the Commonwealth literature.

Shah (2001) offers a more sophisticated analysis in her study of gender and higher education management in Pakistan. She observed how the discourse of equality encouraged women to enhance economic independence, career progression and social mobility but a counter discourse of gender difference imposed constraints. The author observed how patterns of power and subordination were not just gendered, but were also cut across and transformed by class and other social formations. Women's institutional power was constantly undermined by the powerlessness associated with their gender.

It is often around leadership issues where the naturalisation of power is most visible. Odejide (2001) argues that Nigerian society's definition of leadership is masculine. She attributes this to Nigeria's history of militarisation that inextricably links leadership with authoritarianism, a quality that is not conceptualised as feminine. Odejide observes that the volatile nature of staff and student politics in Nigeria, which often involves physical and psychological violence, makes it easy for the community to designate university management as masculine territory. Leadership is frequently elided with control. In Sri Lanka, (2001) Gunawardena, notes how discriminatory questions are often asked at appointment boards for senior posts including 'Can they control trade unions, student unions?' While many women do not rise to leadership positions, those who do face many forms of discrimination.

Silences

We have seen that the dominant concerns across the Commonwealth are access, the absence of women in senior academic and management positions, gender violence, the changing purpose of the university, transformation and gender mainstreaming and the perception of hostile organisational cultures and negative micropolitics. Analysis of the literature also suggests some major silences in terms of what is not discussed or what is not applied as explanatory frameworks.

The concept of masculinities is rarely problematised outside the West (Hearn and Parkin, 2001). There have been major conceptual shifts from the women in development (WID) approach to the gender and development (GAD) approach that problemitises gender relations rather than women (Morley 2003b). However, much of the literature on gender in higher education focuses on women, sometimes to the extent of creating a remediation ethos around them. However, I am not suggesting that we close down hard won spaces for women and replace them with concerns about men and boys at risk (Kabeer, 1994). In Western Europe and the Caribbean, there is now considerable concern about failing boys and the possibility of the feminisation of the

higher education system as disaffected young men become more socially excluded. My concern is that gender sensitisation programmes might not be enough to dismantle and challenge deeply entrenched patriarchal practices.

This leads me to another silence or undertheorised area - that of backlash - gendered changes involve shifts in benefit streams. They can surface competing interests, resistance and backlash. Strategies of domination are vulnerable to displacement (McNay, 1999). Monitoring and promoting gender equity does not necessarily serve the self-interest of those individuals who are pivotal in effecting change. Backlash is sometimes reported in the literature but untheorised. For example, Ade Ajayi *et. al.* (1996) suggests that the earliest gender interventions (research and teaching) were made by 'female militant types' and has thus been condemned and restricted to an 'intellectual ghetto'. This expresses some of the negative perceptions of women in the university community generally. It is interesting that the study does not seek to dispute this assumption. The implication is that it is reasonable, and offers some explanatory power for women's marginalisation in the academy.

A further silence is the uneven intersection of gender with other structures of inequality. Whereas some studies mention social class, race, religion and ethnicity, there is little on disability or sexuality outside the West and South Africa. Even in the transformational policy context of South Africa, there has been a long painful struggle to incorporate sexual orientation into equality policies (see Cock, 2002). In countries with progressive institutional initiatives for gender equity, like Uganda, for example, lesbians and gays are still at risk. The President of Uganda – who opened last year's international interdisciplinary conference on women in Kampala is reported to have said the he 'would instruct Ugandan CID officers to round up and imprison every gay person in the country (Rodgerson, 2003: 18). Studies are full of normalised discursive framings of women in relation to their construction within the traditional Western family. Jeffery and Jeffery (1998) report a belief in India that women's acquisition of a higher education degree is seen as adding to their value and hence their commodisation in the marriage market.

In some UK studies, questions are posed about the impact of women's higher education on women's choice of lifestyles and their economic independence. In Britain, one in five women are now choosing to remain childfree and single women are the biggest new group in the housing market (Ferri, Bynner and Wadsworth, 2003). Even Bourdieu, with his general lack of attention to gender, pointed out back in 1989 mentioned the correlation between women's increased entry in higher education and declining fertility rates. While this argument has been used to link literacy campaigns with policies for reproductive control, it continues to locate women within traditional familial and heterosexual lifestyles. Challenging the normativity of women in familial roles is such a powerful gesture and is itself a form of impropriety that there are few attempts to denaturalise traditional lifestyles.

Contradictions

There have been sounds and silence in the literature. There are also some major contradictions, tensions and unresolved dilemmas. One is whether it is possible to 'do' gender work without a feminist analysis. A further question, is whose feminist analysis? There are multiple interpretations of gender inequalities across the Commonwealth, with different entry points into critical discourse and different understandings and engagements with the political economy of gender. For some, feminism is providing new critical tools for evaluating and promoting gender equity in Commonwealth HEIs and for others gender can be abstracted from a political analysis of power.

A dilemma is what theoretical tools are appropriate to interest representation and the analysis of injurious acts. For example, sexual harassment is widely reported and cited as a force that silences and disempowers women. On the other hand, while women in Africa express outrage at sexual harassment, some also feel that the vocabularies for naming these negative experiences are western (Tete-Mensah, 1999). This is evocative of Nussbaum's (2002) observations that attempts by international feminists to use a universal language of justice and human rights 'is bound to encounter charges of Westernizing and colonizing' (p.51). As soon as feminists in 'developing' countries express criticism of patriarchy in their own cultures, or advocate processes of detraditionalisation, they run the risk of being accused of ventriloquism.

Gender work in low-income Commonwealth countries is not always informed or sympathetic to feminism – particularly to western feminism. Nor is it perceived as integrated into intellectual and professional value systems. A source of disappointment is the gulf between gender as a burgeoning industry in low-income countries and the application of gender equity to the very institutions that house the gender scholars. For example, Manuh (2002) notes how 1000s of studies on gender have been conducted by African academics, but how this consciousness has not been applied to the African academy itself. She claims that African HEIs have not provided leadership on gender. Manya (2000) also notes that despite the fact that the university in her Kenyan study employs many of the country's leading advocates of gender equity (in the political and public sector), they are not vocal about the position of women within the university itself. This raises some important discussion points and interpretative challenges. If feminism is essentially deconstructive, can it relate to gendered change agency in dominant organisations of knowledge production? A further question is whether this is an example of strategic or contradictory consciousness – a disjunction between speech and act. A more cynical question relates to equal opportunism and possible contract compliance to the international donor agencies' agendas, with gender perceived as a lucrative new industry. This is a new variety of gender performance (Butler, 1999; Walkerdine, 1989). There are questions about what exactly is a 'gender expert'? Gender has begun to have a generalisable currency as a discourse that allows it to be taken up by almost anyone to sound convincing. Because it has traditionally been a disqualified

discourse, with considerable shaming attached to it, now a whole range of values and expectations are projected on to anyone who uses the term.

A further contradiction is that when gender equity initiatives are successful in quantitative terms, and numbers of women do increase, this can be accompanied by a moral panic about the feminisation of higher education and the exclusion of young men as in the Caribbean. This is often a caution in gender mainstreaming guides (Leo-Rhynie *et al*. 1999). Singh and Gill (2001) argue that the worry now in Malaysia is that in higher education, women are now outnumbering and outshining men in undergraduate studies. I have named this process the equity paradox (Morley, 1997). If under-represented groups demystify the process and gain access to elite organisations, the value is diminished. As Bourdieu's has repeatedly pointed out in his work, the elite constantly find new badges of distinction for themselves. In the context of feminisation, the educational under-achievement of men and boys is the latest badge of distinction.

Summary: Theorising Gendered Change

The changing political economy of higher education suggests a logic of iterability, but certain aspects of universities as social institutions seem static. Higher education in the Commonwealth needs to be more equitable and democratic. While policy drivers for change are diverse, there is stability in women's under-representation from academic posts in general and from senior posts in particular. Women are entering the academy in some locations as students, but the academy is slow to change in terms of equity whereas it has been rapidly transformed in relation to new managerialism and neo-liberalism.

The literature suggests that there have been both openings and closures. Gender equity work, while focusing on exclusion, can also exclude. This is noticeable in the western domination of the literature. Yet writers on gender equity in the Commonwealth are beginning to explore and expose the hidden conditions of existence and conditions of labour of intellectual communities. There is a strong sense of limits and counter-hegemonic challenges operating within powerful hegemonies. It is assumed by many writers and development assistance agencies that gendered change entails understanding women constructed within a norm-referenced framework. Many studies tend to perpetuate hegemonic, normative constructions of women and families. This is sometimes accompanied by an engagement with liberal feminism and the belief in the need to bring women into senior positions. The destabilising of conventional gender relations in the academy on very limited levels does not seem to have been accompanied by changes in the private domain. Nor has it always been accompanied by social and political transformation.

Women are also discursively framed as problem areas. With the exception of gender sensitisation programmes, men and masculinities are rarely problematised, or perceived in need of development and training. There are silences about the forms masculinity

takes for initiatives to change higher education and the way in which resistance can constantly mutate.

There are still many essentialised observations about women's qualities and preferred styles of working (Lamptey, 1992). Sometimes a social constructionist approach is taken, particularly in relation to women's career development. Career progress, ambition and self-interest are sometimes seen as 'unfeminine' as they imply desire, greed and attention to the self (Walkerdine, 1990).

So what is the way forward? There is always a tension between feminist change agency and feminist deconstruction. It is not my wish to render all action so problematic that we collapse into powerlessness. Nor is it my intention to offer colonial certainty and authoritarian blueprints for action. I merely wish to make some modest suggestions for attention. Firstly, I suggest that advocacy needs to be accompanied by inquiry. Producing data and critical discourse legitimates women's lived experiences in higher education. The lack of sustained qualitative data in virtually all the studies analysed means that the complexities of alienating organisational cultures are not always recorded. There are major issues about the gendering of research opportunities. Many studies, while pointing to important areas for future work, were unfunded, lone researcher investigations. There is an urgent need for studies in micropolitics, the hidden curriculum, networks and homosociality, giving epistemic privilege to women's voices in Commonwealth universities. Furthermore, studies that do exist need better dissemination mechanisms. This could be achieved, in part, via more effective global networks of gender scholars that include low, middle and high-income countries.

While there are different discourses justifying change to be found in most accounts, there is very little work that utilises statistics to look at intersecting inequalities, or to track longitudinal processes. Gender is one modality in which class, race etc. are lived and there is a tendency not to intersect gender with race, ethnicity, disability, class and caste, or sexuality. We need to continue to develop theoretical frameworks for understanding the interlocking relationship of emancipatory struggles of various kinds in different national locations.

The accountability so beloved by the audit culture needs to be extended to equity and social inclusion, with more effective monitoring of international, national and organisational policies, research agencies and professional organisations.

In terms of higher education, we need to keep posing the question about social reproduction and/or transformation. Elite formation can function to produce multiple higher educations, with differential educational experiences and exchange rates for qualifications in the labour market for different social groups. Gender equity needs to go beyond cultural recognition and focus on the redistribution of resources inside and outside of the academy.

For the list of References please see: **Louise Morley Paper References**

In Search of Sustainability

Internet Conference, 1 February - October 2003

1 February 2003 - 31 October 2003
In Search of Sustainability, an innovative and progressive internet conference held from February to October 2003 was open to Australians from all walks of life. It aimed to stimulate wide public discussion on Australia's search for sustainability by tackling a different theme each month which can be freely downloaded from the website: **www.isosconference.org.au** The nine months series of internet meetings are to be followed by a face-to-face conference in Canberra in November 2003.
A community based initiative, it hoped to take an objective look at Australia's future by:

- Providing an electronic venue for the exchange of ideas and current knowledge on issues that will affect Australia's long-term sustainability
- Drawing on Australian expertise across a wide range of relevant disciplines and perspectives to ensure that understanding of the issues is evidence-based
- Editing the product of these exchanges into balanced, accessible documents that can be used widely in the Australian community

John Burgess and Julia Connell from the Employment Studies Centre at the University of Newcastle presented a Paper entitled, "The Future of Work" as part of this conference series.

In this Paper, John Burgess and Julia Connell attempt to understand what has happened to work in Australia in the past 25 years in order to formulate a perspective of the future of the sustainability of work in Australia. They outline what has happened to work and the workforce over this period. Secondly, they consider what has happened to the rewards from work and thirdly, they look at the broad changes that have occurred in the institutions associated with work.

The Future of Work

John Burgess and Julia Connell

Employment Studies Centre University of Newcastle
Presented at "In Search Of Sustainability" Internet Conference
February - November 2003
Jointly managed by Australia 21 Ltd; Nature and Society Forum Inc; Sustainable Population Australia Inc

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Introduction

This paper discusses the future of work in Australia. The future of work underpins a number of important theoretical and policy questions such as:
• the nature and availability of employment for current and future generations,
• the characteristics of future jobs and workplaces and
• the impact of the current trajectories regarding globalisation and technology on the sustainability of work?

In broad terms there have been both positive and negative perspectives on the future of work. Pessimists predict a divided society where jobs as such have disappeared for good (Bridges, 1994), there is mass unemployment, growing insecurity and widening social divisions. Capelli (1999) argues that the 'end of the career' will occur due to factors such as competitive pressures, volatile markets, more demanding shareholders, the ongoing need for flexibility (cost reductions), weaker trade unions and changing skill requirements. Conversely, Jacoby (1999) argues that this thesis is *not* supported by labour market evidence and the continuing experience of long term employment in many public and private sector industries indicates that the long-term career is far from over. On the positive side, it has also been claimed that the 'new' economy will liberate many employees from dull, dreary and degrading jobs. In general though, there is a lack of systematic evidence to support many of these claims.

We propose that in order to understand and debate the future of work, we first need to understand what has happened to work in Australia. As such, our reference will be the past 25 years. Consequently, we begin this discussion by outlining what has happened to work and the workforce over this period. Secondly, we outline what has happened to the rewards from work. Thirdly, we summarise the broad changes that have occurred in the institutions associated with work, before moving on to our predictions of what will happen to work in the future and then discussing the implications of these developments.

Recent developments in work, the workforce, rewards and institutions associated with work

With respect to work and the workforce this paper focuses on the future of paid work, although unpaid work is recognised as an important contributor to the economy. In relation to paid work in Australia, we regard the following factors as the most significant developments changing the world of work:

1 The rise in female participation in paid work and the growing feminisation of the workforce – this was also supported by a mass exit from the workforce of older males in the 1980s

2 The persistence of high rates of unemployment and under-employment

3 The growth in formal qualifications across the workforce

4 The growth in non standard employment arrangements, particularly part-time and casual work

5 The dominance of the services sector in job creation

6 The dominant location of new jobs in capital cities, especially Sydney, Canberra, Melbourne, Brisbane and Perth

7 The growth in jobs of very short-hours and very long hours

8 The growth in multiple job holding

9 The relatively high incidence of home based work – around one quarter of all jobs involve some home-based work.

In relation to the institutions associated with work there has been a major transformation in terms of:

1 The shift away from centralised and industry wage determination towards enterprise and workplace wage determination

2 The diminished role of industrial tribunals in the Australian industrial relations system

3 The declining proportion of employees who belong to trade unions

4 The decline in direct industrial activity

5 The growth in ambiguous and unprotected forms of employment

6 The restructuring of employment and conditions across the public sector through privatisation and outsourcing.

In terms of the rewards from work the following issues stand out:

- • The growth in real average full-time earnings
- • The narrowing of the earnings differential between women and men
- • The expansion after 1990 in contributors to employment linked superannuation funds
- • The growth in employees who do not receive standard employment benefits
- • The systematic shift in income distribution from labour to capital
- • The ongoing effects of income tax bracket creep on take home pay
- • The growing inequality in the distribution of earnings across the workforce
- • The restructuring of the normal working week, especially from the early 1990s

So what can we make of these changes? Structural change has always been present as the patterns of demand and trade change, new products emerge, consumer tastes alter and technology develops. What appears to be new about the current developments is the growing perception of employment insecurity, the collapse of large organisations (e.g. HIH Insurance, Ansett), the disappearance of a job for life, the increasing ambiguity surrounding the legal status of many employment arrangements and the expectation that job content and hours are less predictable or controllable than in the past. Also, there are now many more workers who have to integrate work into other activities, especially education and caring activities. Workers appear to be confronted with uncertainty over jobs (tenure, content, control, hours etc), have less recourse to collective representation and collective action, and are under relentless pressure to adapt and be more productive. Despite sustained growth in the economy over the past decade, a large pool of unemployment and underemployment persists and the rewards from growth are very unevenly distributed across the workforce.

In general, we have a situation where employees are working harder than ever as a result of new management practices designed to address the demands of intensified competition (Noon and Blyton, 2002). However, in flattened organizational structures, where success was previously rewarded by promotion, career ladders may no longer exist and the traditional ways of rewarding people through career structures have frequently disappeared.

Will these trajectories continue?

First, we propose that the gender composition of the workforce will continue to change in the face of growing female participation and the expectation of many women to combine career and family aspirations.

Second, nearly all new jobs will be located in the service sector. Jobs will remain in the mining, rural, manufacturing, utility and construction sectors, but overall their share will continue to decline. We predict a post industrial economy where a range of caring, routine, professional, supporting and leisure based services will dominate employment. We expect job growth to remain strong in retailing, accommodation, community services, health, education, business services and personal services. These changes contribute to the expectation that employees use their brains rather than their brawn and possess superior 'soft/interpersonal skills'.

Third, working arrangements will continue to be fragmented, ambiguous and in many cases not regulated (consider, for example, the position of contractors and temporary agency workers). Pressures for shareholder profit and improved corporate performance will continue to lead to more innovative and flexible employment arrangements. Rewards from work will continue to be very unevenly distributed.

Four, work will continue to emerge outside of the traditional boundaries imposed by time and space. Advancing technology (such as cell phones, modems and laptop computers) support homeworking, telecommuting and 24 hour employment contact. As is already occurring in some instances, the workplace will shift outside of capital cities and head offices to homes and into cyber space. Some work will be continuous and linked across countries and time zones. The notion of a standard working day and working week will be increasingly challenged.

Five, it follows that contingent or non standard employment arrangements will become the norm. These arrangements offer flexibility for employers and choice for those who wish to combine work with study or caring responsibilities. Multiple job holdings will expand. Careers will no longer mean one job with one employer in one location. We can expect a career to involve many jobs, many employers, many locations and a range of occupations and skills – this is referred to by Handy (1984) as the portfolio employee.

Six, we do not see unemployment and underemployment disappearing for the fundamental reasons that full employment is no longer an outcome expected from our economic system. Politicians are not prepared to tolerate inflation but they will tolerate unemployment. Economic management is no longer assigned the responsibility for reducing unemployment since unemployment is no longer presented as a collective responsibility but as an individual responsibility. Individuals are unemployed since they do not possess the 'right' skills, the 'right' employment record, the 'right' personal characteristics or the 'right' attitude. In addition, while work remains conceptualised and constructed around the market, then there will always be those who for various reasons will be excluded from the market sector.

Implications for the future of work

So what are the implications of these changes at work? We see polarisation and disparity intensifying as employment regulations become more difficult to enforce and the diversity in the rewards for the highly skilled and the low skilled increase. Those who are mobile, highly skilled and adaptable can take advantage of the opportunities offered

by the global labour market. Those who are not, will be tied to the limited opportunities offered by local labour markets. Trade unions will have to rethink their organising, mobilising and servicing strategies in the face of more fragmented and insecure work arrangements. As a British trade union official commented recently, unions need to represent the small groups, all the independents who are outside the organization and who desperately need an association to provide a range of ancillary services, such as education, legal help, protection, and advice. Businesses will have to consider how to arrange their operations and labour in the context of global production, extensive outsourcing and sub-contracting possibilities and the restructuring of work through time and space.

What are the fundamental challenges facing policy makers and the community regarding the future of work? We believe there is a need to re-think and re-conceptualise work. In Australia it has been given a narrow meaning, largely connected to market activity for the purposes of welfare policy design. Consequently, worth and status have been accorded too much weight. Outside of the market there is an ongoing and significant amount of work occurring that is frequently not officially recognised nor rewarded. This needs to change, as without this type of work our communities and economy would not be able to function.

Careers of the future are likely to be fragmented, disjointed, unpredictable and associated with life long learning and training. We live in a post-industrial age, where the nature of work and careers is rapidly changing. Work will be increasingly global and take place across borders. In addition, governments have to think about taxation and welfare systems. Where employment status is ambiguous and more workers are located outside of traditional workplaces (even outside of the country), the sustainability of the traditional PAYE tax base becomes questionable. Moreover, if your employment arrangements are fragmented and discontinuous, then it is difficult to develop any sustainable retirement income arrangements. One major problem for current superannuation arrangements, even without equity market bubbles, is that they are premised on a regular and sustainable full-time employment arrangement – something that is becoming rarer in today's economy.

These developments pose a bigger challenge to the fiscal system than the ageing of the community. Arguments to extend the retirement age for fiscal reasons ignore the growth in female labour force participation rates and the delayed impact (notwithstanding the above problems) of the shift towards universal self funded retirement. The real challenge is one of providing choice, flexibility and tolerance with respect to employment. We suggest that this equates to allowing those who wish to retire do so with dignity and certainty and those who wish to continue to work to do so without penalty. Furthermore, it requires recognition that those in retirement can still make meaningful and creative contributions to the community they live in.

Finally, in a world of high capital and labour mobility the government does have choices concerning the type of work being performed as follows:

- • funding and taxation arrangements can affect the allocation of resources and the composition of jobs.

- • Jobs can be generated in the non market sector to support the unemployed and the under-employed, particularly as service sector jobs are generally labour intensive and comprise low energy use.
- • There are ways of supporting jobs with more creative policies and linking jobs to environmental sustainability. Taxes on polluting activities can generate revenue to assist in the financing of non polluting activities and jobs.
- • Long term investments in education, training, research and public infrastructure (e.g. transport, health) needs to be seen as capital, not current, expenditure.

In summary, it has been commented that Australian Managers take a short-term view with regard to organizational strategy (see Karpin, 1995). We argue that this needs to change as the social and economic consequences of changes in the world of work require careful, ongoing scrutiny by academics, employers and governments if the sustainability of work is to be an option for the Australian majority in the future.

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Health Reform in America

With Health care reform gaining momentum in Australia, information about a new community-based health reform process being implemented in the United States is well worth noting.

Wye River Group on Healthcare (WRGH) initiated a project in July 2002, called "Communities Shaping a Vision for America's 21st Century Health and Healthcare." This project was unprecedented – in its effort to understand how health care stakeholders and consumers view the values and principles underlying the American health care system. Phase I was designed to elicit from health care leaders at the community level their thoughts about the values and principles that should be the foundation of health care in this country.

During Phase I, WRGH held a series of Healthcare Leadership Roundtables, or "listening sessions," in 10 diverse communities around the country between July 2002 and May 2003. In each community, WRGH assembled a diverse cross-section of public and private stakeholders with detailed knowledge of health and health care to reflect the nation's diversity – not only its diversity of peoples, cultures and values, but also its diversity of health care challenges. Midway through its 10-city tour, WRGH began to develop a circle of advisers – leaders chosen from different health care sectors and communities – to help develop recommendations and potential "next steps" in addressing common issues that arose in community discussions.

After roundtable discussions were held in all 10 communities and the advisory boards wrapped up their work, WRGH hosted a retreat July 9-11, 2003, at the Aspen Institute Wye River Conference Center in Maryland.

To announce the "shared vision" that arose from this project, WRGH organized a national summit in September 2003 to showcase the findings of the 10-city tour and launch a national dialogue on health care among the American public, policymakers and health care stakeholders.

The second phase of this project plans to build on the momentum created in Phase I by working with sponsors, national leaders, and local community leaders to develop and execute a campaign to raise awareness and engage the public in constructive dialogue on health care challenges.

One of the fundamental principles that emerged is that the problems in health care in America need urgent attention and need to be at the top of the nation's list of priorities. Most community health care leaders agreed that the country has not developed a social contract for health care that is well-articulated and broadly understood. As a result, most Americans do not know what they can and should expect from their health care system. Nor do they understand their responsibility to contribute to the health care system.

What exists is a patchwork of public and private health insurance, a health care safety net under tremendous strain, and millions of Americans who are uninsured and/or medically underserved. In the absence of a social contract for health care, it is exceedingly difficult to address such fundamental questions as what Americans can expect from their healthcare system, what services should be covered and for whom.

A full Report entitled "A Community Based Discussion of Values and Principles for American Healthcare"in PDF format (144 pages) is at: http://www.wrgh.org/book_shaping.pdf

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Putting home ownership back in reach

On 20 September 20, the Prime Minister, John Howard, announced the establishment of a task force to study innovative approaches to reducing the costs of home ownership and the delivery of affordable housing assistance.

Howard had charged The Menzies Research Centre with responsibility for undertaking this inquiry. Christopher Joye, who is Director of the Menzies Research Centre and based at Cambridge University in England, outlines the details of his report to the Prime Minister in the article below.

By Christopher Joye

On June 6, Malcolm Turnbull and I presented a 380-page report to Prime Minister John Howard that advocated several approaches to radically reducing the costs of home ownership in Australia.

The insights offered in this submission, which was co-authored with colleagues from Cambridge, Harvard and New York University, are responsible for precipitating the Productivity Commission's housing inquiry and shaping its terms of reference.

For better or worse, the media attention to date has focused on our desire to relax the "all or nothing" constraint on home ownership and furnish families with the option of using debt and equity finance when purchasing their properties.

Along these lines, aspirants would not be compelled to acquire 100 per cent of the equity in their home or single-handedly bear the burden of the vast financial responsibilities inherent in owner-occupation.

Yet a considerable proportion of our analysis was also dedicated to investigating problems on the supply side of the housing market equation. So what were the key findings?

First, a great deal of confusion tends to reign in the emotive affordability debate. Most commentators make the mistake of attempting to judge the costs of home ownership in relation to the income levels of prospective acquirers. While poverty undoubtedly leads to significant suffering, this does not justify tying housing policies to the distribution of income.

If government wants to assist the economically disenfranchised, it should do so via targeted anti-poverty proposals. If it is especially eager to ensure that poor people are able to afford appropriate shelter, then housing vouchers that are linked to income may make sense. Good public policy, however, does not confuse issues that cause high house prices with those
that contribute to poverty.

Second, there is an affordability problem in Australia but it has nothing to do with income levels, interest rates or a dearth of exploitable land. Rather, it is the result of oppressive local and state government regulations (often imposed with the enthusiastic support of proximate
communities) that severely constrict the stock of low-cost properties and, when

combined with ever-growing demand, artificially inflate the price of housing.

Viewed differently, these constraints on dwelling dispersion and the release of greenfield and brownfield sites act as a burdensome tax on new building, which leads to a mismatch between the accommodation needs of Australian households and the supply of available properties.

This in turn produces a divergence between the price of homes and their underlying costs of construction. As a consequence, we recommend expanding the affordability debate to incompass local and state government reform rather than confining ourselves to that perennial panacea, public housing.

Specifically, we believe several innovative steps can be taken to improve the availability of housing without resorting to subsidies and that would contribute to a striking reduction in the costs of home ownership right across the country.

The overall objective here is to accelerate the approval and land release process to promote private-sector investment in the production of affordable housing.

In particular, we propose a system in which local councils are set targets for the number of new building approvals they issue during any given period. The size of these quotas would be determined according to a variety of factors, including environmental considerations, the density of existing dwellings, developer demand and cross-municipality prices.

Hence, regions characterised by a combination of high prices and low dispersion would be set comparatively high targets, all else being equal. The scheme could be enforced by tying the council's funding to their ability to boost supply in line with the mandated goals.

This brings me to a more general point, which is that many local and state governments have failed to come to the affordable housing party.

To a certain extent, this is an upshot of their profound aversion to instituting changes that are perceived to be disruptive to existing residents (popularly encapsulated in the NIMBYism movement).

Although we believe that our strategy goes a long way to addressing these concerns, it may not garner adequate political support. In the event that it does fail, councils still have an arsenal of other alternatives on hand. As a minimum, they should strive to adopt clearer and more objective review standards, and expeditiously render land-use decisions in an attempt to enhance the ownership opportunities available to present and prospective home buyers.

The states, on the other hand, need to make a much greater commitment to providing the vital physical infrastructure (or at least its funding) that is required before zoned land can be made useful for housing purposes.

In the US and the UK, there has been emerging recognition of the merits of this method. For example, New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg notes: "Our affordable housing strategy [rests on] changes that will cut building and land acquisition costs in order to facilitate private housing construction." His counterpart in London, Ken Livingstone, recently tendered a vision for his city along similar lines.

Top

Elimination of Violence Against Women News

- On 17 December 1999 the General Assembly of the United Nations designated 25 November as the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women and has invited governments, international organisations and NGOs to organise on that day, activities designated to raise public awareness of the problem. Women's activists have marked 25 November as a day against violence since 1981.
- In the third collection of reports, *Violence Against Women: 10 Reports/Year 2002*, published by the World Organisation against Torture (OMCT) within the framework of its Violence against Women Programme, it was reported that, "Besides being the victims of violence perpetrated by state agents and armed groups, women are frequently victims of physical and psychological violence within the domestic sphere and within the community. This violence by the hands of private individuals may include; domestic violence, crimes committed in the name of honour, female genital mutilation, rape and sexual assault, and trafficking into forced prostitution or forced labour." Across the board, these OMCT reports found that the vast majority of violence against women takes place within the family.

Over the past year, OMCT submitted ten alternative country reports to the five "mainstream" human rights treaty bodies on: Croatia, Czech Republic, Moldova, Poland, Spain, Sudan, Togo, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, and Yemen. (*Source: Carin Benninger-Budel and Joanna Bourke-Martignoni, Violence Against Women: 10 Reports/ Year 2002, OMCT, 8.8.03. E-mail:* omct@omct.org *Website:* www.omct.org)

- On 23 September 2003 the International Day Against the Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking of Women and Children, Australian Democrats' Senator Brian Greig, who initiated a Joint Parliamentary Inquiry into the trafficking of women and children into Australia, says the momentum must continue to ensure the issue is not sidelined again by lack of political will or withdrawal of resources.

Australian Democrats' Status of Women spokesperson, Senator Natasha Stott Despoja, said trafficking in persons is a modern-day form of slavery, threatening the dignity and security of millions of people throughout the world. "The trafficking of people has become the third largest source of profit for international organised crime," Senator Stott Despoja said. "Yet, it is the victims who are often treated as criminals, or illegal immigrants, by officials."

Featured here is a speech made by Senator Stott Despoja on Monday night as an adjournment speech when the Senators are given an opportunity to speak about issues of importance.

Violence against Women Speech by Senator Stott Despoja

ADJOURNMENT: Violence against Women

Senator STOTT DESPOJA (South Australia) (10.10 p.m.) -I begin by acknowledging that tribute by Senator Stephens to Anna Lindh-a woman who was an impressive role model, a woman who campaigned for women's rights and a woman who died as a consequence of senseless violence.

Tonight I want to talk more broadly about the issue of violence against women. Domestic violence, as we all know, is a devastating epidemic that endures through several generations. It is an issue that crosses all classes, income groups and races. The issue of male violence against women has for years been couched in language that has been easier to stomach: re-termed `domestic violence'. The effect, of course, has been to take it back into homes and turn it into an issue that should be dealt with in the privacy of the home-thus making it off-limits to the public. It is difficult to measure domestic violence against women with any accuracy because it is a crime that remains mostly hidden. It is an issue that affects hundreds of thousands of women and children, and its repercussions not only ripple throughout our community but also impact on the business and economic sector through absenteeism and replacement costs to employers.

Tonight one angle I want to look at in relation to this issue, in the hope that it might convince the powers that be and the legislators to do something about it, is its economic impact. First, I turn to the statistics and figures. In 1996 the Australian Bureau of Statistics surveyed 6,300 Australian women for the Women's Safety Survey. The survey was designed to provide national estimates of the nature and extent of violence experienced by women in our country. It asked women about their experience of actual or threatened physical or sexual violence and found that, in relation to violence by a male partner, 2.6 per cent of women who were married or in a de facto relationship had experienced violence perpetrated by their current partner in the 12 months preceding

the survey. The survey also looked at women's experience of violence throughout their lifetime and found that 23 per cent of women who had ever been married or in a de facto relationship had experienced violence in that relationship.

According to the 1996 Women's Safety Survey, 7.1 per cent of Australian women had experienced an incident of violence in the last 12 months, 4.9 per cent of Australian women had experienced physical violence by a man and 1.9 per cent of Australian women had experienced sexual violence by a man. According to the 2002 Crime and Safety Survey, 320,891 women had experienced an assault in the previous 12 months, which is fairly consistent with the 1996 survey figures. The Crime and Safety Survey detailed incidences of personal assault only, but if we focus on sexual assault then the figures show that 86 per cent of victims of sexual assault were women, accounting for 28,300 victims of sexual assault. Based on the 1996 Women's Safety Survey, the AIC conducted a secondary analysis of the data to assess women's fear of violence. The study found that 70 per cent of the 4,684 women surveyed were fearful when walking alone after dark.

Of course, it is very difficult to assess real trends. Crime victim surveys indicate that the majority of assaults upon women are not reported to the police where the victim knows the offender. Estimates of underreporting vary significantly. The 1998 ABS crime victim survey estimated that only 28 per cent of assaults and 33 per cent of sexual assaults are reported to police, whereas the 1996 survey indicated that only two out of every 10 women-or 18.6 per cent to be precise-who had been assaulted in the previous 12 months had reported the assault to police. Only those instances that are reported to the authorities are recorded in the official crime statistics data. Even then, domestic violence is not recorded as a category of assault distinct from other assaults, hence the difficulty in obtaining reliable statistical data on its incidence.

Crime victim surveys provide another measure of domestic violence, as these surveys include both reported and unreported incidents. However, there is no update of the 1996 Women's Safety Survey conducted by the ABS. In fact, the next survey is not planned until 2006. How can we treat this as a significant issue-one that we are supposedly putting resources and finances towards-when it will be a number of years before we have another survey? We are failing to implement an up-to-date system of collating crucial information that is needed in order to properly execute those program initiatives. In the context of the government's decision to take $10.1 million in underspent funds for domestic violence and sexual assault programs to fund fridge magnets, you can see why people get very upset about this issue.

In relation to the economic costs, a literature review conducted by the Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse pointed to both Australian and international literature, demonstrating the value of taking an economic perspective on domestic violence. It provides a powerful angle from which to view the consequences of

domestic violence and further argues for social policies to improve services and protection for victims.

While the human impact of domestic violence is incalculable, the direct costs of staff absenteeism and replacement costs were estimated in 2000 to be over $30 million a year for Australian employers. The total cost to the corporate and business sector was estimated at $1.5 billion. In another study, back in 1991, the annual cost of domestic violence to state and Commonwealth governments was estimated to be around $400 million.

Academics have long argued that the value of economic studies on domestic violence lies in the potential to promote social policy and reduce violence against women. It must be highlighted that violence against women is a public problem, not a private one, because of the negative effects which are borne by all of society and not solely by the victims. Costs of violence studies are one means for strengthening the argument that violence against women is indeed a social problem which deserves to be seriously addressed. Information about the economic costs of domestic violence emphasises the seriousness of the problem and also identifies ways in which it penetrates the work of social services, community organisations, business and governments in Australia. Violence against women is enormously costly to the women who experience violence directly, and to women generally, as their lives are constrained by the fear of violence and even for governments who have to pay money in order to ensure that the consequences of violence are addressed. It is a ubiquitous and debilitating criminal, social and health problem affecting individuals, communities, business and governments in Australia.

There are a number of international studies that show the costs of domestic violence in Switzerland, the US, Canada, the UK, Chile, Nicaragua and New Zealand. All of these demonstrate overwhelmingly that organisations and government must work in tandem to overcome this crippling social issue. For example, the annual cost of family violence in New Zealand is around $NZ1.2 billion. A UK study shows that it cost more than £5 million in 1996 for one particular area of London. According to the Swiss government, the cost of domestic violence is 400 million Swiss francs, or $US290 million, per annum. There are many other statistics-from Ontario, Canada, British Columbia.

Essentially, though, there is no best approach to estimating the economic costs of domestic violence. Most arguments about the value of bringing an economic perspective to the field of domestic violence are based on the assumption that identifying the enormous costs of domestic violence will result in increased efforts to eliminate it. In saying this, we need to work as a nation to improve-firstly, data collection, both to better estimate the prevalence of domestic violence and to better identify service usage by victims and perpetrators of domestic violence; secondly, evaluations for interventions and programs using experimental or quasi-experimental designs as an essential foundation for cost-effectiveness and cost-benefit analyses; and,

thirdly, better methodologies for calculating the long-term social, educational and psychological impacts of domestic violence on women and children.

However, should the mounting evidence of the economic costs of domestic violence to women, children, the community and governments fail to result in increased commitment to the prevention and eradication of domestic violence, academics have issued the following challenge that I would like to repeat today:

If studies showing the economic costs of violence against women are not effective in directing government and business efforts towards reducing male violence, it may be because the economic costs revealed in such studies are less than the unspoken economic benefits of maintaining male dominance in social institutions. The millions of dollars in costs resulting from male violence may be a small price for men to pay in exchange for their continued control of political and economic power, resources and status. In this case, we may have to use an economic perspective to address a different question-Who benefits economically from violence against women?

I hope tonight that some of these figures will go some way towards convincing the powers that be that we need to address this issue. At the risk of talking against a backdrop of tragedy this evening, I do want to commend Four Corners on what was a harrowing, compelling, moving and touching program on the Bali survivors. If fellow senators have not seen it, it was quite extraordinary. On a final note, I would also like to add my condolences to the tragedy that occurred in a domestic situation in Sydney this evening.

Opinion poll shows tide is turning for Refugees

Australians no longer think refugees are a threat to Australia's borders but they deserve a fair go, said national human rights group *A Just Australia*, at the launch of *For Those Who Come Across the Seas*, a new CD by leading Australian musicians.
"This poll says the national mood has shifted," said *A Just Australia* National Director Howard Glenn, in response to an independent Saulwick opinion poll released today by JOB *futures*.
The survey polled 1000 Australian workers asking them for their attitudes towards refugees in Australia.
A majority of those polled (61%) think refugees pose little or no threat to national security and a large majority (71%) think refugees should have access to government funded employment services.
"It's been two years since Tampa, the policy of naval interdiction has stopped boats from arriving and Australians no longer see refugees as a threat. Instead, Australian workers support the idea of a fair go for refugees", Mr Glenn said.

The poll shows that while most (54%) think refugees on temporary visas should return home if it is safe to do so, only about a third (37%) think that the Australian government should be responsible for deciding whether it is safe for those to return. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (55%) is preferred.

"The government's credibility has been damaged by its persistent deception and blame-shifting on refugee matters", Mr Glenn said.

"Australians trust the United Nations judgement on refugees more than their own Government.

The survey also showed Australians now rejected the language of 'queue jumpers' (30% approval), preferring more neutral language such as 'asylum-seekers' (78% approval).

"Australian opinion has moved on but thousands of refugees remain stuck in limbo.

"We are proposing a three point plan and urging the Federal Government to make the right choice:

- provide permanent protection for proven refugees, with assistance to return home on a voluntary basis;
- introduce a process for humanitarian visas or solutions for those stuck in the limbo of long term detention; and
- immediately release children and their families into the community.

"The government has made its point about border protection. There's no need to keep punishing these people", Mr Glenn said.

Source: A Just Australia /www.ajustaustralia.com *Released:19 October 2003*

SIEVX: Unanswered Questions

On the 19th of October 2001, a tiny nameless fishing boat carrying over 400 asylum seekers, bound for Australia, sank in international waters. SIEVX is the acronym for 'Suspected Illegal Entry Vessel X' (the X stands for 'unknown'). It is the name by which we have come to know the dilapidated, criminally overloaded Indonesian fishing boat that sank en route to Australia's Christmas Island.

353 people died in what is now known as the tragedy of SIEV X.

146 children
142 women
65 men

Last week Senator Jacinta Collins made the following comments concerning Justice Minister Ellison's response to a question she had put to him in July concerning the Jakarta Harbour Master's document:

More than 350 lives were lost when [SIEVX] foundered, and for there to be detailed coordinates in relation to the vessel that saved the remaining people from this vessel and for them to never have been attempted to have been corroborated-and for us to be told now so far from the time of the sinking that nobody has sought to contact the harbour master to corroborate or discount those coordinates-is outrageous.

What makes it more outrageous with respect to the Australian agencies is that we were told by Defence, during hearings of the inquiry into a certain maritime incident, that these coordinates could be discounted.

When the final round of Senate Estimates hearings for 2003 begins this month, it is expected that Senator Collins and others will continue to vigorously pursue this matter. To view other sites that provides more information about this tragedy see:

Asylum seekers drowned off Indonesia, PM Archive - Tuesday, 23 October , 2001 Reporter: Ginny Stein

Transcripts of video taped statements from the survivors of the boat that capsized with 418 asylum seekers on board in October 2001 are at:

http://www.sievx.com/articles/disaster/KeysarTradTranscript.html

JANNAH THE SIEV X MEMORIAL is an Australian initiative which welcomes heartfelt and humane condolence messages of any member of the human family, whatever their faith or culture, in any part of the world. Australian political leaders who have added their message to the memorial: Simon Crean, Leader of the Opposition; Senator Andrew Bartlett, Leader of the Democrats; and Senator Bob Brown, Leader of the Greens. Source: Sievx.com and refugeeaction.org

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Nigeria's Amina Lawal's Stoning Sentence Overturned

Amina Lawal's plight has drawn much international criticism. Sentenced to be stoned to death for having sex out of wedlock in accordance with Shariah law in Nigeria, her unjust predicament set into motion a wave of objection from humanitarian and feminist groups, a campaign that was led by Amnesty International. The article below details how this abominable sentence was overturned.

Nigeria Court Overturns Stoning Sentence By Todd Pitman, The Associated Press, Thursday, September 25, 2003; 3:49 PM

KATSINA, Nigeria -- An Islamic court overturned the conviction of an illiterate mother sentenced to be stoned to death for having sex out of wedlock, easing pressure on the Nigerian government in a case that has drawn sharp criticism from around the globe. Lawyers hailed Thursday's ruling as a triumph for Islamic justice, but conservative Muslims in the predominantly Islamic north said Amina Lawal should have been executed.

"It's a big relief for all of us," defense lawyer Hauwa Ibrahim told The Associated Press. "Amina can have her life back, and we are grateful to the court."

Wrapped in a light orange veil and sitting quietly at the front of a small, sweltering courtroom, the 32-year-old at the center of the controversy appeared emotionless throughout the hearing, staring down at the floor, cradling her nearly 2-year-old daughter.

A panel of five judges in white turbans and black robes ruled 4-1 in Lawal's favor, citing procedural errors and arguing she was not given "ample opportunity to defend herself."

Lawal did not speak after the verdict, and police and lawyers hustled her away as reporters crowded around.

Had the sentence been carried out, Lawal would have become the first woman stoned to death in Nigeria since 12 northern states began adopting strict Islamic law, or Shariah, in 1999.

Reading the hour-long ruling in the local Hausa language, Judge Ibrahim Mai-Unguwa argued that only one judge was present during Lawal's initial conviction in March 2002, instead of the three required under local Islamic law.

He noted that under some interpretations of Shariah, babies can remain in gestation in a mother's womb for over five years, opening the possibility that her ex-husband -- whom she divorced two years before giving birth -- could have fathered the child.

Mai-Unguwa also said the policeman who first arrested Lawal in 2002 should have been flogged because he did so in violation of Islamic law, which requires four witnesses to the crime. Lawal was not "caught in the act," Mai-Unguwa said.

Ibrahim, the defense lawyer, welcomed the decision.

"It's a victory for law. It's a victory for justice, and it's a victory for what we stand for -- dignity and fundamental human rights," she said, smiling broadly.

Lead prosecutor Nurulhuda Mohammad Darma said he was "satisfied" with the ruling. The state has 30 days to appeal, but Darma said that was unlikely.

In the sole dissenting opinion, Judge Sule Sada said the conviction should stand since Lawal had confessed. The defense argued the confession was invalid because no lawyers were present when it was made.

The proceedings took place at the main appeals court in Katsina. Dozens of police -- carrying batons, rifles and tear gas -- stood guard, and onlookers peeked through barred windows into the stifling, blue-walled courtroom.

Filling the first row of wooden benches were defense and prosecution lawyers in black robes and white wigs -- leftovers from British colonial rule. Much of the country still relies on a version of the British legal code.

The case had drawn sharp criticism from international rights groups. President Olusegun Obasanjo's government and world leaders called for Lawal to be exonerated, and Brazil offered her asylum.

Katherine Mabille of the French group Avocats Sans Frontieres, or Lawyers Without Borders, said the ruling "was very good for Amina," but pointed out other cases were pending. Her organization is assisting two Nigerians facing amputation of their hands for theft.

On Tuesday, 20-year-old Jibrin Babaji was sentenced to death by stoning for sexually molesting three young boys in the northern town of Bauchi, the independent Punch newspaper reported Thursday.

Three people, including Lawal, have had stoning sentences overturned so far. Aside from the latest case in Bauchi, two others -- a pair of lovers -- are awaiting rulings.

Also under Shariah punishments, one man has been hanged for killing a woman and her two children. Muslim authorities have amputated the hands of three others for stealing respectively, a goat, a cow and three bicycles.

London-based Amnesty International called stoning, flogging and amputation "cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment" in a statement issued Thursday. The rights groups urged the Nigerian government to ban them.

The introduction of strict Islamic law in a dozen northern states heightened ethnic and religious tensions across the country, triggering violent clashes between Christians and Muslims that left thousands dead.

Most Nigerian Muslims, however, welcomed the implementation of Shariah, saying it is an essential part of their religion and discourages crime. Many in Katsina denounced Thursday's verdict.

"There was no justice. The Quran was ignored," said Masaud Kabir, a 24-year-old student.

Nura Ibrahim Aliyu, a 26-year-old civil servant, said he would "gladly" carry out the stoning himself.

"She has already confessed to her crime," Aliyu said. "That's enough for me."

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The Nobel Peace Prize 2003

Shirin Ebadi, Iran

The Norwegian Nobel Committee has decided to award the Nobel Peace Prize for 2003 to Shirin Ebadi for her efforts for democracy and human rights. She has focused especially on the struggle for the rights of women and children.

As a lawyer, judge, lecturer, writer and activist, she has spoken out clearly and strongly in her country, Iran, and far beyond its borders. She has stood up as a sound professional, a courageous person, and has never heeded the threats to her own safety. Her principal arena is the struggle for basic human rights, and no society deserves to be labelled civilized unless the rights of women and children are respected. In an era of violence, she has consistently supported non-violence. It is fundamental to her view that the supreme political power in a community must be built on democratic elections. She favours enlightenment and dialogue as the best path to changing attitudes and resolving conflict.

Ebadi is a conscious Moslem. She sees no conflict between Islam and fundamental human rights. It is important to her that the dialogue between the different cultures and religions of the world should take as its point of departure their shared values. It is a pleasure for the Norwegian Nobel Committee to award the Peace Prize to a woman who is part of the Moslem world, and of whom that world can be proud - along with all who fight for human rights wherever they live.

During recent decades, democracy and human rights have advanced in various parts of the world. By its awards of the Nobel Peace Prize, the Norwegian Nobel Committee has attempted to speed up this process.

We hope that the people of Iran will feel joyous that for the first time in history one of their citizens has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and we hope the Prize will be an inspiration for all those who struggle for human rights and democracy in her country, in

the Moslem world, and in all countries where the fight for human rights needs inspiration and support.
Oslo, 10 October 2003 http://www.nobel.se/peace/laureates/2003/index.html

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CEO Turnover Points to a Short-Term Australia

A new study which has found that Chief Executives of our largest companies have half the tenure than their overseas counterparts underlined a worrying trend towards short-termism in Australia, the Business Council of Australia said today.

The study, conducted by leading management consultants Booz Allen Hamilton as a joint initiative with the BCA, found that global trends resulting in more Chief Executives departing in quicker time are far more pronounced in Australia.

In particular, Australian CEOs on average spend only 4.4 years in the top job, compared to an average 8.7 years for their global counterparts.

BCA President, Dr John Schubert, said the study raised a number of serious issues not just for companies but also for investors, the market and the Australian economy generally.

"The fact that the average CEO of a large Australian company spends half the time in the position compared to Chief Executives globally is of concern," Dr Schubert said.

"It points to growing expectations that CEOs are expected to deliver more in a shorter timeframe, at the potential expense of longer-term strategies."

Dr Schubert said given the overall strong performance of the Australian economy and sharemarket the study raised issues as to whether Chief Executives were marked harder than those in other countries.

While M&A activity-related turnover was higher in Australia than overseas in 2002, the longer-term trend suggested this was not the singular issue that might explain Australia's disparity in average CEO tenure.

Dr Schubert said other likely explanations might include the growing trend towards CEO performance in Australia being judged within shorter timeframes as well as the demands of overseas travel, the result of Australia being geographically remote from the mainstream of global trade, he said.

"Overall, the study questions whether the timeframes of demands on and expectations of Australian CEOs and their performance are realistic in the longer-term," Dr Schubert said.

"The study also suggests we are potentially losing valuable experience at a quicker rate in what is a small market for experienced Chief Executives. This at a time when Australia relies increasingly on the performance of its large companies to drive local growth and performance in the global economy."

The study found that:
- The rate of CEO turnover in Australia is, at nearly 17.8 per cent, much higher than the global average of just over 10 per cent;
- That the average CEO tenure in Australia has decreased, from nearly 6 years in 2001 to 4.4 years last year; and

- Mergers and acquisitions account for a sizable proportion of Australian CEO turnovers, but over the past three years the trends are broadly similar with overseas.

The study focused on all CEO turnovers, both voluntary and forced, of Australia's top 200 ASX companies in 2002.

Source: Business Council of Australia

Literacy Volunteer Tutoring TAFE NSW

Do you know of adults in the community who may welcome the opportunity to increase their literacy skills with the assistance of confidential tutoring?

Are you interested in becoming a Literacy Volunteer Tutor?

TAFE NSW seeks to support and develop the literacy skills of adult community members. The course in Literacy Volunteer Tutoring will:

· Provide free training for those who wish to become literacy tutors.

· Provide a cost free pathway for community members to increase their literacy skills with individual and confidential support of a trained tutor.

Training to become a Literacy Volunteer Tutor involves course work in both theory and fieldwork modules.

On completion of the theory module, tutors are able to enter into fieldwork and serve the wider community with free personal and confidential tutoring.

Community students are matched with available tutors. The Adult Literacy Officer will provide ongoing support and monitoring of the tutoring program.

The Literacy Volunteer Tutor Program has been operating successfully, long term, enabling many people to improve literacy skills and self-confidence.

Our adult students represent a wide cross-section of the community and are often those who have not had the opportunity to consolidate literacy skills enough for them to feel confident and effective with demands of literacy in the home or workplace.

Personal improvement made by students, as a result of working with a trained tutor is often the catalyst for more informed choices and increased personal confidence along with providing a positive outlook towards the next step in education.

Contact the Adult Literacy Officer at your local TAFE Institute for further information.